THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

VOLUME V

LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

WE have great pleasure in presenting to the reading public the long-awaited fifth volume of *The Cultural Heritage of India*. The delay in bringing it out is regretted, but the circumstances were such that it could not be helped.

The volume is a self-contained encyclopaedia of Indian languages and literatures from the Vedic to the modern times. It also includes a section entitled 'Indian Literature Abroad', which is devoted to a discussion of the influence Indian literature has exercised over the literatures of the lands beyond India's borders.

Fifty-one distinguished scholars from different universities and research centres have enriched this volume with their contributions. This they have done entirely as a labour of love. We deeply appreciate this and express our sincere gratitude to them.

Barring three, all the articles in this volume are new. Even those three, taken from the first edition of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, have been thoroughly revised by our editorial team headed by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Other articles also needed revision because of the time-lag between their preparation and publication. The revision was done by the same team, and, where possible, approval was obtained from the contributors to the changes so introduced. Among the scholars, other than Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who have been associated with the editorial work of the present volume, are: Dr Sukumar Sen, Dr R. C. Hazra, Dr D. C. Sircar, Dr Govinda Gopal Mukherjee, Professor Nirmal C. Sinha, and Dr Amitendra Nath Tagore. We deem ourselves greatly indebted to them for this.

The articles in this volume demonstrate the richness and variety of India's linguistic and literary heritage, both religio-philosophical and secular. They also show that behind the baffling multiplicity which one sees in the Indian linguistic scene, there is a thread of unity which one can never miss. This fact has been ably brought out by the Editor in his Preface and by Dr K. M. Munshi in his Introduction. It is sad to think that both these great scholars are no more.

In spite of the present size of the volume, we do not claim to have been able to do justice to the subjects dealt with in it. We only hope that general readers as well as research students will find in it ample material to whet their appetite for further study.

We profoundly regret that Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Editor of this volume, did not live to see it in print. He had, however, completed his task before death

snatched him away. This volume, together with his two articles in it, is a testimony to his versatile scholarship.

We also record our deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of some other contributors, while the publication of this volume was in progress, namely, Mr K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Dr Hiralal Jain, Dr A. N. Upadhye, Dr S. K. De, Dr A. D. Pusalker, Professor H. D. Velankar, Dr Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, and Mr K. M. Jhaveri.

We are specially indebted to Dr R. C. Majumdar for his valuable guidance and advice on matters connected with the publication of this volume. Mr R. P. H. Davies, Regional Education Adviser, Eastern India, British Council, Calcutta, has rendered us great help by brushing up the language of the major portion of this volume for which we extend our grateful thanks to him. Our gratitude is also due to Dr Biswanath Banerjee, Dr Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, Principal Upendra Chhaganlal Pandya, Mr Jyotirmoy Basu Ray, and Dr Heramba Chatterjee Sastri, who, amongst others, have helped us in various ways. We thank the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, the Office of the Registrar General of India (Languages), New Delhi, and the National Library, Calcutta, especially Mr Nachiketa Bharadwaj, Mr Prabhakar Rao, Mr S. R. Gurnani, and Mr S. B. Joshi for their help with reference material and advice. We also place on record our appreciation of the co-operation we received from the staff of the Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., particularly its Executive Director, Mr J. P. Guha, and Account Executive, Mr M. Majumdar. At our request, the Titaghur Paper Mills Co. Ltd. manufactured a special type of paper for this volume. We consider it a great favour.

Readers will please note that in giving diacritical marks to words of non-English origin, we have generally followed the previous volumes of *The Cultural Heritage of India* with minor adjustments here and there. No diacritical marks have, however, been given to Urdu words and words of Arabic and Persian origin.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that the views expressed by the authors in their articles are not necessarily the views of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture.

August 1978

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PART III

MAJOR LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF MODERN INDIA

HINTS ON PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

a	stands	for	अ	and	sounds	like	*o*	in	c*o*me
ā	,,	,,	आ	,,	,,	,,	*a*	,,	f*a*r
i	,,	,,	इ	,,	,,	,,	*i*	,,	b*i*t
ī	,,	,,	ई	,,	,,	,,	*ee*	,,	f*ee*l
u	,,	,,	उ	,,	,,	,,	*u*	,,	f*u*ll
ū	,,	,,	ऊ	,,	,,	,,	*oo*	,,	c*oo*l
ṛ	,,	,,	ऋ	,,	may be pronounced like *ri*			,,	*ri*ng
e	,,	,,	ए	,,	sounds	like	*a*	,,	c*a*ke
ai	,,	,,	ऐ	,,	,,	,,	*i*	,,	m*i*te
o	,,	,,	ओ	,,	,,	,,	*o*	,,	n*o*te
au	,,	,,	औ	,,	,,	,,	*ou*	,,	c*ou*nt
ṁ	,,	,,	ं	,,	(*anusvāra*) and sounds like *m*			,,	so*m*e
ḥ	,,	,,	:	,,	(*visarga*)	,,	,,	,,	soft, short *h*

' (apostrophe) stands for *s* (elided अ).

ṅ stands for ङ, ñ for ञ, and ṇ for ण ; the first is to be pronounced like English *ng* in si*ng*, or *n* in ba*n*k; the second like the *n* in English si*n*ge (a palatal *n*); and the third, the cerebral ṇ, is made with the tongue-tip up-turned and touching the dome of the palate.

c	stands	for	च्	and	sounds	like	*ch*	in	churc*h*
ch	,,	,,	छ्	,,	,,	,,	*chh*	,,	churc*h-h*ill
ṭ	,,	,,	ट्	,,	,,	,,	*t*	,,	cur*t*
ṭh	,,	,,	ठ्	,,	,,	,,	*th*	,,	por*t-h*ole
ḍ	,,	,,	ड्	,,	,,	,,	*d*	,,	bir*d*
ḍh	,,	,,	ढ्	,,	,,	,,	*dh*	,,	bir*d-h*ouse
t	,,	,,	त्	,,	,,	,,	*t*	,,	pa*t* (Italian *t*)
th	,,	,,	थ्	,,	,,	,,	*th*	,,	hi*t-h*ard
d	,,	,,	द्	,,	,,	,,	*d*	,,	ha*d* (Italian *d*)
dh	,,	,,	ध्	,,	,,	,,	*dh*	,,	ma*d-h*ouse
v	,,	,,	व्	,,	,,	,,	*v* or *w*	,,	le*v*y, *w*ater
ś	,,	,,	श्	,,	,,	,,	*sh*	,,	*sh*ip
ṣ	,,	,,	ष्	,,	,,	,,	*sh*	,,	*sh*ould
ḷ	,,	,,	ळ	,,	,,	,,	the cerebral *l*, made with the tongue-tip up-turned and touching the dome of the palate.		

In connexion with the hints on pronunciation and spelling, the following points should also be noted:

(1) All Sanskrit words, except when they are proper nouns, or have come into common use in English, or represent a class of literature, cult, sect, philosophical system, or school of thought, are italicized.

(2) Anglicized common Sanskrit words like Ātman, Brahman, Yoga, etc. are Romanized with initial capitals. Exceptions have, however, been made in the case of words like *avatāra, guru, sannyāsin, ahiṁsā*, etc.

(3) Current geographical names, except in cases where their Sanskrit forms are given, or in special cases where the context requires it, and all modern names from the commencement of the nineteenth century are given in their usual spelling and without diacritical marks.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ādi.	*Ādiparvan*
Ait. Br.	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
A. Ś.	*Arthaśāstra*
ASS	*Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, Poona*
A. V.	*Atharva-Veda*
B .G.	*Bhagavad-Gītā*
Bhav.	*Bhavisya Purāṇa*
BI	*Bibliotheca Indica*
BORI	*Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*
Bṛ. U.	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*
Cal. Ori. Ser.	*Calcutta Oriental Series*
Chā. U.	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*
CHI	*Cultural Heritage of India*
Gaut. Dh. S.	*Gautama Dharma-Sūtra*
GOS	*Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda*
H. Dh.	*History of Dharma-śāstra by P. V. Kane*
HIL	*History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz*
HIP	*History of Indian Philosophy by S. N. Dasgupta*
HOS	*Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge (Mass.)*
HSL	*History of Sanskrit Literature*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
Jai. S.	*Jaimini-Sūtra*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
Ke. U.	*Kena Upaniṣad*
Kūr.	*Kūrma Purāṇa*
Liṅga	*Liṅga Purāṇa*
Mai. S.	*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*
Manu	*Manu Smṛti*
Mārk.	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*
Mat.	*Matsya Purāṇa*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*
Mm.	*Mahāmahopādhyāya*
Mu. U.	*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*
Nār.	*Nāradīya Purāṇa*

Nār. Smṛ.	*Nārada Smṛti*
Pān.	*Pāṇini (Aṣṭādhyāyī)*
Parāśara	*Parāśara Smṛti*
Rām.	*Rāmāyaṇa*
Ṛ. V.	*Ṛg-Veda*
Śat. Br.	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*
Śve. U.	*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*
Tai. Br.	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
Tai. S.	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*
TSS	*Travancore Sanskrit Series, Trivandram*
Vāj. S.	*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*
Vām.	*Vāmana Purāṇa*
Var.	*Varāha Purāṇa*
Vas. Dh. S	*Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra*
Vāyu.	*Vāyu Purāṇa*
Viṣṇu	*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*
Viṣṇu Dh.	*Viṣṇu Dharma-Sūtra*
Yāj.	*Yājñavalkya Smṛti*

PREFACE

THE present volume, fifth of the celebrated series, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, published by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, attempts to make a systematic study of India's great literary heritage preserved in various languages of the country, old as well as modern. A perusal of the articles in this volume enables one to appreciate the basic phenomenon that despite various diversities—geographical, political, ethnographical, and linguistic—the fundamental unity of India clearly shines forth, and India since time immemorial has formed a solid single unit not only on the cultural plane, but also on the intellectual and literary.

INDIAN LITERATURE : ITS BASIC UNITY

Indian life and thought and Indian literature in ancient, medieval, and modern times (until very recently) have remained imbedded in the Upaniṣads, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas. Without a knowledge and appreciation of these, no knowledge and appreciation of Indian literature, even for the modern age, is possible. These great works have exercised a tremendous fascination on the Indian mind for some 2,000 years and more, and left a profound influence on all Indian literatures. In fact, these works are India: and in all the languages of India and their literatures, it is the content and the spirit of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas, with the Upaniṣads and Dharma-śāstras in the background, that have found and are still finding their full play and their natural abode. They have moulded the life and literature of India and constitute the greatest literary heritage of the country. The cultural unity of India, ancient, medieval, and modern, has been primarily nurtured through them. There is, besides, the huge corpus of literature in Sanskrit that has grown round the six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy and various other aspects of human knowledge and interest, to which scholars and writers from different parts of India had contributed. This 'matter' of ancient India or of the Sanskrit world forms the bed-rock of the medieval and modern literatures in most of the modern languages of India. Even a brief perusal of the histories of Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu literatures, as well as of those which have not been as yet recognized in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (viz. Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Nepali, and Rajasthani), will show that, looming behind all these literatures not only as their background but also as their perpetual inspirer and feeder, there are the towering mountains of the

Rāmāyaṇa and the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas (especially the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*) and the philosophy of the Vedānta as in the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the ideologies and the ritualism of the Yoga and Bhakti and of the Dharma-śāstras, and the poetry of the classic writers of Sanskrit like Kālidāsa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, and Bhavabhūti. (There is no lack of the 'matter' of the Sanskrit world in Sindhi, Kashmiri, Urdu, and even Tamil, either; but it is there in a comparatively restricted measure.) There are of course the special gifts of the Jaina and Buddhist literatures which are also regarded as priceless treasures of India, but the influence of the Brāhmaṇical literature of ancient India remains supreme. The streams of the Jaina and Buddhist literatures easily and naturally merged into the wider 'Hindu', i.e. Brāhmaṇical-cum-Jaina and Buddhist atmosphere, bringing some of their own elements to extend and diversify as well as unify the whole. One of the salient features of almost all the modern Indian languages is that they follow more or less the same pattern in the process of their literary development and growth. Thus, it may be said that if one passes from one modern Indian literature into another, there will be no sense of entering into a different climate. And this will be still more true if one passes from Sanskrit literature into that of any modern Indian language.

CHARACTERISTICS : ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION

Indian literature, like Indian civilization, is marked by its spirit of acceptance and assimilation. It has imbibed many features from other literatures over the centuries. In the modern period, many features of Western literature have found a welcome entry in the literature of this country. It may be asked to what extent the 'matter' of Islam has ben assimilated in Indian literature. Sufistic Islam had many points in common with the Vedānta and Yoga and the essentials of higher Hinduism. The way of the Sufi (*Sufiyana tariqa*) was, therefore, easily successful in bringing to the Hindus a closer understanding of Islam and *vice versa*. Through Sufism we find a considerable amount of spiritual understanding between Hindus and Muslims all over the country. Thus in literature, although the divergences in religious practices of the Hindu and the Muslim, when each tried to be specially orthodox in his own way, have been noticed, there have been the spirit of *laissez-faire* and a broad spirit of tolerance and compromise and integration which have never been absent in Indian literature.

The real integration of India into one single entity, in spite of some basic and fundamental racial, linguistic, and cultural diversities, has taken place through the Upaniṣads, the epics, the Purāṇas, the Dharma-śāstras, and the philosophical literature in Sanskrit, in the ancient and medieval times; and on this integration stand the cultural oneness and the political unity of India.

This has been strengthened during the last one hundred and fifty years by the impact of the mind of Europe on the Indian mind through the literature of English; and the inestimable service of this last in modernizing the mind of India and making it once again conscious of its great heritage of the past and of its stupendous unity cannot be too highly rated. English has been one of the greatest gifts of the modern age to India. The results of this we find in all the modern Indian literatures.

India is a multi-racial, multi-lingual, and multi-religious country, and in spite of this diversity in racial type, speech, and religious outlook, there has been all through history for the last 3,000 years a great tendency towards an integration of these diverse elements—integration into one single type which can be called *pan-Indian*. Of course, there has not been in many cases a complete assimilation. But the various elements have had their interplay in the evolution of Indian life, culture, and religion, as well as to a large extent of a common Indian physical type as of a common Indian mentality.

INDIAN LANGUAGES : THEIR CLASSIFICATION

The Indian people, composed of diverse racial elements, now speak languages belonging to four distinct speech families—the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan (or Mongoloid), and the Austric. It has been suggested by some that over and above these four groups, there might have been one or two more—there seems to be some evidence from linguistics for this idea. But nothing definitely has yet been found, and we are quite content to look upon these four groups as the basic ones in the Indian scene. People speaking languages belonging to the above four families of speech at first presented distinct culture groups; and the Aryans in ancient India were quite conscious of that. Following to some extent the Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan nomenclature in this matter, the four main 'language-culture' groups of India, namely, the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan, and the Austric, can also be labelled respectively as Ārya, Dramiḍa or Draviḍa, Kirāta, and Niṣāda. Indian civilization, as already said, has elements from all these groups, and basically it is pre-Aryan, with important Aryan modifications within as well as Aryan super-structure at the top. In the four types of speech represented by these, there were, to start with, fundamental differences in formation and vocabulary, in sounds and in syntax. But languages belonging to these four families have lived and developed side by side for 3,000 years and more, and have influenced each other profoundly—particularly the Aryan, the Dravidian, and the Austric speeches; and this has led to either a general evolution, or mutual imposition, in spite of original differences, of some common characteristics, which may be called specifically *Indian* and which are found in most languages belonging to all these families: e.g. the cerebral or

retroflex sounds of ṭ, ḍ, ṛ, ṇ, and ḷ; the use of 'post-positions' in the declension of the noun; points of similarity in the structure of the verb; compound verbs; 'echo-words'; etc.

Overlaying their genetic diversity, there is thus in the general run of Indian languages at the present day, an *Indian* character, which forms one of the bases of that 'certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin', of that 'general Indian personality', which has been admitted by an Anglo-Indian scholar like Sir Herbert Risley, otherwise so sceptical about India's claim to be considered as one people.

ARYAN

Of these linguistic and cultural groups, the Aryan is the most important, both numerically and intrinsically. As a matter of fact, Indian civilization has found its expression primarily through the Aryan speech as it developed over the centuries—through Vedic Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan), then Classical Sanskrit, then Early Middle Indo-Aryan dialects like Pali and Old Ardha-Māgadhī, then Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit and after that the various Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas, and finally in the last phase, the different Modern Indo-Aryan languages of the country. The hymns and poems collected in the four Vedas, probably sometime during the tenth century B. C., represent the earliest stage of the Aryan speech in India, known as the Old Indo-Aryan. Of these again, the language of the Ṛg-Vedic hymns gives us the oldest specimens of the speech. From the Punjab, the original *nidus* of the Aryans in India, Aryan speech spread east along the valley of the Gaṅgā, and by 600 B.C., it was well established throughout the whole of the northern Indian plains up to the eastern borders of Bihar. The non-Aryan Dravidian and Austric dialects (and in some places the Sino-Tibetan speeches too) yielded place to the Aryan language, which, both through natural change and through its adoption by a larger and larger number of people alien to it, began to be modified in many ways; and this modification was largely along the lines of the Dravidian and Austric speeches. The Aryan speech entered in this way into a new stage of development, first in eastern India (Bihar and the eastern U.P. tracts) and then elsewhere. The Punjab, with a larger proportion of born Aryan-speakers, remained true to the spirit of the older Vedic speech—the Old Indo-Aryan—to the last, to even as late as the third century B.C., and possibly still later. This new stage of development, which became established during the middle of the first millennium B.C., is known as that of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit. The spoken dialects of Aryan continued to have their own lines of development in the different parts of North India, and these were also spreading over Sind, Rajasthan, Gujarat, and northern Deccan, as well as Bengal and the sub-Himalayan regions. The

whole country in North, East, and Central India was thus becoming Aryanized through the spread of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan dialects.

While spoken forms of the Aryan speech of this second stage were spreading among the masses in this way, a younger form of the Vedic speech was established by the Brāhmaṇas in northern Punjab and in the 'Midland' (i.e. present-day eastern Punjab and western U.P.) as a fixed literary language, during the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. This younger form of Vedic or Old Indo-Aryan, which was established just when the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) dialects were taking shape, later came to be known as Sanskrit or Classical Sanskrit. Sanskrit became one of the greatest languages of Indian civilization, and it has been the greatest vehicle of Indian culture for the last 2,500 years (or for the last 3,000 years, if we take its older form Vedic also). Its history—that of Vedic-cum-Sanskrit—as a language of religion and culture has been longer than that of any other language—with the exception possibly of written Chinese and Hebrew. It may be noted that Vedic and later (Classical) Sanskrit stand in the same relation to each other as do Homeric and Attic Greek. Sanskrit spread with the spread of Hindu or ancient Indian culture (of mixed Austric, Mongoloid, Dravidian, and Aryan origin) beyond the frontiers of India: and by A.D. 400, it became a great cultural link over the greater part of Asia, from Bali, Java, and Borneo in the South-East to Central Asia in the North-West, China too falling within its sphere of influence. Gradually, it acquired a still wider currency in the other countries of Asia wherever Indian religion (Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism) was introduced or adopted. A great literature was built up in Sanskrit—epics of national import, *belles letters* of various sorts including the drama, technical literature, philosophical treatises—every department of life and thought came to be covered by the literature of Sanskrit. The range and variety of Sanskrit literature is indeed an astonishing phenomenon, unmistakably testifying to the uniqueness of the wisdom and genius of the ancient Indian masterminds and the expressiveness of the language in a style which has been universally acclaimed as one of the richest and the most elegant the world has ever seen.

The various Prakrits or Middle Indo-Aryan dialects continued to develop and expand. Some of these were adopted by Buddhist and Jaina sects in ancient India as their sacred canonical languages, notably Pali among the Buddhists (of the Hīnayāna school) and Ardha-Māgadhī among the Jains. The literature produced in these languages particularly in Pali (and also Gāndhārī Prakrit) migrated to various Asian countries where original contributions in them came into existence. The process of simplification of the Aryan speech which began with the Second or Middle Indo-Aryan stage, continued, and by A.D. 600 we come to the last phase of Middle Indo-Aryan, known as the Apabhraṁśa stage.

Further modification of the regional Apabhraṁśas of the period A.D. 600-1000 gave rise, with the beginning of the second millennium A.D., to the New Indo-Aryan or Modern Indo-Aryan languages, or *bhāṣās*, which are current at the present day.

The New Indo-Aryan languages, coming ultimately from Vedic Sanskrit (or 'Sanskrit', in a loose way), are closely related to each other, like the Neo-Romanic languages derived out of Latin. It is believed that in spite of local differences in the various forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, right up to the New Indo-Aryan development, there was a sort of pan-Indian vulgar or koine form of Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan. But local differences in Middle Indo-Aryan grew more and more pronounced during the centuries round about A.D. 1000, and this led to the provincial New Indo-Aryan languages taking shape and being born. Taking into consideration these basic local characteristics, the New Indo-Aryan speeches have been classified into a number of local groups, viz. (i) North-Western group, (ii) Southern group, (iii) Eastern group, (iv) East-Central or Mediate group, (v) Central group, and (vi) Northern or Himalayan group. The major languages of the New or Modern Indo-Aryan speech family are: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Urdu. Kashmiri, one of the major modern Indian languages, belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Iranian group within the Aryan family. Although Dardic by origin, Kashmiri came very early under the profound influence of Sanskrit and the later Prakrits which greatly modified its Dardic bases. Most scholars now think that Dardic is just a branch of Indo-Aryan.

DRAVIDIAN

Dravidian is the second important language family of India and has some special characteristics of its own. After the Aryan speech, it has very largely functioned as the exponent of Indian culture, particularly the earlier secular as well as religious literature of Tamil. It forms a solid bloc in South India, embracing the four great literary languages, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu and a number of less important speeches all of which are, however, overshadowed by the main four. It is believed that the wonderful city civilization of Sind and South Punjab as well as Baluchistan (fourth-third millennium B.C.) was the work of Dravidian speakers. But we cannot be absolutely certain in this matter, so long as the inscribed seals from the city ruins in those areas like Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, etc. remain undeciphered. The art of writing would appear to have been borrowed from the pre-Aryan Sind and South Punjab people by the Aryan speakers, probably in the tenth century B.C., to which period the beginnings of the Brāhmī alphabet, the characteristic Indian system of writing connected with Sanskrit and Prakrit in pre-Christian centuries, may be traced.

The Dravidian speech in its antiquity in India is older than Aryan, and yet (leaving apart the problematical writings on the seals found in Sind and South Punjab city ruins) the specimens of connected Dravidian writing or literature that we can read and understand are over a millennium later than the oldest Aryan documents. Of the four great Dravidian languages, Tamil has preserved its Dravidian character best, retaining, though not the old sound system of primitive Dravidian, a good deal of its original nature in its roots, forms, and words. The other three cultivated Dravidian speeches have, in the matter of their words of higher culture, completely surrendered themselves to Sanskrit, the classical and sacred language of Hindu India. Tamil has a unique and a very old literature, and the beginnings of it go back to about 2,000 years from now. Malayalam as a language is an offshoot of Old Tamil. From the ninth century A.D. some Malayalam characteristics begin to appear, but it is from the fifteenth century that Malayalam literature took its independent line of development. Kannada as a cultured language is almost as old as Tamil; and although we have some Telugu inscriptions dating from the sixth/seventh century A.D., the literary career of Telugu started from the eleventh century. Tamil and Malayalam are very close to each other, and are mutually intelligible to a certain extent. Kannada also bears a great resemblance to Tamil and Malayalam. Only Telugu has deviated a good deal from its southern neighbours and sisters. But Telugu and Kannada use practically the same alphabet, which is thus a bond of union between these two languages.

SINO-TIBETAN AND AUSTRIC

Peoples of Mongoloid origin, speaking languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, were present in India at least as early as the tenth century B.C., when the four Vedas appear to have been compiled. The Sino-Tibetan languages do not have much numerical importance or cultural significance in India, with the exception of Manipuri or Meithei of Manipur. Everywhere they are gradually receding before the Aryan languages like Bengali and Assamese. The Austric languages represent the oldest speech family of India, but they are spoken by a very small number of people, comparatively. The Austric languages of India have a great interest for the student of linguistics and human culture. They are valuable relics of India's past, and they link up India with Burma, with Indo-China, with Malaya, and with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Their solidarity is, however, broken as in most places there has been penetration into Austric blocs by the more powerful Aryan speeches with their overwhelming numbers and their prestige. Speakers of Austric in all the walks of life (they are mostly either farmers, or farm and

plantation, or colliery labourers) know some Aryan language. In some cases they have become very largely bilingual. Their gradual Aryanization is a process which started some 3,000 years ago when the first Austrics (and Mongoloids as well as Dravidians) in North India started to abandon their native speech for Aryan. But in the process of abandoning their own language and accepting a new one, namely the Aryan, the Austrics (as well as the Dravidians and the Sino-Tibetans) naturally introduced some of their own speech habits and their own words into Aryan. In this way, the Austrics and other non-Aryan peoples helped to modify the character of the Aryan speech in India, from century to century, and even to build up Classical Sanskrit as the great culture speech of India. As the speakers of the Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages had been in a backward state living mostly a rather primitive life in out-of-the-way places, their languages do not show any high literary development excepting, as already said, in the case of Meithei or Manipuri belonging to Sino-Tibetan, which has quite a noteworthy and fairly old literature. They had, however, some kind of village or folk-culture, connected with which there developed in all these languages an oral literature consisting of folk-songs, religious and otherwise, of folk-tales, and of their legends and traditions. And a literature, mainly of Christian inspiration, has been created in some of these speeches by translating the *Bible* in its entirety or in part. Songs, legends, and tales of the Austric languages have been collected and published, particularly in Santali and Mundari, and in Khasi. Munda and Santali lyrics give pretty, idyllic glimpses of tribal life, some of the Munda love poems having a rare freshness about them; and a number of Santali folk-tales are very beautiful. A few of the folk-tales prevalent in the Sino-Tibetan speeches are also beautiful (e.g. the Mikir tale of a young man who had a god's daughter as his bride, and the Kachari story of a young man who got a swan-maiden as his wife), but they do not appear to compare favourably with the Santali and Mundari languages in the matter of both lyric poems and stories. A systematic study of these languages started only during the nineteenth century when European missionaries and scholars got interested in them. I have discussed in detail the speeches of the Sino-Tibetan and Austric families prevalent in the country in my contribution to this volume, entitled 'Ādivāsī Languages and Literatures of India'.

CONCLUSION

There is, as already said, a fundamental unity in the literary types, *genres*, and expressions among all the modern languages of India in their early, medieval, and modern developments. The reason of this unique phenomenon is that there has been a gradual convergence of Indian languages belonging

to the different linguistic families, Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, and Austric, towards a common Indian type after their intimate contact with each other for at least 3,000 years.

This volume of *The Cultural Heritage of India* is indeed an encyclopaedia in its scope and range, and it will certainly provide an authentic and valuable contribution towards the study of Indian languages and literatures in their glory and grandeur; it will also afford a spectacular display of the genius of India reflected in various branches of knowledge. It is needless to add that the literary heritage of India constitutes a priceless possession covetable to any nation, however great it may be by any standard.

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SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

INTRODUCTION

1

INTRODUCTION

NDIAN culture has an organic unity, and this has been largely brought about by language movements, shaped and moulded by the Sanskrit language. nskrit, by its unique status and unfailing vitality, has been the most powerful 'mative agency from the very beginning of Indian history and civilization, ving them their special Indian character.

VEDIC LANGUAGE

The early Vedic Aryans inherited a noteworthy literature of hymns and songs m their ancestors, the Indo-Iranians in Iran, and, before them, the primitive do-European people who had their home in the steppe lands of Eurasia. The mns of the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*, their roots going back to the world of Indo-Europeans, form the earliest available document of the Indo-Aryans.

These hymns, as used in the religious ceremonies of the Vedic Aryans, were anted with meticulous regard for the proper pronunciation of the words in inds and forms as well as in accent; and the hymns had acquired a remark-le sanctity in themselves. The priests who studied the hymns, and chanted m after getting them by heart, were men who were styled the Brāhmaṇas the Śrotriyas, and they were dedicated to preserving the hymns through oral dition. As custodians of this sacred heritage of a national literature, they were corded the highest status. Early in life, they had to go through a rigorous cipline, observing *brahmacarya* (continence and chastity) and mastering the luminous mass of hymns with proper accent and intonation.

The tenth and last book (*maṇḍala*) of the *Ṛg-Veda* and a considerable part the *Atharva-Veda* show a later phase of Vedic Sanskrit; and the later exegetical d philosophical works, the Brāhmaṇas and the earlier Upaniṣads, have eserved considerable relics of the old Vedic language.

This vast literature of Vedic exegesis and Vedic speculation in philosophy, Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, and the Upaniṣads relating to each Veda, s connected by tradition with one or the other of the four Vedas. These rks were composed through several centuries, and unmistakably indicate the ntinuous and gradual evolution of the Vedic language (Vedic Sanskrit) into later phase, the Classical Sanskrit.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

Classical Sanskrit received its first serious study and formulation with Pāṇini fifth century B.C.). Before him, the Aryan language was in a fluid state,

like any other spoken language. Pāṇini's great Sanskrit grammar in some 4,000 aphorisms in eight chapters, called the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, ushered in quite a linguistic revolution by stabilizing the norms of the language, leaving enough scope for the incorporation of later forms and modifications growing within the framework of the principles laid down by him.

A great many works in this later Classical Sanskrit, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Purāṇas, and other works, such as the Dharma-śāstras, acquired almost the same sanctity as the Vedic texts. Thus, Sanskrit with its expanding literature became a dynamic force to dominate, absorb, and direct most of the cultural and linguistic movements in the following centuries.

Pāṇini's great influence standardized the Sanskrit language firmly; Sanskrit continued to be the mightiest force in the literary, linguistic, and cultural world of India. The later forms of the Indo-Aryan speech, the Prakrits (Pali and the rest), were taken up by the heterodox sects, the Buddhists and the Jains and their teachers, who created a great literature in these forms. But from the beginning the prestige and importance of Sanskrit almost overwhelmed them.

THE EFFLORESCENCE OF SANSKRIT

During the Gupta age, from the fourth to the seventh century A.D., Sanskrit attained a creative efflorescence. During this period, the *Mahābhārata*, in almost its present form (with Kṛṣṇa as its divine hero), emerged as the 'fifth Veda'; the *Mahābhārata* is the greatest book in Sanskrit and Indian literature and, some would say, even in world literature. The older Purāṇas, such as the *Vāyu*, the *Matsya*, and perhaps the *Viṣṇu* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, were composed or revised during the Gupta age. The study of the Dharma-śāstras (works on social customs, laws, and religious rituals) and the various sciences as well as philosophy in all its various branches and in the different schools received a great impetus. Among the sciences, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine were assiduously cultivated, while architecture, sculpture, and painting reached their highest level of artistic expression.

Secular literature—poems and romantic epics, dramas, and prose romances—reached its climax in the *kāvyas* (epics) and the *nāṭakas* (dramas). Sanskrit, already the medium of intercourse between the cultured sections of the people in the whole of India, became the great unifying force, the source and inspiration of culture in its manifold aspects. Sanskrit (along with some of its younger forms of speech, the Prakrits) spread outside India in the wake of Indian commerce and expansion and, with the spread of Indian civilization and religion (both Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism), all over Asia. Thus Sanskrit found new homes in Central Asia, Tibet, Indo-China, and Indonesia. It was also studied in China, Korea, and Japan, and round about A.D. 500-800 it was the great cultural language binding India with the greater part of Asia. A man knowing

Sanskrit could travel from Central Asia to Java and Bali without experiencing any difficulty in language. As many scholars believe, Kālidāsa, one of the world's greatest literary artists, flourished at the court of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (*c.* A.D. 400). Ever since they were written, his *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Meghadūta*, and *Śakuntalā* have been accepted as supreme models of literary art.

In spite of the Prakrits coming into use among the Buddhists and the Jains, Sanskrit continued not only as the medium of Brāhmaṇical (and even Buddhist and Jaina) religious ritual, but it was established also as the language of the *élite* (*śiṣṭa*) at the royal courts and academies of learning and as the medium of all higher studies in the various branches of philosophy and science. Caraka testifies that discussions in medical schools all over India were carried on in Sanskrit.

However, Sanskrit was never static. In its growth, it absorbed and assimilated many words and terms of expression from the regional dialects, both of Aryan and non-Aryan (Dravidian, Kol or Munda, and Tibeto-Burman) origin.

THE PRAKRITS, APABHRAṀŚAS, AND BHĀṢĀS

Pali and the Prakrits represent the Middle Indo-Aryan period (from after 600 B.C. to about A.D. 1000). These dialects came into existence as the result of certain phonetic changes and grammatical modifications which had naturally come in with the passage of time.

The Prakrits have come down to us in inscriptions (from the fourth to the third century B.C.) and literary works preserved at different times and places. Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* (fifth century A.D.) and Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar (twelfth century) are two of the most famous Prakrit grammars.

In the course of time, the Prakrits were transformed into what are known as the Apabhraṁśa dialects, of which there are quite a number, which began to be used in literature, both folk or popular and ornate or scholarly, after A.D. 500. As a medium for folk as well as bardic poetry they were used from Bengal in the east to Saurashtra in the west. Voluminous epics like the *Mahābhārata* and noteworthy secular compositions like *Sandeśarāsaka*, as well as *dohās* (distichs) by Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist, and Jaina writers, have come to us in Apabhraṁśa. Its regional varieties are seen in the *rāsas* in western India and in such works as those of poets like Vidyāpati in the east (fifteenth century).

We can trace the origin and development of the modern Indo-Aryan languages (the 'Bhāṣās') to Apabhraṁśa. The evolution followed a pattern of its own. The dialects—*deśabhāṣās* or local speeches or forms of *patois*—standardized and enriched under the influence of Sanskrit, developed their literature. The spoken forms of Middle Indo-Aryan had their own normal development from decade to decade through the centuries, but at every stage Sanskrit re-

mained the perennial source of inspiration, ready to come to the rescue of the *deśabhāṣās* whenever they moved too far away from the old Indo-Aryan.

Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa disappeared. Sanskrit, strengthened by the genius of Pāṇini, survived, and became a new source of inspiration for the modern Indo-Aryan (as well as Dravidian) languages in the development of their literature.

SANSKRIT AND THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

When the South received the impact of Sanskrit, it developed a devotional literature of supreme quality first in Tamil, and then in Telugu and Kannada. There was an earlier native Dravidian tradition of literature in Tamil—the Saṅgam literature—but this literature from the very beginning received strong Brāhmaṇical or Sanskrit influence and learning through sages, writers, and grammarians like Agastya and Tolkāppiyan. A song by Kāri-kizhār addressed to an early Pāṇḍiyan king attests to the influence of early Vedic sages. The song runs: 'May your head bend low before the upraised hands of Vedic sages when they bless you.' The Jains and the Buddhists also brought North Indian Aryan influence into the Dravidian speeches of the South.

The Saṅgam literature was overlaid by that of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints, the Nāyanmārs and the Āḷvārs, and Tamil literature became saturated with the spirit of the Purāṇas and of Sanskrit, as happened in all other languages; the various versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are national works as much in the South as in the North.

The Sanskrit literature of the South, that is, of the Dravidian-speaking States, has added lustre to the Sanskrit literature of India. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, and other philosophers, as well as poets and saints, who wrote in Sanskrit, are as great in the history of Sanskrit as Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa, Rājaśekhara and Bhavabhūti.

Sanskrit literature, and a sort of its understudy, the literature in Pali, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa, were running their usual course when, by A.D. 1000, their last transformations, the new or modern Indo-Aryan languages, came to the field and became the rivals of Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits.

BHAKTI MOVEMENT AND REGIONAL LANGUAGES

A new attitude in religion, that of *bhakti*—an *abandon* of faith in God—came in, and very largely dominated Indian religious life and also Indian literature. This was faith in some aspect of the Divinity—either Śiva, or the Great Mother Goddess Śakti or Pārvatī, or Viṣṇu (especially in his incarnations of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa), or in some of the other gods like Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, and Kumāra. Later, *bhakti* also permeated Buddhism and Jainism.

Mainly through *bhakti*, the great religious leaders played a notable part in

the development of the regional languages. Among them we may mention: Jñāneśvara, Nāmadeva, Basava, Narsī Mehtā, Guru Nānak, Mīrābāī, and Śaṅkara Deva. Great stimulus was given by the *bhakti* movement to Braja-bhāṣā, a Western Hindi dialect, and also to Awadhi or Kosali, an Eastern Hindi speech. The followers of Śrī Caitanya, through their writings, greatly influenced the development of Bengali.

Sacred cities like Vārāṇasī, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Navadvīpa, and Amṛtsar became centres of this new Indo-Aryan *bhakti* literature. From the fourteenth century onwards we have poets by the score.

Tulasīdāsa's *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, an early Awadhi (Eastern Hindi) version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, became a classic in its own right and, for the greater part of northern India, provided the gospel of righteous living in a language of perfect beauty. Sūradāsa and Mīrābāī wrote their lyrics on Kṛṣṇa in Braja-bhāṣā and in Rajasthani.

THE MODERN RENAISSANCE

The three universities established by the British in India in 1857 adopted English as the medium of instruction, but at the same time prescribed Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian as 'classical languages', besides Greek and Latin, one of which most students preparing for the 'Entrance Examination' had to take as a compulsory subject. In this way, through the English schools affiliated to the universities, the doors of Sanskrit were opened wide to all students, irrespective of caste or creed.

The study of English began seriously first in Bengal and then spread to other parts of India. The college-educated Indian *élite* soon came under the spell of Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Browning, Tennyson, and the rest; and then began, under the joint influence of Sanskrit and English, the modern literary renaissance in India.

Enriched by Sanskrit, and leavened by the expressive vigour of English, all the modern Indian languages acquired wider horizons and higher ranges of expression. Indian literary forms were inspired by those of the West; the two were interwoven to produce a rich expressiveness, a new technique, and quite a vast vision of beauty.

The modern spirit in literature first began to manifest itself in Bengali, for by 1850 Bengali had started on its modern career. It fell in line with English and European literature, but retained its native character and preserved fully the great heritage of Sanskrit and of the spirit of Indian civilization.

Since the days of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), Bengali prose became a powerful medium with the help of Sanskrit. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, due to the influence of Persian as the official language of the Muslim rulers, Bengali had a large Persian vocabulary. However, from the first decades

of the nineteenth century, it retrieved its genius and its Sanskritic character. Rammohun Roy, 'the Father of Modern India', was at first a Persian and Arabic scholar and learned Sanskrit later in life. In his Bengali writings he scrupulously used a highly Sanskritized style.

In the hands of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bengali prose took its final shape. After him, this tendency was continued by the three great literary figures who dominated the language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Rabindranath Tagore. With them were quite a host of other prolific writers.

A song in Bengali composed by Rabindranath Tagore has been adopted as the national anthem of the Indian Republic. The song is a majestic composition with its sonorous Sanskritic vocabulary, describing in a series of noble stanzas the ideals and ideologies of India as a country, which accepted the basic human values and looked upon God, the ultimate Reality, as the only Arbiter of the destinies of both India and humanity.

Modern Hindi also, during the last one hundred years, has acquired great expressiveness by drawing upon the vocabulary and other resources of Sanskrit. The first great writer in modern Hindi was Bharatendu Harishchandra of Vārāṇasī (1850-1883); it was he who gave the tone to modern literary Hindi. In spite of certain opposition, the reasons for which should be dispassionately looked into, Hindi can still be regarded as the representative language of India and it is most widely understood in the Aryan-speaking India and in the bigger towns of Dravidian India as well.

Hindi (or Hindustani or Hindusthani) is a great language. In various dialectal forms, the two most important of which are Braja and Awadhi, it has one of the richest medieval literature of India. In its modern colloquial form it is the link language of North India, and is also understood in many of the cities of the South.

The history of the other great languages of modern India, whether Aryan or Dravidian, follows the pattern we find in Bengali. These languages are: Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, and Assamese.

The modern renaissance in India has produced several eminent poets among whom we may mention Maithili Sharan Gupta (Hindi), Nanalal (Gujarati), Subrahmanya Bharati (Tamil), Gurudzadu (Telugu), and Vallattol Narayana Menon (Malayalam). Their works reflect the three elements of the renaissance—burning nationalism, a glorious view of India's ancient past, and faith in India's future.

URDU AND PERSIAN

Persian was the court language of the Muslim rulers, and Urdu came into

existence in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries as the medium of communication between the people and the Persian-using court and army officials. Written in a modified Arabic script, though its basic structure was Indo-Aryan, it became a literary language by borrowing vocabulary, structure, idiom, imagery, and allusions from Persian.

Hindus connected with the courts had to master Persian. They performed the prescribed daily rituals and worshipped Hindu deities with Sanskrit *mantras*, but their want of familiarity with the Indian script (particularly in Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh) often made them write, and therefore read, these *mantras* in the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu. However, they regulated their personal, social, and religious life according to the Śāstras, the Hindu scriptures.

Urdu is not the language of all the Muslims in India; a vast majority of them speak the local languages like Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, and Tamil. On the other hand, several sections of Hindus in Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, and Punjab speak and write Urdu as their first language; but Urdu is now a diminishing force among Hindus.

ENGLISH

When Persian ceased to be the language of the rulers, aspiring young men turned to the study of English, the official language of the British rulers. All that was left of Persian to the regional languages of North India (from Punjab to Bengal) was a legacy of some Persian words and idioms.

In the course of half a century, English gradually became the medium used by the *élite* all over the country to express their growing sense of national pan-Indian unity and solidarity.

The place which English occupies in India is now underestimated, if not ignored altogether—at least in some quarters. The whole texture of Indian constitutional and legal concepts has been woven with ideas represented by English words. Indian scholarship owes its high standard to close contact with western scholarship through the medium of English. For a long time to come, progress in science and technology in the country will be possible only through the medium of the English language because of its international character. Above all, as things are today, English is the only available medium for inter-State, inter-university, and international communication.

English is no longer the language of England alone; it is an international language. Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Jawaharlal Nehru, and many other authors who wrote in English have contributed large Indian elements to the language. Modern Indian writers of English have made a distinct contribution to world literature by their works which bring the spirit and mentality of modern India in telling and forceful form before the entire civilized world. Such writers are Toru

Dutt, Romesh Chandra Dutt, and Rabindranath Tagore; and among other writers of creative literature we may mention Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Bhabani Bhattacharya, and others. They are Indians, but at the same time, through the medium they are handling so effectively, the English language, they are also of the whole world.

Beneath the diversity of languages and literature in India flows an undercurrent of basic unity of culture and civilization rooted in the fusion of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages with the Dravidian languages and other local dialects. This basic unity, I hope, will be elaborately brought out by the learned authors of the various chapters which follow.

PART I

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF ANCIENT INDIA

2

LITERATURE OF BRĀHMAṆISM IN SANSKRIT

THE Brāhmanic religion, in its different phases, has a vast and traditionally continuous literature which concerns itself, directly or indirectly, with the various aspects of that religion. We have made an attempt in the following two sections to present a connected historical account of this literature, from the age of the Vedas down to about the end of the medieval period, taking into account the more significant literary works, and paying special attention to some of the hitherto neglected works.

I

THE VEDIC LITERATURE

The literature of Brāhmaṇism begins with the Vedas. We should note, first of all, certain distinctive features of the Vedas. The term *veda* does not denote any single book; it denotes an entire literature, and a literature which is strikingly extensive from the standpoints of chronology, geography, and authorship. Composition of the various texts which are believed to constitute the Vedas was spread over many centuries and over different localities, and is ascribed to many generations of poets, priests, and philosophers. But ancient tradition connected with the genesis of the Vedas does not warrant the use of such words as 'composition' and 'authorship'. For it is traditionally claimed that the Vedas are *apauruṣeya*, that is to say, no human agency was responsible for their creation. The Vedas have existed from time immemorial, and will exist for eternity. The activity of the various *ṛṣis* (seers) associated with the Vedas is restricted only to 'seeing' or 'discovering' them. Finally, the claim that the Vedas are *apauruṣeya* has naturally given rise to another claim, that of *veda-prāmāṇya*. The Vedas, being free from all the limitations and deficiencies usually associated with a human agency, possess absolute validity in the field of knowledge.

The Vedas have been transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition. They are called the Śrutis because they were recited and 'heard', not written and read. (The word *śruti*, incidentally, is also interpreted as 'the rhythm of the infinite heard by the soul', its *apauruṣeyatva* thereby being confirmed.) Though the Vedas signify not any single specific text but a veritable library of texts which are remarkably diverse in form and content, there is a thread of logical development running through them, and it is this that imparts to them a distinctive unity.

Vedic literary history is usually divided into three main periods: the Saṁhitā, the Brāhmaṇa, and the Upaniṣad periods. Broadly speaking, these periods represent a chronological as well as a logical sequence.

Reference may also be made to another feature of the Vedas, which is important from the point of view of Vedic literary history. This concerns the emergence, in the course of time, of various Vedic *śākhās* (branches) which have sponsored their own recensions of the different Vedic texts.

THE PRE-VEDIC HOMELAND AND THE VEDIC RELIGION

It is believed that the ancient ancestors of the Indo-European-speaking people once had their common home in the North Kirghiz region. In the course of time some tribes amongst them migrated towards the south-east and eventually settled down in the Balkh region. There they developed a form of their original Indo-European language, which may be characterized as proto-Aryan, the direct ancestor of the Vedic language. They also developed a form of religion which may be characterized as proto-Aryan, for it was, in many respects, a direct precursor of the Vedic religion.[1] From Balkh, there occurred further migrations and some tribes proceeded again south-east and finally reached Sapta-Sindhu, the land of the seven rivers. These tribes were the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans.

When the Vedic Aryans settled down in this new region and established their tribal dominions, a sense of security and prosperity gradually grew among them. One thing which they undertook to do in this new phase of life was to collect, revise, add to, and systematically arrange their stray and scattered *mantras*, which had been composed by the early Vedic seers. The word *mantra* denotes, on the one hand, the prayers addressed to the various divinities of the mythological religion of the classes within the community of Vedic Aryans, and, on the other, the formulas and incantations connected with the religion of the masses. All these *mantras* were now brought together, and two great collections (Saṁhitās) resulted: the *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā* (or the *Ṛg-Veda*) and the *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā* (or the *Atharva-Veda*). Since the word *saṁhitā* means 'collection', it necessarily presupposes a former stage of stray and scattered *mantras*. Eventually, two more collections were also made: the *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā* and the *Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā*. These four Saṁhitās are commonly referred to as the four Vedas.

[1] The religion of the Vedic Aryans may be said to have been mainly twofold. On the one hand, they developed a cosmic religion [in which such concepts as *Dyāvā-Pṛthvī* (Heaven and Earth) and *Varuṇa-Ṛta* (the cosmic power by which all are covered) played the most prominent role], a hero-religion (which was dominated by the personality of Indra), an *Agni* cult, a *Soma* cult, and so on. This was the religious ideology of the 'classes' within the community of the Vedic Aryans. On the other hand, coeval with this, there was also the religious ideology of the 'masses', which was essentially magical in character. The early Vedic *ṛṣis* composed *mantras* relating to both these types of religion.

THE RG-VEDA SAMHITĀ

The *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā* which has come down to us belongs to the branch known as the Śākala Śākhā. It consists of 1,028 *sūktas* (hymns) including eleven *vālakhilya* (additional) hymns. These hymns, which are made up of a varying number of *mantras* in the form of *ṛks* (metrical stanzas), are distributed in ten books called *maṇḍalas*. The formation of the *maṇḍalas* was governed mainly by the principle of homogeneity of authorship. Among the classes of the Vedic Aryans certain families had already acquired some measure of socio-religious importance. The *mantras*, or hymns, which the progenitor and the members of any of these families claimed to have 'seen' were collected in the book of that family. The nucleus of the *Ṛg-Veda maṇḍalas* two to seven is formed of six such family books, which are respectively ascribed to the families of Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, and Vaśiṣṭha. The eighth *maṇḍala* largely belongs to the Kanvas. The ninth *maṇḍala* is governed by the principle of the homogeneity not of authorship but of subject-matter, for all the *sūktas* in this *maṇḍala* relate to *soma* (an intoxicating juice). The first and the tenth *maṇḍalas*, each of which has 191 hymns, are miscellaneous collections of long and short *sūktas*.

Within a *maṇḍala*, the *sūktas* are arranged according to the subject-matter. That is to say, the *sūktas* are grouped according to the divinities to whom they relate, and then these *devatā* groups are arranged in some set order. Within a *devatā* group, again, the *sūktas* are normally arranged in the descending order of the number of their stanzas

The *Ṛg-Veda* has also been arranged by another method. In this the whole collection is divided into eight *aṣṭakas* (books). Each *aṣṭaka* is subdivided into eight *adhyāyas* (chapters), and each *adhyāya* is further subdivided into about thirty-three *vargas* (sections) consisting of about five *mantras* each. This arrangement, however, is obviously mechanical and intended mainly to serve the practical purpose of Vedic study.

Tradition requires that before starting the study of any *sūkta* one should know four essential items about it: *ṛṣi*, authorship; *devatā*, subject-matter; *chandas*, metre; and *viniyoga*,[2] ritualistic application. The poets of the *Ṛg-Veda* show themselves to have been conscious artists and they sometimes employed various stylistic and rhetorical devices. The majority of the *sūktas* in the *Ṛg-Veda* are of the nature of prayers addressed to different divinities usually with background descriptions of their various exploits and achievements. Apart from these prayers and their mythology, however, we do get in some *sūktas* of

[2] This last item is evidently an after-thought The *maṇḍala* arrangement of the *Ṛg-Veda* clearly indicates that this *Saṁhitā* is not at all ritual-oriented. It also becomes clear that the various hymns were not composed with any elaborate sacrificial ritual in view. The ritualistic purpose was superimposed on them in a later period.

the *Ṛg-Veda* intimations of the further development of Vedic thought in the directions of ritualism and philosophical speculation. In connection with the latter, special mention may be made of the *Hiraṇyagarbha-sūkta* (X. 121), the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (X. 90), and the *Nāsadīya-sūkta* (X. 129).

THE ATHARVA-VEDA SAṀHITĀ

In contrast to the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Atharva-Veda* is essentially a heterogeneous collection of *mantras*. It concerns itself mostly with the everyday life of the common man, from the pre-natal stage to the post-mortem. It portrays that life with all its light and shade, and highlights the generally obscure human emotions and relations. Truly, there is an aura of mystery and unexpectedness about it. The interest of the *Atharva-Veda* is varied and its impact is irresistible.

A distinctive feature of the *Atharva-Veda* is the large number of names by which it has been traditionally known. All these names are significant, and together give a full idea of the nature, extent, and content of this Veda. The name *Atharvāṅgirasaḥ* (an abbreviated form of this, *Atharva-Veda*, has, in the course of time, come to be the one most commonly used) is, for example, indicative of the twofold character of the Atharvanic magic: the wholesome, auspicious, 'white' magic of the Atharvans and the terrible, sorcerous, 'black' magic of the Aṅgirasas. The substitution of Bhṛgu for Atharvan in the name *Bhṛgvāṅgirasaḥ* is presumably the result of the dominant role played by the family of the Bhṛgus in a certain period of India's cultural history. The *purohita* (priest) of a Vedic king was expected to be an adept in both white and black magic, and in order to discharge adequately the duties of his responsible office he naturally depended on the *mantras* and practices of the *Atharva-Veda*. Thus it was that this Veda also came to be called the *Purohita-Veda*. It was also called the *Kṣatra-Veda*, because it included within its scope many practices specifically relating to the Kṣatriya rulers.

The *Atharva-Veda* consisted of *brahmans* (magically potent *mantras*) and was therefore, according to one view, called the *Brahma-Veda*. But there is another reason why it is called the *Brahma-Veda*, which is far more significant. On account of the peculiar character of the contents of the *Atharva-Veda*, it was, for a long time, not regarded as being on a par with the other three Vedas, called *trayī*. As a reaction against this exclusive attitude of the Vedic hierarchy, the Atharva-Vedins went to the other extreme and claimed that their Veda not only enjoyed, by right, the full status of a Veda, but actually comprehended the other three Vedas. The view had already been independently gaining ground that the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, and the *Sāma-Veda* were essentially limited in scope and that *brahman* alone was truly limitless. The sponsors of the *Atharva-Veda* claimed that this *brahman* was adequately embodied in their Veda, and that the *Atharva-Veda* was therefore the *Brahma-Veda*.

However, it is not unlikely that the name *Brahma-Veda* became stabilized because the priest of the *Atharva-Veda* in the Vedic ritual was called *brahman*. The *Atharva-Veda* is usually considered to be a Veda of magic, and magic becomes effective only through the joint operation of *mantras* and the corresponding practices. The *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā* itself contains only the *mantras*, while its various practices are described in its many ancillary texts, particularly in its five *kalpas*. The *Atharva-Veda* is accordingly sometimes referred to as the Veda of the five *kalpas*. But mystic and esoteric verses are there in the *Atharva-Veda*, and this justifies in a way its claim to be regarded as the *Brahma-Veda*, dealing specifically with Brahman, the supreme Spirit, the other three being more or less connected with the ritual of worship.

Nine (or sometimes fifteen) *śākhās* of the *Atharva-Veda* are traditionally known, but the Saṁhitās of only two *śākhās*, the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda, have been preserved. It was once believed that the Paippalāda Śākhā was restricted to Kashmir and it was therefore called, though erroneously, the Kashmirian *Atharva-Veda*. It has now been established, however, that that *śākhā* of the *Atharva-Veda* had also spread in eastern India (Orissa and south-west Bengal) and in Gujarat. The entire Paippalāda recension was discovered some years ago in Orissa by the late Dr Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya and a small portion of it has been published.[3]

The *Śaunaka Saṁhitā* of the *Atharva-Veda* has been more commonly current. It consists of 730 *sūktas* divided into twenty *kāṇḍas* (books). About five-sixths of the *sūktas*, which are called *artha-sūktas*, contain metrical stanzas, whereas the remaining *sūktas*, which are called *paryāya-sūktas*, contain *avasānas* (prose-units). Unlike the *Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā*, the arrangement of the *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā* is not governed by any consideration either of authorship or of subject-matter. Indeed, it is understandable that the historical tradition regarding authorship was not preserved in respect of this 'Veda of the masses'. Again, the *Atharva-Veda* shows considerable looseness in matters of metre, accent, and grammar, presumably because it was not subjected, as the *Ṛg-Veda* was, to deliberate revision and redaction.

The contents of the *Atharva-Veda* are remarkably diverse in character. There are in this Veda charms to counteract diseases and possession by evil spirits, *bhaiṣajyāni*. The *Atharva-Veda* presents perhaps the most complete account of primitive medicine. There are also prayers for health and long life, *āyuṣyāṇi*; for happiness and prosperity, *pauṣṭikāni*. There are also spells pertaining to the various kinds of relationship with women, *strīkarmāṇi*. Another significant section of this Veda contains hymns which concern themselves with affairs involving the king, *rājakarmāṇi*, and others which are intended for securing harmony in domestic, social, and political spheres, *sāṁmanasyāni*.

[3] Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series. *Paippalāda* recension, Text No. 14, granthānka 26.

As for black magic, the *Atharva-Veda* abounds in formulas for sorcery and imprecation, for exorcism and counter-exorcism, *ābhicārikāṇi* and *kṛtyāpariharaṇāni*. Polarity may be said to be one of the most striking features of the *Atharva-Veda*; for side by side with the incantations for sorcery and black magic, it contains highly theosophical or philosophical speculations. These speculations, indeed, represent a significant landmark in the history of Indian thought.

As has been mentioned, the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda* are the only two primary Saṁhitās, the other two Saṁhitās being mostly derivative in character. Again, it is to be noted in the same context that the *Sāma-Veda* and the *Yajur-Veda* may be styled as Saṁhitās since they are, in a sense, collections of *mantras*, but in them are reflected tendencies which are not of the Saṁhitā period but are of the Brāhmaṇa period.

THE SĀMA-VEDA SAMHITĀ

The *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā* is a collection of *mantras* prescribed for chanting at various *soma* sacrifices by the *udgātṛ* (singer-priest) and his assistants: thus this Veda serves an avowedly ritualistic purpose. Though called *Sāma-Veda*, it is not strictly speaking a collection of *sāmans* (chants). The *Sāma-Veda*, as we have said, is essentially a derivative production in the sense that most of its *mantras* are derived from the *Ṛg-Veda*. Three distinct stages may be inferred in the evolution of this Veda. There is a specific *mantra* taken from the *Ṛg-Veda* in its original form. This *mantra* is taken into the *Sāma-Veda* with a view to its being made the basis of a proper *sāman*. The only change that is effected in this process concerns the marking of the accents, numbers, 1, 2, and 3 now being used to indicate accents instead of the vertical and horizontal lines used in the *Ṛg-Veda*. In this second stage the *mantra* is called *sāmayoni-mantra*.

The *Sāma-Veda* is actually a collection of such *sāmayoni-mantras*. The collection is in two main parts: the *Pūrvārcika* and the *Uttarārcika*. The *Pūrvārcika* consists of 585 single verses, of which the first 114 are addressed to Agni, the next 352 to Indra, and the last 119 to Soma. The *Uttarārcika* consists of 1,225 verses grouped into 400 units of connected verses which are mostly *tṛcas* (strophes consisting of three verses). The total number of *mantras* in the *Sāma-Veda*, excluding the repeated ones, is 1,549, all of which except 78 are taken from the *Ṛg-Veda*, mostly from its eighth and ninth *maṇḍalas* (books).

It is, however, not in the form in which they occur in the *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā* that these *mantras* are employed by the *udgātṛ* in the *soma* ritual. The *sāmayoni-mantras* are transformed into chants or ritual melodies called *gānas*. This is done by means of such devices as the modification, prolongation, and repetition of the syllables occurring in the *mantra* itself, and the occasional insertion of additional syllables known as *stobhas*. These *gānas*, which represent the third and final stage in the evolution of the *Sāma-Veda*, are collected in four books: the

Grāmageya-gāna, the *Āraṇya-gāna*, the *Ūha-gāna*, and the *Ūhya-gāna*. Of course, these *gāna* collections are quite distinct from the *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā*. Normally, each *gāna* in these collections is given some technical name, for example, *Bṛhat*, *Rathantara*, or *Gotamasya Parka*. Since one *sāmayoni-mantra* can be chanted in a variety of ways, it may give rise to several *gānas*. For instance, three *gānas*, *Gotamasya Parka*, *Kaśyapasya Bārhiṣa*, and another *Gotamasya Parka*, have evolved out of the first *mantra* in the *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā*. Consequently, the number of *Sāma-gānas* is much larger than the number of *sāmayoni-mantras*. The number of *gānas* in the Jaiminīya school is 3,681 and that in the Kauthuma school 2,722.

Thirteen *śākhās* of the *Sāma-Veda* are traditionally mentioned, though only three *śākhās*, the *Kauthuma*, the *Rāṇāyanīya*, and the *Jaimini*, are well known today. Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya*, speaks of the *Sāma-Veda* having a thousand 'paths', *sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ*. This characterization presumably suggests the large number of possible modes of *sāma* chanting, rather than a thousand *śākhās* of the *Sāma-Veda*, as is construed by some.

In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (X. 22) the *Sāma-Veda* is glorified as the most excellent of the Vedas. This may be due to the great efficacy of the magical potence engendered in the Vedic ritual by the chanting of the *sāmans*.

THE YAJUR-VEDA SAMHITĀ

Like the *Sāma-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda* is essentially ritualistic in character. This is clearly indicated by Yāska's derivation of the word *Yajus* from the root *yaj*, to sacrifice. But while the *Sāma-Veda* concerns itself exclusively with the *soma* sacrifice, the *Yajur-Veda* treats of the entire sacrificial system. Indeed, the *Yajur-Veda* may be regarded as the first regular textbook on Vedic ritual as a whole. It deals mainly with the duties of the *adhvaryu* (fire-priest), who is responsible for the actual performance of the various sacrificial rites. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that while the *Sāma-Veda* represents a very early stage in the history of Indian music, the *Yajur-Veda* marks the beginning of Sanskrit prose.

Tradition speaks variously of the *Yajur-Veda* having 86 or 101 *śākhās*. But for our present purpose we may consider only its two main recensions, the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* and the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*. The difference between these two recensions lies not so much in their content as in their arrangement. In the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* the *mantras* (mostly derived from the *Ṛg-Veda*) and the *yajus* (sacrificial formulas in prose) and their ritualistic explanations (called the Brāhmaṇa) are mixed up together. That is to say, in the matter of form and content, the Saṁhitā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* is not particularly distinguishable from the Brāhmaṇa or the Āraṇyaka of that Veda. As against this, the Saṁhitā of the *Śukla Yajur-Veda* contains the *mantras* and *yajus* only, reserving the corresponding ritualistic explanation and discussion for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which belongs to that Veda.

From among the many schools of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* the Saṁhitās of only four schools are available today, either entirely or in fragments. These four schools are: the Taittirīya, the Kāṭhaka, the Maitrāyaṇī, and the Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha. The Taittirīya school is traditionally divided into two branches, the Aukhya and the Khāṇḍikeya. The Khāṇḍikeya is further subdivided into five branches: the Āpastamba, the Baudhāyana, the Satyāṣāḍha, the Hiraṇyakeśin, and the Bhāradvāja. The Taittirīya school has preserved its literature perhaps most fully amongst all the Vedic schools, maintaining its continuity from the Saṁhitā period, through the Brāhmaṇa, the Āraṇyaka, and the Upaniṣad periods, to the Sūtra period. It is presumably on account of this fact that the Taittirīya school is often equated with the whole of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*.

The name Taittirīya is variously explained. There is, for instance, the legend which narrates how Yājñavalkya, who had developed differences with his teacher Vaiśampāyana, vomited the Veda which he had learned from his teacher; how, at the instance of Vaiśampāyana, his other pupils, assuming the form of *tittiri* birds, consumed the vomited Veda; how, consequently, the Veda so recovered by the *tittiri* birds was called the *Taittirīya-Veda;* and how, finally, Yājñavalkya secured from the Sun-god another Veda which came to be known as the *Śukla* or bright *Yajur-Veda*. It is also suggested that, on account of the interspersion in it of the *mantras* and the *brāhmaṇa* portion, the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* appears variegated like a *tittiri* bird, and is therefore called the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. However, the most satisfactory explanation of the name seems to be that an ancient sage called Tittiri was traditionally regarded as the 'seer' of this Veda.

As suggested above, the Saṁhitā, the Brāhmaṇa, and the Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīya school form one single unit, and together cover the entire Vedic ritual. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* is divided into 7 *kāṇḍas* (parts), 44 *praśnas* or *prapāṭhakas* (chapters), 651 *anuvākas* (sections), and 2,198 *kaṇḍikās* (sub-sections). The principal sacrifices[4] described in it include the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices and the *agniṣṭoma*, the *vājapeya*, the *rājasūya*, the *sautrāmaṇī*, the *agnyādheya*, the *agnihotra*, the *paśubandha*, and the *agnicayana*. These are supplemented by the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* which deals with the *aśvamedha*, the *puruṣamedha*, the *nakṣatra* sacrifices, and others, and also by the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* which deals with the *sarvamedha*, the *pitṛmedha*, the *pravargya*, and others.

It may be observed that in the *Taittirīya* texts neither the different sacrifices nor the *mantras* are given in any rational order. In view of the peculiar arrangement of these texts, a special method called the *sārasvata-pāṭha* is adopted in connection with them which studies the *mantras* and the *brāhmaṇa* portion together.

[4] For details of the rites and sacrifices mentioned in this article see V. M. Apte, 'Vedic Rituals', *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 234-63.

The other Saṁhitās of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* agree substantially with the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* in the matter of content and arrangement, and even verbally. The nucleus of the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* consists of three *kāṇḍas*, called *Iṭhimikā*, *Mādhyamikā*, and *Orimikā*. Two more *kāṇḍas* are added to this nucleus, presumably, by way of appendices.

A comparative study of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* and the *Śukla Yajur-Veda* shows that the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* occupies a position intermediate between the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*. It may also be noted that the school of the *Kāṭhaka* seems to have been widely current in the days of Patañjali, as is evidenced by his statement that 'people used to talk about the *Kāṭhaka* and the *Kālāpaka* in every village'.[5]

The Saṁhitā of the Maitrāyaṇī school (the school that is closely related to that of the *Mānavas*) may be said to be more systematic in its arrangement than either the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* or the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*. Its nucleus is made up of three *kāṇḍas*, but there are also a fourth *kāṇḍa*, of the nature of an appendix, *khila*, and a fifth *kāṇḍa*, which constitutes the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*. The *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha Saṁhitā* is available only in a fragmentary and more or less corrupt form. Out of its 48 *adhyāyas* (chapters) as many as 19 are lost. The text of this Saṁhitā shows but little divergence from that of the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*.

A significant feature of the *Śukla Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā*, which is also known as the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, is that the entire Saṁhitā and its Brāhmaṇa, called the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, have come down in two distinct versions, the *Mādhyandina* and the *Kāṇva*. These two versions show essential agreement in content and arrangement; their only difference lies in the readings of some of the sacrificial formulas and in orthographical peculiarities, such as reading *-ḍ* occurring between two vowels as *-ḷ*.

As has been indicated above, the name *Śukla Yajur-Veda* implies the presentation of *mantras* and *yajus* in a pure and lucid manner by separating them from the Brāhmaṇa portion. This Saṁhitā is called *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* after its traditionally accepted author, Yājñavalkya, who is believed to have been the son of Vājasani. It is also suggested, as another explanation of the name, that Yājñavalkya secured (*san*) this Veda from the Sun-god who had assumed the form of a horse (*vājin*). The word *vājasani* may even mean 'the obtaining of food or strength', which is, after all, the principal purpose of a sacrifice.

The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* in the *Mādhyandina* version consists of 40 *adhyāyas*, 303 *anuvākas*, and 1,975 *kaṇḍikās*. The first 25 *adhyāyas*, which perhaps originally formed the entire Saṁhitā, contain verses and formulas relating to the principal sacrificial ritual. The next four *adhyāyas* include additions to these basic verses and formulas. *Adhyāyas* XXX—XXXIX deal with such sacrifices as the *puruṣa-medha*, the *sarvamedha*, the *pitṛmedha*, and the *pravargya*, while the last *adhyāya*

[5] *Mahābhāṣya*, IV. iii. 101 (Haryana Sāhitya Samsthān, 1st Edn. 1963, Vol. III, p. 716).

constitutes what is popularly known as the *Īśa Upaniṣad*. The *Kāṇva Saṁhitā*, which also consists of 40 *adhyāyas*, generally follows the same pattern of distribution of subject-matter.

Attention may be drawn here to some points of special interest in connection with the *Śukla Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā*. The sixteenth *adhyāya* of the *Mādhyandina Saṁhitā*, which forms the famous *Śatarudrīya* (one hundred hymns to Rudra), throws considerable light on the character of the ancient Śiva-Rudra religion. The thirtieth *adhyāya*, dealing with the *puruṣamedha*, is important in that it mentions a number of mixed castes. A *mantra* connected with the *aśvamedha* contains historically significant allusions to Ambā, Ambikā, and Ambālikā, and also to Subhadrā of the city of Kāmpilya in the Pañcāla country. It is also noteworthy that the *Mādhyandina Saṁhitā* uses the word *arjuna* and the *Kāṇva Saṁhitā* the word *phālguna* in a formula relating to a sacrificial rite at the coronation of a king. Indeed, the latter Saṁhitā seems to show close familiarity with the Kurus and the Pāñcālas and their country.

VEDIC RITUAL : SACRIFICE AND INTERPRETATION

The *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā* and, more particularly, the *Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā* already reflect the stage in the evolution of the Brāhmaṇic religion when that religion had come to be more or less wholly identified with the Vedic sacrificial ritual. Sacrifice was then looked upon not merely as a means to an end, but as an end in itself. Indeed, sacrifice had become the very centre of the life of the individual and the community. The sacrificial system, which had already been rendered highly complex, continued to be made still more complex. It was naturally not possible for an ordinary individual to master all the increasingly complicated details of the ritual, involving the *prakṛti* sacrifices (the original or model, i.e. primary sacrifices, of which there is a complete enumeration of all the limbs), the *vikṛti* sacrifices (the derived or modified, i.e. secondary sacrifices, of which only some limbs are specially taught and others followed as in *prakṛti*), and also the *nitya* (obligatory) and *kāmya* (optional) sacrifices, the *havis* (corn and other offerings) and the *soma* sacrifices. It was consequently inevitable that in the Vedic society there should arise distinct classes of priests, whose main occupation was to officiate at the various sacrifices in different capacities, such as *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu*, *udgātṛ*, and *brahman*. It was also inevitable that these priests should produce manuals dealing with the different aspects of the theory and practice of sacrifice. The manuals are the Brāhmaṇas. A claim implied in the Brāhmaṇas is that all the *mantras* in the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Atharva-Veda*, and the other Saṁhitās are intended to serve an essentially ritualistic purpose, and that the Brāhmaṇas prescribe the manner in which they are to be made to serve that purpose. Accordingly, each of the Brāhmaṇas is connected with one or other of the Saṁhitās.

Broadly speaking, a Brāhmaṇa text consists of two main parts, the *vidhi* and the *arthavāda*. The *vidhi* part sets forth the various details relating to a particular sacrifice, such as the proper time and place for that sacrifice, the rite of initiation, the priests, the sacred fires, the divinities, the *mantras*, the oblations, the utensils and other materials, the *dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fee or gift), and the expiation rites. The corresponding *arthavāda* part glorifies that particular sacrifice as a whole, or a specific rite or detail in it, by emphasizing its efficacy. It does so, firstly, by means of ancient legends, most of which have the conflict between the gods and the demons as their central theme. They narrate how the gods and the demons were engaged in a battle; how, in the initial stages of that battle, the gods were overpowered by the demons; how the gods then somehow acquired the knowledge of a particular sacrifice or a ritual detail; and how, finally, on account of their having performed that sacrifice or having practised that ritual detail, they became powerful enough to vanquish the demons. Another method of glorifying, justifying, or recommending any sacrifice or rite adopted by the Brāhmaṇas is by etymologizing. Through an etymology, which is often fanciful, an item pertaining to the sacrifice is sought to be unfailingly connected with its promised fruit.

The *arthavāda* sometimes lays stress on what is technically called the *rūpasamṛddhi* (perfection of form) of a sacrificial rite. It is often seen that, so far as the meaning of a *mantra* is concerned, the *mantra* and the ritual action which is to be accompanied by that *mantra* have hardly any rational connection with each other. Indeed, it is the sound of the *mantra*, and not its sense, which actually possesses the ritualistic potence. But when, in some cases, even the meaning of a *mantra* conforms to the ritual action, the *mantra* becomes, so to say, doubly efficacious and thereby brings about the *rūpasamṛddhi* of the sacrificial rite.

But perhaps the most common device employed in the *arthavāda* for confirming the efficacy of a sacrificial rite described in the *vidhi* portion is *bandhutā*, the establishment of some kind of mystic tie between the various aspects of a sacrifice and their desired result.

THE BRĀHMAṆAS

Many Vedic texts are traditionally called Brāhmaṇas, but the more important among them are the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki* belonging to the *Ṛg-Veda*; the *Taittirīya* belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*; the *Śatapatha* belonging to the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*; the *Jaiminīya* and *Tāṇḍya* belonging to the *Sāma-Veda*; and the *Gopatha* belonging to the *Atharva-Veda*.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which naturally concerns itself mainly with the duties of the priest of the *Ṛg-Veda*, namely, the *hotṛ*, is divided into eight *pañcikās* of five *adhyāyas* each. Clear evidence is available of Pāṇini's having known all the forty *adhyāyas* of this Brāhmaṇa. The first twenty-four *adhyāyas* of the *Aitareya*

Brāhmaṇa deal with the *hautra* (the function or office of the *hotṛ*) of the various *soma* sacrifices; the next six with the *agnihotra* and the duties of the *hotṛ*'s assistants; and the last ten, which show signs of being a later addition, with the *paśuyāga* and the *rājasūya*.

The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, also known as the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*, has thirty *adhyāyas*. It is a better-organized text and covers more or less the entire sacrificial procedure.

As has been indicated already, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* is merely a continuation of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. Its three *kāṇḍas* either supplement the discussion of the ritual in the Saṁhitā or give a more detailed treatment of some of the topics dealt with in it.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, on the other hand, must be regarded as an independent work and it is quite remarkable in many respects. Indeed, after the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda*, it is perhaps the most important Vedic text in both extent and content. The *Mādhyandina* version of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* consists of 14 *kāṇḍas* (each with a separate name derived from its contents), 68 *prapāṭhakas* or 100 *adhyāyas* (from which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* presumably gets its name as 'the Brāhmaṇa with a hundred paths or sections'), 438 *brāhmaṇas*, and 7,624 *kaṇḍikās*. In the *Kāṇva* version, the first, the fifth, and the fourteenth *kāṇḍas* are each divided into two *kāṇḍas*; thus the total number of *kāṇḍas* in that version is seventeen. Otherwise, the names of the *kāṇḍas* and their contents are generally the same.

The first nine *kāṇḍas* of the *Mādhyandina-Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which seem to represent the older portion, fully correspond with the first eighteen *adhyāyas* of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, and thus cover the basic sacrificial ritual. The tenth *kāṇḍa*, called *Agnirahasya* speaks of the mystical significance of the various aspects of the sacred fires; while the eleventh, called *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, recapitulates the entire sacrificial ritual. The twelfth *kāṇḍa* is called *Madhyama*, which title clearly suggests that *kāṇḍas* X-XIV constitute a separate unit added later to the original Brāhmaṇa. This would seem to be confirmed by Patañjali's reference to this Brāhmaṇa as *Ṣaṣṭipatha* (sixty paths), a name presumably derived from the fact that the first nine *kāṇḍas* together consist of sixty *adhyāyas*. The twelfth *kāṇḍa* concerns itself with expiation rites and the *sautrāmaṇī* sacrifice. The thirteenth *kāṇḍa* deals mainly with the *aśvamedha* sacrifice and also, rather briefly, with the *puruṣamedha* and the *sarvamedha* sacrifices. The first three *adhyāyas* of the last *kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are devoted to the consideration of the *pravargya* ceremony (introductory to the *soma* sacrifice); while the last six *adhyāyas* constitute the famous *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

One of the important features of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is the large number of legends it contains. Among them may be mentioned: Manu and the fish; the migration of Videgha Māthava from the region of the Sarasvatī to the

region of the Sadānīrā; the rejuvenation of Cyavana; the romantic affair between Purūravas and Urvaśī; and the contest between Kadrū and Vinatā. Another important feature is that, while some portions of this Brāhmana are intimately connected with the Kuru-Pāñcālas, others have their provenance in Kośala-Videha. This fact clearly indicates that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is a composite work and that its composition must have extended over a wide range of time and area. In this connection it is noteworthy that the principal figure in *kāṇḍas* I-V and XI-XV is Yājñavalkya, whereas it is Śāṇḍilya in *kāṇḍas* VI-X.

The *Sāma-Veda* can boast of having the largest number of Brāhmaṇa texts, but only two or three of them can properly be called Brāhmaṇas; all the others are more or less of the nature of *pariśiṣṭas* (appendices). The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, which consists of 1,252 sections and which is thus one of the bulkiest of the Vedic texts, constitutes the best source of information regarding the technique of the *sāmagās* (the priests who chant or recite the *Sāma-Veda*). It is also a difficult text, however, since the ritual and legendary data in it are more or less isolated.

Another Brāhmaṇa which belongs to the *Sāma-Veda* is the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*. It is also known as the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmana*, for, as its name implies, it consists of twenty-five books. Its chief concern is of course the *soma* sacrifice in all its varieties, but of particular interest are its detailed description of the *sattras* (sacrificial sessions) organized on the banks of the Dṛṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī, and its treatment of the *vrātya-stomas* (hymns of praise). Like the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, the *Sāma-Veda* has a *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, the last book of which deals with omens and portents; it is called the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*.

The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, which is the only Brāhmaṇa of the *Atharva-Veda* known to us, is perhaps the youngest of the Brāhmaṇa texts. It is also limited in extent, consisting as it does of only two books with eleven *prapāṭhakas*. The *Caraṇavyūha*, which is one of the *pariśiṣṭas* of the *Atharva-Veda*, says, however, that the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* originally consisted of one hundred chapters out of which only two have survived. This is quite plausible, since many statements referred to in other texts as being derived from this Brāhmaṇa are not traceable in its extant text.

A significant point about the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* is that, for the most part, it contains myths, legends, and parables which illustrate and explain various ceremonies in the Vedic ritual. The Atharvanic character of this Brāhmaṇa becomes evident in several ways. For instance, it glorifies Aṅgiras as the 'sage of sages' and emphasizes that a Vedic sacrifice performed without the help of a priest of the *Atharva-Veda* is bound to fail.

In the literary history of ancient India, the Brāhmaṇas are important for the following reasons: (*i*) they represent the earliest attempts to interpret the Vedic *mantras*; (*ii*) they mark the beginnings of Sanskrit prose; (*iii*) they have

preserved many ancient legends; and (*iv*) they have in them the seeds of the future development of several literary forms and works, and of various branches of knowledge.

Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas contain an exclusive and comprehensive treatment of Vedic sacrificial ritual, and thus constitute a highly authoritative source for one of the most significant periods in the religious history of India. It is, again, the Brāhmaṇas which have prepared the background for the philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣads. And, finally, culture-historians can ill afford to lose sight of the various facts of socio-political history interspersed in the ritualistic lucubrations of the Brāhmaṇas.

THE ĀRAṆYAKAS

The Āraṇyakas may be said to have been regarded as independent Vedic texts only by courtesy. Actually, they are a kind of continuation of the Brāhmaṇas, textually as well as conceptually. They mark the transition from the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas to the spiritualism of the Upaniṣads. While, on the one hand, most of the texts of the Āraṇyakas form the concluding portions of some of the Brāhmaṇas, on the other hand, some of the Upaniṣadic texts are either embedded in or appended to them. The Āraṇyakas, which are obviously esoteric, seek to present the true mystique of the ritual by glorifying the inner, mental sacrifice as against the external, material aspect of it. The study of the Āraṇyakas was traditionally restricted therefore to the solitude of the forest, *araṇya*. That is why they came to be called the Āraṇyakas. It is also not unlikely that these texts derived their name from their schematic connection with Vānaprastha *āśrama* (the forest-dweller's stage).

Only a few texts have come to be traditionally called the Āraṇyakas. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, belonging to the *Ṛg-Veda*, consists of five books. The second and the third books are specifically attributed to Mahīdāsa Aitareya, and are generally theosophic in their tendencies. The first three sections of the second book, which are said to be intended for persons who desire liberation in gradual stages, teach the *prāṇa-upāsanā* (worship of vital power). The last three sections of the second book constitute the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* which sets forth Vedāntic doctrines.

The third book deals with the *saṁhitā-upāsanā* (unified form of worship) and is meant for persons who are still attached to worldly possessions. In its other parts, this Āraṇyaka treats of such sacrificial ceremonies as the *Mahāvrata*.

The *Kauṣītaki* or *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, which also belongs to the *Ṛg-Veda* consists of three books, the first two of which are ritualistic in character while the third forms the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*.

As for the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, it is, as already mentioned, a direct continuation of the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya school. In its first six

books it supplements the treatment of Vedic ritual in the Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa by dealing with such sacrifices as the *sarvamedha*, the *pitṛmedha*, and the *pravargya*. Its next three books constitute the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, while its tenth and last book is known as the *Mahā-nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.

The first three *adhyāyas* of the fourteenth *kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are called Āraṇyaka and their subject-matter is the *pravargya* sacrifice. As already mentioned, the last six *adhyāyas* of this *kāṇḍa* make up the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

THE UPANIṢADS

The word *upaniṣad* is interpreted variously. It is made to correspond with the word *upāsanā* which is understood to mean either worship (Oldenberg) or profound knowledge (Senart). Hauer understands the word in the sense of mysterious wisdom derived through *tapas* (religious austerity). The word is also connected with the Pali word *upanisā* and thus made to mean something like cause or connection. In his *bhāṣya* (commentary) on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* Śaṅkara interprets *upaniṣad* as that which destroys (*sad*, to destroy) ignorance. But the sense most commonly signified by the word *upaniṣad* is the esoteric teaching imparted by the teacher to the pupil who sits (*sad*), near him (*upa*), in a closed select (*ni*), group. The Upaniṣads are also called the Vedānta, because they represent the concluding portion of the *apauruṣeya* Veda or Śruti, or the final stage in Vedic instruction, or the ultimate end and aim of the teachings of the Veda.

The importance of the Upaniṣads, however, as the first recorded attempt at systematic, though not systematized, philosophizing can hardly be gainsaid. They are one of the most significant sources of the spiritual wisdom of India, and are traditionally regarded as one of the three *prasthānas* (source books) of Indian philosophy. Also, one cannot fail to be impressed by certain notable features of the Upaniṣads, such as: their unity of purpose in spite of the variety in their doctrines; the note of certainty or definiteness which informs them; and the various levels at which they consider and represent reality.

Much need not be said here about the Upaniṣads as religious literature, because they are concerned with the contemplative-realizational rather than with the ritualistic-ceremonial aspect of the spiritual life of the people. They belong to philosophy rather than to religion. There are over 200 Upaniṣads, including such recent works as the *Khrīṣṭopaniṣad* and the *Āllopaniṣad*. The *Muktikopaniṣad* gives a traditional list of 108 Upaniṣads, of which 10 belong to the *Ṛg-Veda*, 19 to the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*, 32 to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*, 16 to the *Sāma-Veda*, and 31 to the *Atharva-Veda*; but even out of these, many texts are called Upaniṣads only by courtesy. Usually, thirteen Upaniṣads are regarded as the principal Upaniṣads. They are traditionally connected with one Vedic *śākhā* or the other, and several of them actually form part of a larger literary complex.

THE EARLIEST AND THE MOST IMPORTANT UPANIṢADS

The *Īśa Upaniṣad* belongs to the *Śukla Yajur-Veda* and is included in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* as its last *adhyāya*, that is, the fortieth. This Upaniṣad, which derives its name from its first word, emphasizes the unity of being and becoming, but in this connection it speaks of Īśa, the Lord, rather than of Brahman. It elaborates the doctrine of *vidyā* (knowledge) and *avidyā* (ignorance), and sets forth the view that a fusion of both (*samuccaya*), is a necessary precondition for the attainment of *amṛtatva* (immortality).

The *Kena Upaniṣad*, which also derives its name from its initial word, forms part of the fourth book of the *Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma-Veda*. It consists of four sections, of which the first two, which are in verse, deal with Brahman, *parā-vidyā* (higher knowledge), and *sadyomukti* (immediate liberation); while the last two sections, which are in prose, deal with Īśvara, *aparā-vidyā* (lower knowledge), and *krama-mukti* (gradual liberation). This Upaniṣad contains the famous legend of Umā Haimavatī.

One of the better-known Upaniṣads is the *Kaṭha* or *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*, which belongs to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*. It consists of two chapters which have three *vallīs* (sections) each. For the background of its philosophical teaching it has the striking legend of Yama and Naciketas. A noteworthy point about this Upaniṣad is that it has many passages in common with the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

The *Praśna Upaniṣad*, the *Muṇḍa* or *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, and the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* belong to the *Atharva-Veda*. The *Praśna Upaniṣad*, as its name suggests, deals, in its six sections, with six questions, *praśnas*, relating to such topics as the nature of the ultimate cause, the significance of *Om*, and the relation between the Supreme and the Word. The name *Muṇḍa* is suggestive of renunciation, and in its three chapters this Upaniṣad discusses *sannyāsa* (renunciation) and *parā-vidyā* as against *saṁsāra* (the world) and *aparā-vidyā*. Incidentally, India's national motto *satyam eva jayate* (truth alone triumphs) is taken from this Upaniṣad (III. 1. 6). The *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* is a very small text consisting of only twelve stanzas, but it has attained a significant place in the philosophical literature of India on account of the fact that Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara's predecessor, wrote a commentary on this Upaniṣad, his famous *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*, which may be said to contain the first systematic statement of the doctrine of absolute monism, later elaborated upon and given full form by Śaṅkara.

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* is a part of the larger literature complex of the Taittirīya school of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*. As has been pointed out, the seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* constitute the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, the tenth and last being the *Mahā-nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* is divided into three sections called *vallīs*: the *Śīkṣā-vallī*, the *Brahmānanda-vallī* and the *Bhṛgu-vallī*. The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* of the *Ṛg-Veda* is equivalent to the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II. 4–6).

By far the most important of the Upaniṣads are the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāranyaka*. The *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa*, belonging to the Kauthuma Śākhā of the *Sāma-Veda*, consists of ten chapters. The first two chapters, which comprise the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa*, deal with ritualistic subjects, while the last eight chapters constitute the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Some of the topics of particular philosophical interest in this Upaniṣad are the *Śāṇḍilya-vidyā* (the technique taught by the sage Śāṇḍilya); the *saṁvarga-vidyā* (the technique relating to the all-consuming cosmic wind), the *vaiśvānara-vidyā* (the technique relating to the all-consuming cosmic fire), and the teachings imparted by Prajāpati to Indra, by Ghora Āṅgirasa to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, by Uddālaka Āruṇi to Śvetaketu, and by Sanatkumāra to Nārada.

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, which belongs to the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*, is the biggest and perhaps the oldest of the Upaniṣads. In the Mādhyandina recension this Upaniṣad corresponds with Chapters IV–VIII of the fourteenth *kāṇḍa* and Chapter VI of the tenth *kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the same recension. The *Kāṇva Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (which, incidentally, Śaṅkara chose for his commentary) is analogous to the last six chapters of the sixteenth *kāṇḍa* of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. There is, however, no material divergence between the two recensions so far as the subject-matter is concerned. The first two chapters of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* constitute the *madhu-kāṇḍa*, the main purpose of which is to establish the identity of Jīva and Brahman. The next two chapters, which seem to form the kernel of this Upaniṣad, are dominated by the personality and the teachings of the greatest of the Upaniṣadic philosophers, Yājñavalkya; together they make up what is known as the *yājñavalkya-kāṇḍa* or the *muni-kāṇḍa*. The last two chapters form the *khila-kāṇḍa* which deals with various kinds of *upāsanās*.

Added to these ten traditionally recognized Upaniṣads are three others, making altogether the thirteen principal Upaniṣads. These three are the *Śvetāśvatara* and the *Maitrī*, or *Maitrāyaṇī*, both of which belong to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*, and the *Kauṣītaki* which belongs to the *Ṛg-Veda*.

The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which has six chapters and 113 stanzas, is essentially a theistic text. It presents the supreme Brahman as Rudra, the personal God, and teaches the doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion). This Upaniṣad is also remarkable for its use of Sāṁkhya terminology and its attempt to reconcile the different religious and philosophical views which were then in vogue.

The *Maitrī* or *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* has seven chapters, the last two of which are comparatively modern. It mentions the *Trimūrti* concept, and, in its references to the illusory character of the world and the momentariness of phenomena, seems to betray the influence of Buddhistic thought.

The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, though also called *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad*, is not connected with the *Kauṣītaki* (or *Śāṅkhāyana*) *Brāhmaṇa*. As we have already

seen, this Upaniṣad is the third chapter of the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka.* Among other topics, it deals with the progressive definition of the Brahman, the course to *Brahmaloka* (the sphere of Brahman), and Indra as life and immortality.

Apart from these principal Upaniṣads there are many others, but they are essentially sectarian in character and pseudo-philosophical in content. They are usually divided into various classes, such as Sāmānya-Vedānta, Yoga, Sannyāsa, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta, in accordance with their main tendencies.

As for the age of the principal Upaniṣads, they may be said to extend roughly over a period from the eighth to the third century B.C., the older ones among them being decidedly pre-Buddhistic. As far as the relative chronology of the Upaniṣads is concerned, it is customary to speak of four classes, namely: ancient prose, early metrical, later prose, and later metrical.

The Upaniṣads can, no doubt, be said to represent the high watermark of Vedic thought; but it also needs to be realized that certain features of their teachings, such as *Brahma-vidyā* (knowledge of Brahman), were too subtle to be adequately comprehended by ordinary people. They demanded a high intellectual level and strict spiritual discipline on the part of the seeker. The Upaniṣads gave the people a philosophy but not a religion.

ANCILLARY VEDIC LITERATURE: THE VEDĀṄGAS AND THE SŪTRAS

As we have seen, the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, and the Upaniṣads are believed to be *apauruṣeya.* Not so the Vedāṅgas, for in the reorganization of Vedic knowledge they present an attempt to systematize various aspects of that knowledge which are necessary for understanding the Vedic texts. The six Vedāṅgas are: *śikṣā* (phonetics); *kalpa* (socio-religious practice and ritual); *vyākaraṇa* (grammar); *nirukta* (etymology, exegesis, and mythology); *chandas* (metrics); and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy). Each of these six Vedāṅgas is connected, in one way or another, with the Vedic religion, although only the Kalpa may be said to be directly religious in purpose. By the Kalpa-Sūtra is usually meant a whole literary corpus comprising the Śrauta-Sūtra, the Gṛhya-Sūtra, and the Dharma-Sūtra; these, broadly speaking, refer respectively to the religious, the domestic, and the social aspects of the life of the people. These Sūtras primarily seek to regulate and codify the practices which were already in vogue, but at the same time they also initiate new practices or modify the old ones in accordance with the times and the traditions of the school in which they originated.

There is reason to believe that each Vedic school produced its own Kalpa-Sūtra though not all of them are available today. The nature of a Kalpa-Sūtra will be clear from the following analysis of the contents of the Kalpa-Sūtra of the Āpastamba school of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda.* This

Kalpa-Sūtra consists of thirty *praśnas* (literally questions, chapters), the first twenty-three of which constitute the Śrauta-Sūtra. The twenty-fourth *praśna* is called the *paribhāṣā-praśna* and contains the *paribhāṣā* (general rules and definitions) connected with the ritual. In view of its character as 'introduction', this *praśna* should have been placed at the very beginning of the Kalpa-Sūtra; but, as the commentator Kapardisvāmin explains, this *paribhāṣā* is applicable to both the Śrauta-Sūtra and the Gṛhya-Sūtra and is therefore placed between the two. The *paribhāṣā-praśna* also comprises the *pravara* (the series of ancestors) and the *hautra* (the duties of the *hotṛ*). The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth *praśnas* give the *mantras* to be employed for the various *gṛhya* rites, while the twenty-seventh *praśna* makes up the *Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra* proper. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth *praśnas* contain the Dharma-Sūtra, and the thirtieth *praśna* is the Śulva-Sūtra. To these thirty *praśnas* is sometimes added a thirty-first *praśna* which constitutes the Pitṛmedha-Sūtra.

Among such complete Kalpa-Sūtras which are available today may be mentioned those belonging to the Baudhāyana, the Hiraṇyakeśin, and the Vaikhānasa schools of the Taittirīya Śākhā. All these texts are called Sūtras because they adopted the unique literary form which was developed during this period, namely, the *sūtra* form. A *sūtra* is an aphoristic statement, at once brief, unequivocal, comprehensive, generally valid, and expressive of the essential point.

THE ŚRAUTA-SŪTRAS, GṚHYA-SŪTRAS, AND DHARMA-SŪTRAS

As we have seen, the Śrauta-Sūtras contain injunctions regarding religious practices, the word 'practices' being understood in the restricted sense of ritualistic practices. Naturally, therefore, they are directly connected with the Brāhmaṇas, particularly with the *vidhi* portions. The Śrauta-Sūtras, however, present the procedure of the various sacrifices in a far more complete and systematic manner. Presumably, these Sūtras were composed as practical aids to the professional officiating priests. Closely related to the Śrauta-Sūtras are the Śulva-Sūtras which deal with such matters as the construction of the sacrificial altars, the measurements of the different kinds of fire-altars, etc.

The Śrauta-Sūtras generally treat of sacrifices in which the three sacred fires, the *āhavanīya*, the *gārhapatya*, and the *dakṣiṇa* (or sometimes more) are employed. These sacrifices usually require the services of several officiating priests from among the *adhvaryu*, the *hotṛ*, the *brahman*, and the *udgātṛ*, and their assistants. According to the traditional enumeration, the *śrauta* sacrifices include the seven *haviryajña-saṁsthā* sacrifices (with clarified butter), namely, *agnyādheya*, *agnihotra*, *darśapūrṇamāsa*, *āgrayaṇa*, *cāturmāsya*, *nirūḍhapaśubandha*, and *sautrāmaṇi*; and also the seven *somayajña-saṁsthā* sacrifices (with *soma* juice), namely, *agniṣṭoma*, *atyagniṣṭoma*, *ukthya*, *ṣoḍaśī*, *vājapeya*, *atirātra*, and *āptoryāma*.

The *śrauta* sacrifices are also classified in three groups: (*i*) *iṣṭis* (corn sacrifices, with oblations of butter, fruits, and so on) of which the *darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice is the norm; (*ii*) the *paśu* (animal) sacrifices, of which the *nirūḍhapaśu-bandha* is the norm; and (*iii*) *soma* sacrifices of which the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice is the norm.

The majority of the Śrauta-Sūtras known today belong to the *Yajur-Veda* (particularly to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*). This is quite understandable, for the *adhvaryu* plays the most active role in the *śrauta* ritual, and the *Yajur-Veda* is essentially the Veda for the *adhvaryu*.

The *Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*; it is perhaps the oldest among the Śrauta-Sūtras. Indeed, Baudhāyana is traditionally regarded as the foremost among the *ācāryas*. The *Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* is called a *pravacana* (sacred treatise) and is written more in the style of the Brāhmaṇas than of the Sūtras. Special mention may be made of two sections included in this Sūtra, the *Dvaidha* and the *Karmānta*; the former critically records the views on ritualistic practices held by the various *ācāryas* of the Taittirīya Śākhā.

The other Śrauta-Sūtras which belong to the Taittirīya Śākhā are the *Bhāradvāja*, the *Āpastamba*, the *Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśin*, the *Vaikhānasa*, and the *Vādhūla*. The *Bhāradvāja Śrauta-Sūtra* consists of fifteen *praśnas*, the *Paitṛmedhika-Sūtra*, and the *Pariśeṣa-Sūtra*. It does not give any *hautra* at all. The *Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra* is the best known of the Śrauta-Sūtras. A *Hautrapariśiṣṭa* ascribed to Āpastamba is also available. There is considerable similarity between the *Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra* and the *Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśī Śrauta-Sūtra* so far as their ritual is concerned. A noteworthy feature of the *Vaikhānasa Śrauta-Sūtra* is that, unlike the other Śrauta-Sūtras belonging to the *Yajur-Veda* (which begin with the description of the *Darśapūrṇamāsa* sacrifice) it begins with the *agnyādheya* sacrifice, and this is followed by the *agnihotrahoma*. The extant text of the *Vādhūla Śrauta-Sūtra* is corrupt and fragmentary.

Of the two Śrauta-Sūtras belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā, the *Mānava* and the *Vārāha*, the former is closely connected with the *Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra*, while a *pariśiṣṭa* of the latter is important for the expiation rites. The *Kāṭhaka Śrauta-Sūtra* has become known only through references to it in other Śrauta-Sūtras and commentaries. The *Kātyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* is the only Śrauta-Sūtra of the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*. It does not contain the *hautra*, but it has as many as ten *pariśiṣṭas*. The two Śrauta-Sūtras of the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Āśvalāyana* and the *Śāṅkhāyana*, deal mainly with the *hautra*. The *Sāma-Veda* has four Śrauta-Sūtras, the *Lāṭyāyana*, the *Drāhyāyaṇa*, the *Jaiminīya*, and the *Gobhila*. The *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra* deals with the chanting of the *sāmans* which relate mainly to the *agniṣṭoma* and other *soma* sacrifices. The *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta-Sūtra*, which bears considerable similarity to the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*, consists of

thirty-two *paṭalas* (chapters), but only the first fifteen of them have been published so far. The *Gobhila Śrauta-Sūtra* deals with the *piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña*, among other rites. It may be noted that the Gṛhya-Sūtra of this school refers to the *anvaṣṭakya* rite as the norm of the *piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña* and mentions only the distinguishing features of the latter. The *anvaṣṭakya* rite is a *śrāddha* or funeral ceremony performed on the ninth day in the latter half of the three (or four) months following the full moon in Agrahāyaṇa, Pauṣa, Māgha, and Phālguna. The *Vaitāna-Sūtra* of the *Atharva-Veda* is a short text concerning the duties of the *brahman* and his assistants, and also of the sacrificer. The *Kauśika-Sūtra*, which also belongs to the *Atharva-Veda*, is essentially a Gṛhya-Sūtra, but it contains several passages relating to the *śrauta* ritual. In this context the *Atharva-Veda-prāyaścittāni* may also be mentioned. It deals with expiation rites and the forty-fifth *pariśiṣṭa* of the *Atharva-Veda*, which is called *Agnihotra-homavidhi*. Several other manuals dealing with ritualistic practice have been produced by different Vedic schools. These manuals are called *paddhatis* and *prayogas*, and are, of course, of a much later date.

The Gṛhya-Sūtras deal with the *gṛhya* (household) rites which broadly comprise the seven *pāka-yajña-saṁsthās: aupāsanahoma, vaiśvadeva, pārvaṇa, aṣṭakā, māsiśrāddha, sarpabali,* and *īśānabali;* and also the rites connected with the various *saṁskāras* (sacraments). Some rites, like the *āgrayaṇa*, the *madhuparka*, and the obsequies are common to both the Śrauta-Sūtra and the Gṛhya-Sūtra. The Gṛhya-Sūtras have very little to do with the Brāhmaṇas, but they are directly connected with the Saṁhitās since they derive their *mantras* from them. It needs to be pointed out, however, that not all the *mantras* prescribed to be employed in *gṛhya* rites are traceable to the Saṁhitās. The *gṛhya* rites are generally performed with the help of only one fire, and in many of them the services of officiating priests are not required. *Soma* has no place in any of them. When they form part of a corpus, the Gṛhya-Sūtras presuppose and occur after the Śrauta-Sūtra. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Śrauta-Sūtra and the Gṛhya-Sūtra belonging to the same school can be ascribed to the same authorship. At the same time, one does come across many verbal repetitions in the two Sūtras of the same school.

Like the Śrauta-Sūtras, the Gṛhya-Sūtras show, to a certain extent, the influence of the specific Vedic schools to which they belong. The *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra*, which belongs to the Śāṅkhāyana school of the *Ṛg-Veda* and which is based on the Bāṣkala recension of that Veda, consists of six chapters, the last two of which are presumably later additions. The name of the author of this Gṛhya-Sūtra is said to be Suyajña Śāṅkhāyana. The *Kauṣītaka Gṛhya-Sūtra*, which is attributed to Sāmbavya, has five chapters and is almost a replica of the original *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra*. But perhaps the most important Gṛhya-Sūtra belonging to the *Ṛg-Veda* is the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra*. It consists of four

chapters and its author is traditionally believed to be Śaunaka's pupil Āśvalāyana. A few other unpublished Gṛhya-Sūtras of the *Ṛg-Veda*, such as the *Śaunaka*, the *Bhāravīya*, the *Śākalya*, the *Paiṅgi*, and the *Parāśara*, are referred to in other texts.

Of the two Gṛhya-Sūtras of the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*, one is published. This is the *Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra*, which is also known as the *Kātīya Gṛhya-Sūtra* or the *Vājasaneya Gṛhya-Sūtra*. The other one, the *Baijavāpa Gṛhya-Sūtra*, is known only through references to it in other works. The *Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra* is connected with the Mādhyandina Śākhā.

The largest number of published Gṛhya-Sūtras belong to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* (with four *praśnas*), the *Bhāradvāja Gṛhya-Sūtra* (with three *praśnas*), the *Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra* (with three *praśnas*, of which two give only the *mantras* for *gṛhya* rites while the third gives the injunctions regarding the performance of these rites), and the *Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya-Sūtra* (with two *praśnas*) are included in the Kalpa-Sūtra corpuses of their respective Vedic schools. The *Vaikhānasa Gṛhya-Sūtra*, which also belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*, presupposes (like the *Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra*) a collection of *mantras* to which it refers only by *pratīkas* (symbols). The *Agniveśya Gṛhya-Sūtra* is ascribed to Agniveśa who is said to have founded the Agniveśya school which forms a subdivision of the Vadhūla school of the Taittirīya Śākhā. However, in the matter of both style and content this Gṛhya-Sūtra differs substantially from the other Gṛhya-Sūtras of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*. It appears to have been largely influenced by the religious practices of a comparatively late date. The Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* has two Gṛhya-Sūtras, the *Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra* and the *Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra*. The *Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra* is divided into two main sections, called *puruṣas*. Among the topics which seem to be peculiar to this Gṛhya-Sūtra, mention may be made of the worship of the four *Vināyakas*, the *ṣaṣṭhīkalpa*, *vratacaryā*, and *sandhyā*, and the several *dīkṣās*. The *Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra* has quite a large number of *sūtras* in common with the *Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra* and the *Kāṭhaka Gṛhya-Sūtra*. The *Kāṭhaka Gṛhya-Sūtra* belongs to the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* and, because it has five principal parts, it is known as *Gṛhya-pañcikā*. It is also called the *Laugākṣi Gṛhya-Sūtra*.

Among the Gṛhya-Sūtras belonging to the *Sāma-Veda*, the *Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra* presupposes, besides the *Sāma-Veda Saṁhitā*, a collection of *mantras* known as the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa*. In fact, this Gṛhya-Sūtra and the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* appear to have been composed side by side according to a common plan. The *Khādira Gṛhya-Sūtra*, which is almost identical with the *Drāhyāyaṇa Gṛhya-sūtra-vṛtti*, is presumably an abridgement of the *Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra*. The *Jaiminīya Gṛhya-Sūtra*, which is divided into one part of twenty-four *khaṇḍas* and another of nine *khaṇḍas*, seems to presuppose the *Jaiminīya Saṁhitā* of the *Sāma-*

Veda. The so-called *Kauthuma Gṛhya-Sūtra* of the *Sāma-Veda* is a corrupt text showing signs of being of a later date. Two other Gṛhya-Sūtras of the *Sāma-Veda* are not published, but are referred to in other texts; these are the *Gautama* and the *Chāndogya*. The *Kauśika-Sūtra*, which belongs to the Śaunaka Śākhā of the *Atharva-Veda*, is traditionally regarded as the Gṛhya-Sūtra of that Veda. But apart from the *gṛhya* rites, the Sūtra deals with the various magical practices of the *Atharva-Veda*. It is suggested that the *Kauśika-Sūtra* represents a mixture of two separate Sūtras, the Atharva-Sūtra and the Gṛhya-Sūtra.

Compared with Śrauta-Sūtras and Gṛhya-Sūtras which are available, the Dharma-Sūtras are very few. It may be pointed out, however, that besides those published, many other texts of this category have become known through quotations from them found in other works. It is also possible to presume that some of the Dharma-Sūtras are now completely lost. There is another significant point about the Dharma-Sūtras. This is that although the different Dharma-Sūtras are traditionally believed to have been affiliated to different Vedic schools, the influence on them of those specific schools is almost negligible. It seems that while the *śrauta* and *gṛhya* practices varied from school to school—in some details at least—social practices, civil and criminal law, and polity, which constituted the principal subject-matter of the Dharma-Sūtras, had in general become common to the entire Vedic-Aryan community. Understandably, the connection between a Dharma-Sūtra and any particular Vedic school was often tenuous. Within a Kalpa corpus the Dharma-Sūtra usually follows the Gṛhya-Sūtra. It may also be noted that many topics, such as the *āśrama-dharmas* (special duties of each period of life), are common to the Gṛhya-Sūtra and the Dharma-Sūtra.

The arrangement of the subject-matter in the Dharma-Sūtras is not at all orderly. In the light of the classification of topics in some of the later metrical Smṛtis, however, it is possible to classify the topics of the Dharma-Sūtras under three main heads: *ācāra* (conduct), *vyavahāra* (dealings), including *rāja-dharma* (a king's duty), and *prāyaścitta* (expiation). As for the literary form of the Dharma-Sūtras, they contain *sūtras* interspersed with metrical passages; two exceptions to this are the *Gautama Dharma-Sūtra* and the *Vaikhānasa Dharma-Sūtra*.

Of texts which may be characterized as Dharma-Sūtras, only six have been published so far. The best known among them, and perhaps the earliest, is the *Gautama Dharma-Sūtra*. It has twenty-eight chapters and belongs to the *Sāma-Veda*. Though there is nothing specifically Sāma-Vedic about this Sūtra, we may note that its entire twenty-sixth chapter is taken from the *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma-Veda*.

The *Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra*, which has four *praśnas*, forms part of the *Baudhāyana Kalpa-Sūtra*. It is doubtful, however, whether Baudhāyana is person-

ally the author of this Sūtra, for in it he is referred to in the third person and also as Bhagavān Baudhāyana. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth *praśnas* of the *Āpastamba Kalpa-Sūtra* form the Dharma-Sūtra of that school. There are many indications to show that the Gṛhya-Sūtra and the Dharma-Sūtra of the Āpastamba school are from the same hand. The so-called *Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśi Dharma-Sūtra* (which corresponds to the twenty-sixth and the twenty-seventh *praśnas* of the *Satyāṣāḍha Kalpa-Sūtra*) is almost identical with the *Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra*. This fact would suggest that the Satyāṣāḍha-Hiraṇyakeśin school did not originally have any Dharma-Sūtra of its own, but that, in order to complete its Kalpa corpus, it adopted the Dharma-Sūtra of the Āpastamba school as its own Dharma-Sūtra.

The *Vāśiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra*, in its common version, has thirty chapters, of which the first twenty-three form the original part of the Sūtra while the last seven are later additions. In its present form this Dharma-Sūtra is full of repetitions and even inconsistencies. Vaśiṣṭha, who is presumably the author of this Sūtra, is referred to in the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* as an authority on *dharma;* but his relationship with the Ṛg-Vedic seer of that name is uncertain.

The *Vaikhānasa Dharma-Sūtra*, which is made up of *praśnas* VIII—X of the *Vaikhānasa Smārta-Sūtra*, deals, more or less exclusively, with the *varṇāśrama-dharmas* (the special duties of each caste and of each period of life). It is closely related to the *Manu Smṛti*, but does not have any sections on *rāja-dharma* and *śrāddha* (ceremony in honour of dead relatives and for their benefit). It is customary to include among the Dharma-Sūtras the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* which, in the colophons of some of its manuscripts, is also called the *Viṣṇu Dharma-śāstra*. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* has 100 chapters, and, as its name suggests, it claims divine authorship. Many of its verses are found also in the *Manu Smṛti*. It has been suggested that this work originally belonged to the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda* and was later redacted by a Vaiṣṇava author. Actually, however, it seems to be a loose compendium on the Dharma-śāstra, produced in the period of transition from the Dharma-Sūtras to the metrical Smṛtis.

DHARMA-SŪTRAS AND DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

Broadly speaking, the Dharma-śāstras or metrical Smṛtis represent a later stage than the Dharma-Sūtras in the evolution of the literature on Dharma-śāstra. But it cannot be assumed on this account that every Smṛti had as its basis a Dharma-Sūtra, or that every Dharma-Sūtra developed in course of time into a metrical Smṛti. This point has special relevance in connection with the problem relating to the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra*. It was suggested that the extant *Manu Smṛti* was a metrical redaction of the *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra* which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*.

But no *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra* has become available so far, nor is it even mentioned in any other work. Various arguments have been advanced to prove that the *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra* had once existed but was lost; there have also been counter-arguments to disprove the existence of this Sūtra. Neither of these claims is conclusive, and the question has to remain open.

By and large, the entire Vedic literature, both *apauruṣeya* and *pauruṣeya*, may be said to be directly religious in character. As against this, in the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature, which is by no means homogeneous either in form or content, religion is but one of the many fields covered. One may, nonetheless, hasten to add that there is hardly any ancient or medieval Sanskrit text, even of an avowedly secular type, which is not religion-oriented in one sense or other.

II

THE POST-VEDIC LITERATURE : A SURVEY

The logical and chronological sequence which characterizes the Vedic periods is absent in the post-Vedic Sanskrit literary periods.[6] We have therefore to consider the post-Vedic Sanskrit religious texts not chronologically but in groups formed in accordance with their contents and tendencies.

The end of the period of the major *Upaniṣads* saw the gradual dwindling of the influence of the Vedic tradition. Four cultural movements emerged during this interregnum. Firstly, heterodox religions like Buddhism and Jainism began to assert themselves. Secondly, as a natural reaction to this challenge to orthodox Brāhmaṇism, attempts were made to consolidate the Vedic way of life and thought by reorganizing and systematizing all Vedic knowledge and Vedic practice. The Sūtra-Vedāṅga literature was the outcome of these attempts. Thirdly, for the purpose of counteracting the cult of renunciation generally encouraged by the Upaniṣads, there grew what may be called secular and materialistic tendencies best manifested in a work like the *Artha śāstra* of Kauṭilya. And, finally, there emerged a form of Hinduism which steered clear of the heterodoxy of Buddhism and Jainism on the one hand and the revivalism of the Sūtra-Vedāṅga movement on the other. It was a federation of tribal religious cults, most of which were originally non-Vedic in provenance and which tended to converge in the course of historical development—this federation being held together by the running thread of formal allegiance to the Vedas. The literature relating to the second movement, the Sūtra-Vedāṅga literature, has been already dealt with in the previous section on the Vedic

[6] The topics discussed in this section are dealt with more elaborately in the next three articles of this Part.

literature. Now we are concerned with the literature of the fourth movement which proved to be of the greatest consequence in the history of India, namely, Hinduism. The main characteristics of this new religious movement may broadly be set forth as follows: (*i*) The indigenous popular gods, such as Śiva and Viṣṇu and His various incarnations, superseded the Vedic gods, such as Indra and Varuṇa; (*ii*) The doctrine of *bhakti* or devotion to a personal God began to prevail, and the different religious practices associated with it, such as *pūjā* (worship), replaced the Vedic sacrificial ritual; (*iii*) The ideal of *lokasaṅgraha* (social solidarity) acquired as much importance as the Upaniṣadic ideal of *ātma-jñāna* (Self-realization). Consequently, Karma-yoga came to be encouraged as against Sannyāsa; (*iv*) The response of Hinduism to external and internal challenges was one of gradual assimilation and adaptation rather than of opposition and isolation, and the tendency to synthesize various religious practices and philosophical doctrines into a single harmonious way of life and thought became prominent; (*v*) A new polity and statecraft was sponsored.

The influence of some of these trends in Hinduism becomes evident even in the ancillary texts of the different Vedic schools, such as the *pariśiṣṭas*, the *prayogas*, and the *paddhatis*, all of which, of course, belong to a fairly late date. The *Vaikhānasa-Sūtras*, for instance, which claim to belong to a school of the *Yajur-Veda*, are actually related to a Vaiṣṇava school in South India. Similarly, the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa-sūtra* deals with some aspects of *Viṣṇu-pūjā*. Such texts, though ostensibly Vedic, have taken over many non-Vedic beliefs and practices.

THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ AND THE EPICS

The characteristics of Hinduism, as just set forth, are best reflected in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* which may, indeed, be regarded as the principal scripture of this new religious ideology. They are also reflected in the character of Kṛṣṇa, its enunciator, as portrayed in the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, which is in many ways a unique literary phenomenon. It is by far the biggest single literary work known to man. Its vastness is aptly matched by the encyclopaedic nature of its contents and the universality of its appeal. The claim is traditionally made, and fully justified, that in matters pertaining to *dharma* (religion and ethics), *artha* (material progress and prosperity), *kāma* (enjoyment of the pleasures of personal and social life), and *mokṣa* (spiritual emancipation), whatever is found in this epic may be found elsewhere; but what is not found in it will be impossible to find anywhere else.

The *Mahābhārata*, as we know it today, is the outcome of a long process of addition, assimilation, expansion, revision, and redaction. Presumably, it originated as a bardic-historical poem called *Jaya*, which had the eventful Bhārata war as its central theme. In the course of time, a large amount of

material belonging to the literary tradition of the *sūtas* (bards), which had been developing side by side with the *mantra* tradition embodied in the Vedic literature, was added to the historical poem, thereby transforming it into the epic *Bhārata*. This transformation of *Jaya* into *Bhārata* received added momentum from another and, from our point of view, more significant factor, the rise of Kṛṣṇite Hinduism. The protagonists of this religion realized that the bardic poem, which enjoyed wide currency, would serve as the most efficient vehicle for the propagation of their ideology. So they redacted the poem in such a way that the *Bhagavad-Gītā* became the corner-stone of the new epic superstructure, with Kṛṣṇa as its central character. Thus we find that this new literary product, *Bhārata*, had derived its bardic-historical elements from the ancient *sūta* tradition and its religio-ethical elements from Kṛṣṇite Hinduism, and upon this was gradually superimposed elements derived from Brāhmaṇic learning and culture and from other elements of Hinduism. The result was that *Bhārata* became the *Mahābhārata*. Indeed, it is on account of the contributions of Kṛṣṇaism, Brāhmaṇism, and Hinduism that the *Mahābhārata* became a veritable treasure-house of religious beliefs and practices.

The *Mahābhārata*, which must have assumed its present form in the first centuries before and after Christ, is traditionally believed to consist of 100,000 stanzas divided into eighteen *parvans*. Some typical religious sections are: the *Sūrya-nāmāṣṭa-śataka* (*Āraṇyakaparvan*), the *Sanat-sujātīya* (*Udyogaparvan*), the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Vāsudeva-stuti* (*Bhīṣmaparvan*), the *Śatarudrīya* (*Droṇaparvan*), the *Jāpakopākhyāna*, the *Nārāyaṇīya*, and the *Unchavṛttyupākhyāna* (*Śāntiparvan*), the *Śiva-sahasranāma-stotra*, the *Gaṅgā-stava*, and the *Viṣṇusahasranāma-stotra* (*Anuśāsanaparvan*), the *Īśvara-stuti* and the *Anu-Gītā* (*Āśvamedhikaparvan*). There is also the *Harivaṁśa* which is traditionally regarded as a *khilaparvan* of the great epic.

If the *Mahābhārata* (with the *Harivaṁśa*) glorifies the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, the other epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, gives an account of the Rāma incarnation. This incarnation is traditionally believed to have been earlier than the Kṛṣṇa incarnation; composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, which is largely the work of a single poet named Vālmīki, seems to have begun after that of the *Mahābhārata*, but ended before the *Mahābhārata* assumed its final form. The Ayodhyā episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* probably has some historical basis; but with the exile of Rāma, the theme of the poem is enlarged to epic proportions, and the prince of Ayodhyā becomes transformed into an incarnation of the highest God. Cleverly interwoven with these two strands is a third, that of an agricultural myth. Compared with the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* presents a more unitary structure; it is not too overloaded with extraneous *sautic* (bardic) material and is distinguished by several features of classical Sanskrit poetry. It has seven *kāṇḍas*—the entire seventh *kāṇḍa* evidently is a later interpolation. It contains several sections of religious significance, such as the *Sūrya-stava* (which is also called *Āditya-hṛdaya-*

stotra) by Agastya and the *Rāma-stuti* by Brahmā (both in the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*). Its principal religious appeal, however, springs from the idealized domestic and social virtues which its characters embody. Indeed, this appeal has, through the centuries, proved to be direct and sustained.

THE PURĀṆAS

As texts, the Purāṇas are chronologically of a much later date than the two epics; for, their final redaction was accomplished in the age of the Guptas. Conceptually, however, they belong to the ancient literary tradition of the *sūtas*, which is also known as the *itihāsa-purāṇa* tradition. It is customary to divide the *itihāsa-purāṇa* literature into three broad classes: *itihāsa* or epic history, represented by the *Mahābhārata; kāvya* or epic poetry, represented by the *Rāmāyaṇa;* and *purāṇa* or epic legends, represented by the Purāṇas. *Purāṇa* is traditionally defined as comprising five main topics: *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and recreation), *vaṁśa* (divine genealogies), *manvantara* (ages of Manus), and *vaṁśānucarita* (genealogies of kings). This definition clearly indicates that the Purāṇas, in their original form, had very little to do with religious beliefs and practices. But none of the Purāṇas, as we know them today, strictly adhere to the five topics mentioned in the definition, the *pañca-lakṣaṇa.* Nor do they adhere even to the five additional topics, altogether forming the *daśa-lakṣaṇa* (ten topics). The five additional topics are: *vṛtti* (means of livelihood), *rakṣā* (incarnations of gods), *mukti* (final emancipation), *hetu* (living beings), and *apāśraya* (Brahman). In the course of the growth of the Purāṇas many more subjects came to be incorporated into them, and these dealt with religious instruction, sectarian cults, and rituals. Some of the topics thus included were: *dāna* (gift), *vratas* (vows), *tīrtha* (place of pilgrimage), *śrāddha*, *bhakti*, and *avatāra* (incarnation of God). It is these subjects which have given the Purāṇas their religious character, thus confirming their claim to be the Veda of the common people.

Tradition speaks of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. These are: the *Brahma*, the *Padma*, the *Viṣṇu*, the *Vāyu*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Nāradīya*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, the *Agni*, the *Bhaviṣya*, the *Brahma-vaivarta*, the *Varāha*, the *Liṅga*, the *Skanda*, the *Vāmana*, the *Kūrma*, the *Matsya*, the *Garuḍa*, and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*. They are classified either as *sāttvika*, *tāmasa*, and *rājasa* (as in the *Padma Purāṇa*), or in accordance with the divinity (such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Devī) which they glorify (as in the *Skanda Purāṇa*).

Tradition also speaks of eighteen Upapurāṇas, *upa* meaning 'secondary'. These are: the *Sanatkumāra*, the *Nārasiṁha*, the *Nanda*, the *Śivadharma*, the *Durvāsas*, the *Nāradīya*, the *Kāpila*, the *Vāmana*, the *Uśanas*, the *Mānava*, the *Vāruṇa*, the *Kālī*, the *Maheśvara*, the *Śāmba*, the *Saura*, the *Pārāśara*, the *Mārīca*, and the *Bhārgava Purāṇas.* The Upapurāṇas are obviously of a later date

than the Mahāpurāṇas and are more emphatically sectarian. Originally their number may have been much larger.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which is of special interest, appears to have been produced in the Tamil country some time between the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is intensely religious in character and has wielded very great influence over the succeeding periods of the history of Vaiṣṇavism.

Among other significant works may be mentioned the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (A.D. 550). Though it is a work on astronomy and astrology, it is almost encyclopaedic in scope and contains much material of a religious character, such as details of private and public worship, works of charity, iconography, and temple architecture. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* (fifteenth century), which is part of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, is usually treated as an independent work. It is an attempt to superimpose monistic Vedānta on the doctrine of devotion to Rāma. Among the manuals dealing with *bhakti* are: the *Bhakti-Sūtras* of Nārada (tenth century); the *Bhakti-Sūtras* of Śāṇḍilya (earlier than the tenth century); the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* (A.D. 1400), an anthology compiled by Viṣṇu Purī containing passages relating to *bhakti* taken from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa;* and Vallabha's *Bhakti-vardhinī*. Several imitations of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* were attempted. Among them the better known ones are the *Īśvara-Gītā* which occurs in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* and is itself a *Pāśupata* (Śaivite) redaction of a Vaiṣṇava work, and the *Avadhūta-Gītā* which is regarded as one of the *Sannyāsa Upaniṣads*.

THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

The Dharma-śāstras, or Smṛtis, are religious in character and are more or less similar to the Dharma-Sūtras. They have preserved the traditional rules governing personal, domestic, and social behaviour. The best-known work among them is the *Manu Smṛti*. This work, which is also called the *Bhṛgu Saṁhitā*, seems to belong to the period when the *Mahābhārata* was undergoing its final redaction. Consisting of twelve chapters, it begins with a statement regarding the process of creation, and then proceeds to lay down, in the next five chapters, rules of conduct for persons belonging to the different *varṇas* and to the different *āśramas*. It then goes on to discuss the duties of kings, the administration of justice, and, at some length, eighteen sections of law. The final sections mention some *prāyaścittas* and include a desultory discussion of a few philosophical topics such as *karma* and the *guṇas* (qualities).

The other Smṛtis mostly follow the pattern of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* as laid down in the *Manu Smṛti*. It is only in the matter of *vyavahāra* (civil and criminal law) that these law books appear to differ from one another. For instance, the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, which belong to the fourth–fifth centuries A.D. is divided into three clear-cut sections: religious law; civil and criminal law; and expia-

tion. It puts greater stress upon private law than upon criminal law, and shows great advance over the *Manu Smṛti* in the law of inheritance. An interesting work, of the nature of a 'digest of law', is the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* by Hemādri (1260–1309). He deals especially with various topics of religious significance such as *vratas*, *dānas*, *śrāddhas*, pilgrimages, and ritual.

In ancient and medieval India, religion and philosophy, generally speaking, were not sharply demarcated. The literature relating to the various systems of philosophy developed almost independently of religion. This literature, which divides into three principal classes, the Sūtras, the expository works on the Sūtras, and independent treatises, is quite extensive. We shall not deal with it, however, in this survey of religious literature.

The ethico-didatic literature in Sanskrit (and not a little of the poetical and dramatic literature) may be characterized as religious so far as theme and ultimate purpose are concerned. However, for obvious reasons, this literature too cannot be dealt with here. Thus we now come to two types of distinctively religious literature in Sanskrit, the Tantras and the *Stotras*.

THE TANTRAS OR ĀGAMA ŚĀSTRAS. THEIR DOCTRINES

Tantra is a generic term denoting the literature of certain religious cults which began to come into prominence within Hinduism (and, for that matter, within Buddhism) from A.D. 500. This literature did not necessarily arise to oppose the Veda which, in Hinduism, claimed some kind of formal authority. It averred, however, that while the Vedas sufficed for earlier ages, now, in the *kali-yuga* (the last of the four ages), their doctrines and practices had lost their appeal. The Tantras therefore claimed the place of the Vedas as the authoritative religious literature of the new age. Their stand was, however, paradoxical. On the one hand, the Tantras sought to democratize Hinduism by removing the barriers of sex and caste; on the other hand, they laid down strict rules regarding the initiation of *sādhakas* (aspirants practising religious discipline) into their secret doctrines.

In the *Kāmikāgama*[7] this definition of Tantra is given: 'The Tantra is so called because it unfolds the manifold meanings of the Reality through formulae of the science of religion, and also because by its own virtue it works out the salvation of all.'

The Tantras comprise esoteric teachings and mystic practices of various kinds. Their dogmas and ethics are more or less similar to those of Brāhmaṇic Hinduism. But their distinctive feature is their religious practices which include *mantra* (sacred formula addressed to a deity); *bīja* (mystical letter or syllable

[7] *Tanoti vipulān arthān tattvamantrasamāśritān;*
Trāṇañca kurute yasmāt tantram ityabhidhīyate.
(*Kāmikāgama*)

which forms an essential part of the *mantra*); *yantra* (mystical diagram); *nyāsa* (mental appropriation or assignment of various parts of the body to tutelary deities); *mudrā* (particular positions or intertwinings of the fingers); *maṇḍala* (mystical diagram without *bīja* letters); *yāga* (sacrifice); *yoga* (meditation) and *upāsanā* (worship); and *yātrā* (going on a pilgrimage).

The Tantras also deal with the various details of *pūjā* and orgiastic rites as well as temple architecture and iconography. Many of the later sectarian Upaniṣads are of the nature of Tantras, while the influence of the Tantras on some of the Purāṇas is quite unmistakable. A Tantra text, whose authorship is usually anonymous, normally consists of four parts or *pādas* which deal respectively with *vidyā* or *jñāna* (soteriological theology); *kriyā* (practices of the cult); *caryā* (personal and social behaviour); and *yoga* (psycho-physiological discipline).

Unlike the Veda, the Tantras, whose number is indeed large, are emphatically sectarian in character. They relate mainly to three sects: the Śaiva, the Vaisṇava, and the Śākta. The Tāntric texts belonging to these sects are called respectively: the Āgamas, the Saṁhitās, and the Tantras. It is generally believed that the Āgamas originated in Kashmir, the Saṁhitās in various parts of India, but particularly in Bengal and South India, and the Tantras in Bengal and in eastern and north-eastern India.

In the *Śabda-kalpadruma*[8] (a lexicon) this definition of Āgama is given: 'The Āgama is so called because it came from the lips of Śiva, the five-mouthed one; because it was listened to by Pārvatī, the daughter of the Mountain; and because it was honoured by Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu).'

There are twenty-eight Śaiva Āgamas, and they are traditionally believed to have originated from the five mouths of Śiva. Five of them came from the *sadyojāta* mouth (the mouth of the aspect of spontaneous manifestation). These are: *Kāmika*, *Yogaja*, *Cintya*, *Karaṇa*, and *Ajita*. Five of them came from the *vāmadeva* mouth (the mouth of the aspect of shining attractiveness). These are: *Dīpta*, *Sūkṣma*, *Sahasra*, *Aṁśumat*, and *Suprabheda*. Five of them came from the *aghora* mouth (the mouth of the benign aspect). These are: *Vijaya*, *Niḥśvāsa*, *Svāyaṁbhuva*, *Anala*, and *Vīra*. Five of them came from the *tatpuruṣa* mouth (the mouth of the aspect of the supreme Person or Consciousness). These are: *Raurava*, *Mākuṭa*, *Vimala*, *Candrajñāna*, and *Bimba*. Eight of them came from the *īśāna* mouth (the mouth of the aspect of the supreme Lord or supreme Power). These are: *Prodgīta*, *Lalita*, *Siddha*, *Santāna*, *Sarvokta*, *Pārameśvara*, *Kiraṇa*, and *Vātula*.

As many as 207 *Upāgamas* are also mentioned; and side by side with the basic Āgamas there exists an abundant literature pertaining to the

[8] *Āgataṁ pañcavaktrāt tu gatañca girijānane;*
Matañca vāsudevasya tasmād āgamam ucyate.
(*Śabda-kalpadruma*)

Śaiva ritual. These works were produced by such teachers as Aghora-Śivācārya and Soma-śambhu. The epoch of the redaction of the Āgamas is uncertain, but they have been profusely used by Tirumūlar and other Tamil writers and, accordingly, must have belonged to a period not later than the seventh century A.D. These texts have been carefully preserved in the families of *gurukkaḷs* who use them in connection with their religious rites. The tradition of temple architecture and iconography as taught in the Śaiva Āgamas is still living. Historically, the Āgamas also exercised deep influence in the ancient kingdoms of South-East Asia.

The principal Tāntric Vaiṣṇava cult is known as Pāñcarātra, a name that is variously interpreted. The best view is perhaps to understand it as alluding to the five nights during which five discourses were given by Nārāyaṇa to Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, the Ṛṣis, and Bṛhaspati, respectively. Traditionally, 108 Saṁhitās of the Pāñcarātra are mentioned, though their number is sometimes given as 215 or even 290. The entire corpus of the Pāñcarātra literature is believed to consist of fifteen million verses. The Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās are given various names such as *Ekāyana-Veda, Mūla-Veda, Mūla-Śruti, Pañcama-Veda,* and *Mahopaniṣad*, and some of them are specially honoured. For instance, three Saṁhitās, the *Sāttvata*, the *Pauṣkara*, and the *Jayākhya Saṁhitās*, are said to constitute the *ratna-trayī* (jewel-triad). The *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* is, however, better known since it was the first to have received critical treatment in modern times. This Saṁhitā is believed to have originated in Kashmir early in the fifth century A.D. The major part of it is devoted to discussions of *kriyā* and *caryā* rather than of *jñāna* and *yoga*. In one section, however, it presents an interesting survey of various systems of religion and philosophy. The *ratna-trayī* is presumably older than the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, the oldest work being perhaps the *Sāttvata* (third century). Among other well-known Saṁhitās are the following: The *Īśvara* is perhaps one of the earlier ones produced in South India; it is quoted by Yāmuna, Rāmānuja's teacher. The *Parama* and the *Pauṣkara* are quoted by Rāmānuja. The *Bṛhadbrahma* is believed to belong to what is known as the *Nārada Pañcarātra;* it contains prophecies regarding Rāmānuja and must therefore be later than the twelfth century. The *Jñānāmṛta-sāra* also belongs to the *Nārada Pañcarātra* and contains the glorification of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; it is thus close to the Vallabha system. We may also mention the *Kāśyapa*, the *Pārameśvara* and the *Lakṣmī Saṁhitās*.

Side by side with the Pāñcarātra there also developed the Tāntric Vaiṣṇava cult known as the Vaikhānasa. The Vaiṣṇava temples in South India, and to a certain extent in Rajasthan and Orissa, are governed either by the Pāñcarātra canons or by the Vaikhānasa canons. For instance, the religious rites at the Varadarāja temple at Kanchipuram and at the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Srirangam are performed according to the Pāñcarātra; while those at the

Veṅkaṭeśvara temple at Tirupati are performed according to the Vaikhānasa (though, curiously enough, at the temple of Padmāvatī, Veṅkaṭeśvara's consort, the rites are performed according to the Pāñcarātra). Similarly, some specific Saṁhitās are regarded as authoritative at specific temples, as for instance, the *Pauṣkara* and the *Pārameśvara* at the Śrīraṅganātha temple; the *Jayākhya* and the *Pādma* at the Varadarāja temple; and the *Sāttvata* and the *Īśvara* at Melkote, though the *Pādma Saṁhitā* is seen generally to govern the Vaiṣṇava *pūjā*.

Though the Śākta Tantras are traditionally believed to exist in three groups of sixty-four texts each, their actual number, as known from several manuscript catalogues, is very much larger. The chronology of the Tantras is difficult to determine, but it may be pointed out that even in the *Mahābhārata* there are indications of the influence of the Tantras. Also, some elements of the Tantras have been epigraphically documented since A.D. 424.

The more important of the Tantras originated in the Kaula school. The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, which is perhaps next to the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in popularity, is a late work (eighteenth century) and was produced in Bengal. It may be regarded as presenting the Śākta doctrine and practices in the most representative manner. Brahman is identified with Śakti, the ultimate principle being necessarily female. Among the many topics dealt with in this Tantra are: *pañca-tattva* (the five principles); *pañca-makāra*, the five *m's*: *matsya* (fish), *mudrā* (parched grains used in tāntrika worship), *madya* (liquor), *māṁsa* (meat), *maithuna* (coition); *cakra-pūjā* (worship in a circle); and symbolic meditation on Śakti. Its metaphysics is not different from the Sāṁkhya and the Vedānta, and its *dharma* (social ethics) seems to have been adopted from the *Manu Smṛti*.

The *Kulārṇava Tantra* speaks of six forms of *ācāra*, but emphasizes that *mokṣa* is possible only through that *ācāra* ordained by *kula* (the community). It also insists that the five *makāras* must not be employed except in strictly esoteric circles. Among the other Tantras, the *Tantra-rāja* deals, in its first part, with the *Śrī-yantra;* the *Kula-cūḍāmaṇi* serves as a popular manual on Tāntric ritual; the *Prapañca-sāra* discusses the 'essence of the universe'; the *Jñānārṇava* concerns *kumārī-pūjana* (worship of a maiden as the goddess), which it regards as the highest sacrifice; the *Śāradā-tilaka* expounds the esoteric significance of *mantras* and *yantras;* the *Yoginī* includes the *māhātmya* (the peculiar efficacy or virtue) of the Kāmākhyā temple; and the *Gandharva* speaks of images.

Other important Śākta texts are the *Śrīcakra-saṁbhāra*, the *Kāmakalā-vilāsa*, the *Advaita-bhāvopaniṣad*, and the *Ṣaṭcakra-nirūpaṇa*. The *Devī-māhātmya* (sixth century) is included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* in which Devī is glorified as the eternal Universal Mother. A commentary on this Purāṇa, called *Daśāṅga*, gives a detailed description of the Śākta *pūjā*. The *Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (A.D. 1100) is a Śākta counterpart of the Vaiṣṇava *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The *Adbhuta-*

Rāmāyana is obviously a late work designed to introduce the Śakti cult into Vaiṣṇavism by elevating Sītā over Rāma.

THE STOTRAS

Stotra literature in Sanskrit is very vast, for *stotras* are prayers or hymns. Indeed, one wonders whether any proper count has ever been made, or can be made, of the works belonging to this class. This literature enjoyed the widest currency among the people. The tradition of prayers and hymns is quite ancient and may be traced back to the *Ṛg-Veda*. *Stotras* have been included in the epics, the Purāṇas, and the Tantras; and some epic poems contain fine specimens of hymnal poetry. Among these are the hymn to Viṣṇu (Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa*, X); the hymn to Brahmā (Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, II); the hymn to Mahādeva (Bhāravi, *Kirātārjunīya* closing canto); the hymn to Kṛṣṇa (Māgha, *Śiśupālavadha*, XIV); and the hymn to Caṇḍī (Ratnākara, *Haravijaya*, XLVII). In a sense, the *nāndī* verses (invocations) in Sanskrit dramas may also be regarded as religious lyrics. But the larger part of the *stotra* literature originated independently. Apart from single works of more or less definite authorship, there are many collections of *stotras* available in print which include many anonymous *stotras*. Among these collections are: *Bṛhat-stotra-muktāhāra*, the two *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākaras*, the *Bṛhat-stava-kavaca-mālā*, and some of the *gucchakas* of the *Kāvya-mālā*.

The major *stotras* usually relate to one of the five divinities: Gaṇapati, Sūrya, Śiva, Śakti, and Viṣṇu, most of the prayers being addressed to Śiva who also receives most of the praise. Then there are *stavas* addressed to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, either individually or collectively. Again, a substantial number of *stotras* are addressed to what may be called localized divinities, such as Veṅkateśa of Tirupati, Mīnākṣī of Madurai, Viśvanātha of Vārāṇasī, and Śrīraṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam. Minor divinities like Ṣaṣṭhī, Śītalā, and Manasā, rivers, and holy places also have their share of *stotras*. *Stotras* have a twofold appeal, religious and literary. Actually, however, the majority of *stotras*, with a few noteworthy exceptions, are known for their religious appeal rather than for their lyricism. And even this spiritual appeal is characterized by conventionalized idiom rather than by an effusion of religious emotion.

An early *stotra*, attributed to Bāṇa (seventh century), is the *Caṇḍī-śataka*. It is in praise of *Mahiṣāsura-mardinī* (the goddess who slew the buffalo demon) and has one hundred and two verses, mostly in *sragdharā* metre. The *Sūrya-śataka* by Bāṇa's contemporary and close relative Mayūra has, however, received greater approbation from literary critics. The great Śaṅkarācārya is traditionally said to have composed nearly two hundred *stotras*. Among those which seem to be genuinely his work we may mention the *Ānanda-laharī* (twenty verses in *śikhariṇī* metre); the *Saundarya-laharī* in praise of Śakti (one hundred

and three in *śikhariṇī*, the last verse being in *vasantatilaka* metre); the *Mohamudgara* which is also known as the *Dvādaśa-pañjarikā;* the *Bhaja-govindam* which is also known as the *Carpaṭa-pañjarī*; the *Harimīḍe;* and the *Śivāparādha-kṣamāpaṇa*. In most of these, devotional fervour is well-matched by poetic elegance, and deep mysticism by musical rhythm.

The *Pañcaśatī* describes the physical charms of Kāmākṣī, the Mother Goddess, in erotic terms, and is ascribed to the poet Mūka who is believed to be a contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya. The *Śivamahimnaḥ-stotra*, which is ascribed to Puṣpadanta (ninth century), is perhaps more philosophical than religious in tenor, and it has over twenty commentaries. To about the same period belongs the *Devī-śataka* of Ānandavardhana (A.D. 850); it seems to have been planned more as an essay in *alaṁkāra* than as a religious hymn. The hymnal literature produced by the Kashmiri poets includes: the *Stava-cintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (ninth century); the *Śiva-stotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva (tenth century); the *Bhāvopahāra* of Cakrapāṇinātha (eleventh century); and the *Ardhanārīśvara-stotra* of Kalhaṇa (twelfth century). The *Śāmba-pañcāśikā*, which is a hymn to the Sun-god, and which is traditionally attributed to Kṛṣṇa's son Śāmba, is also probably the work of a Kashmiri poet.

Coming from Kashmir to Kerala, we may mention the *Mukunda-mālā* of Kulaśekhara (A.D. 700). It has only about thirty verses (the number varies in different versions), but it is remarkable for its devotional earnestness and the author's sense of style. *Nārāyaṇīya* by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Kerala (A.D. 1585), on the other hand, is an extensive poem of one thousand verses and is laboured in both form and content. It glorifies Kṛṣṇa of Guruvayur, who is said to have cured the author of his asthma. Among *stotra* texts belonging to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school are the *Stotra-ratna* of Yāmunācārya (eleventh century), the *Gadya-traya* of Rāmānuja (eleventh–twelfth century), and *Nyāsa-daśaka* and *Aṣṭabhujāṣṭaka* by Vedānta Deśika. Jagannātha Paṇḍita (seventeenth century) wrote five *laharīs* (books of verse) which present a pleasing combination of sincere devotion, deep learning, and great poetic ability. They are: *Amṛta, Sudhā, Gaṅgā, Karuṇā,* and *Lakṣmī laharīs*. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of about the same period wrote a hymn to Mīnākṣī, called *Ānanda-sāgara-stava;* while his pupil Rāmabhadra wrote three poems in praise of Rāma's various weapons, and the *Varṇamālā-stotra* which is an alphabetically arranged eulogy of Rāma. Hymnal literature was also produced in connection with the Caitanya movement, such as the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* by Caitanya himself (fifteenth century), the *Stava-mālā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the *Stavāvalī* of Raghunāthadāsa.

ARTISTIC RELIGIOUS POETRY

Besides such prayers and hymns, Sanskrit is rich in religious poetry which is very artistic. The inspiration for this kind of poetry is derived mainly from

the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, who is also known as Bilvamaṅgala (twelfth century), is a striking collection of devotional lyrics in which the sentiment of *bhakti* for the youthful Kṛṣṇa is expressed through religio-erotic idiom and imagery. The work has come down in two main recensions, of which the south-western recension has three *āśvāsas* (sections) of over a hundred verses each; while the Bengal recension has only one *āśvāsa* of one hundred and twelve verses. The *Gītagovinda* by Jayadeva (twelfth century) is a unique work in many respects. It presents a series of what may be called musical monologues by three characters, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and Rādhā's companion. The action takes place in Vṛndāvana in the background of the *rāsakrīḍā* (the sportive dance of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*, milkmaids). Its central theme is that *rāsa*, the realization of blissful personal communion with the Lord, is the final goal of all religious activity. This theme is vivified by Jayadeva through his masterly exploitation of the media of poetry, music, and *abhinaya* (gesture-dance). The *Gītagovinda* is variously described as a lyric drama, a pastoral, an opera, a melodrama, and a *yātrā* (a popular dramatic entertainment). It has twelve cantos, and each canto contains *padāvalīs* (songs) set to different *rāgas* (melody patterns). These songs are introduced by one or two metrical stanzas which seem intended to be sung in chorus. The great popularity of the *Gītagovinda* is vouched for by its several imitations. In some of these, Rāma and Sītā or Śiva and Pārvatī take the place of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Vallabhācārya's son, Viṭhṭhaleśvara (fifteenth century), wrote the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana*. It contains songs modelled on Jayadeva's compositions. Another work, the *Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgiṇī* by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (A.D. 1700) also contains devotional lyrics set to different *rāgas*. But the truly glorious period of Sanskrit religious poetry—or, for that matter, of Sanskrit poetry in general—must be said to have ended in the twelfth century with Jayadeva himself.

3

THE GREAT EPICS

THE *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* represent both the ethos and the epos of ancient India. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, according to tradition, owes its origin to an extraordinary circumstance. A fowler's arrow killed one of a pair of curlews. Moved to pity at this tragic incident, the sage Vālmīki cursed the fowler, but he did so in a verse which came out spontaneously from his lips. This poetical expression of profound grief is said to have been the first verse composed (in the epic period); and the sage, who became the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is called the *ādikavi*, the first poet of the classical period of Sanskrit literature. Ānandavardhana (ninth century A.D.), the famous rhetorician, analysing Vālmīki's state of mind as he reacted to the pathetic sight of the bird being killed, is of the opinion that the experience had not only culminated in the utterance of the first verse, but also gave rise to the idea of *rasa*[1] in poetry. The origin of the *Mahābhārata*, according to tradition, is that it was penned by the elephant-headed deity Gaṇeśa and dictated by sage Vyāsa.

The epics had come into existence long before the art of writing was known. Down the centuries they were transmitted orally through, mainly, two classes of people: the *sūtas* (bards in the royal courts); and the *kuśīlavas* (travelling singers). Before they were committed to writing, the epic stories gathered many accretions; and even after they were written down, additions and alterations continued. The diverse nature of the changes made explains the great popularity of the epics throughout the length and breadth of India.

Though the epic stories are very old and some of them hark back to Vedic times, their present forms are of a much later date. It is generally believed that the *Mahābhārata* had attained its present form by about the fourth century A.D. The *Rāmāyaṇa* probably assumed its present shape a century or two earlier.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA*

Tradition places the *Rāmāyaṇa* earlier than the *Mahābhārata*. The nucleus of the *Mahābhārata* may have been older than that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but in

[1] The subtle conception of *rasa* makes it difficult to express the notion properly in Western critical terminology. The word has been translated etymologically by the terms 'flavour', 'relish', 'gustation', 'taste', 'geschmack' or *'saveur'*, but none of these renderings seems to be adequate. The simpler word 'mood', or the term 'stimmung' used by Jacobi may be the nearest approach to it, but the concept has hardly any analogy in European critical theories. Most of the terms employed have association of subtle meanings of their own, and are therefore not strictly applicable. S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. II, p. 135.

* The *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Yogavāśiṣṭha-Rāmāyana* are philosophical works and are, there-

their present forms the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to be the earlier work. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is more ornate than the *Mahābhārata*, more refined and sophisticated; the ballad style of the *Mahābhārata* is not present here. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is more or less a unified work. Much shorter[2] than the *Mahābhārata*, it does not show the jumble of diverse matters that is found there.

The main story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is briefly this: Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā, is about to install his eldest son, Rāma, on the throne. Kaikeyī, Rāma's step-mother, wants her own son Bharata to be crowned king, and Rāma to be sent into exile for fourteen years. The old and infirm king, though reluctant, has to agree. Rāma goes to live in the forest, accompanied by his consort, Sītā, and his brother, Lakṣmaṇa. The demon-king of Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa,[3] abducts Sītā. Rāma, determined to rescue Sītā, wages a dour war against Rāvaṇa who is ultimately vanquished and killed. Rāma comes back to Ayodhyā and assumes his position as king, with Sītā as queen. The story of the genuine portion of the epic ends here. In the last Book, which is suspected by many modern scholars to be spurious, it is narrated that the people of Ayodhyā speak ill of Rāma for taking back Sītā from Rāvaṇa's custody and Rāma banishes her in deference to public opinion.

Weber's suggestion that the Homeric story of Helen and the Trojan war exercised a deep influence on the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not substantiated by reliable evidence. Two allusions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to *Yavanas* (Greeks, Ionians) have been proved to be spurious. As Winternitz says, 'there is not even a remote similarity between the stealing of Sītā and the rape of Helen, between the advance on Laṅkā and that on Troy, and only a very remote similarity of motive between the bending of the bow by Rāma and that by Ulysses.'[4]

Some scholars, notably Weber, think that the epic was based on an ancient Buddhist legend of Rāma, the *Daśaratha Jātaka*. Winternitz, Bülcke, and others,

fore, excluded. Such works as the *Gāyatrī-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Saptarṣi-Rāmāyana*, etc. are later works derived from the epic; these have no distinctive merit and hence are also excluded here as epics. Ed.

[2] The *Rāmāyana* in its present form comprises 24,000 stanzas (*ślokas*), divided into seven *kāṇḍas* (books), viz. *Bāla*, *Ayodhyā*, *Araṇya*, *Kiṣkindhyā*, *Sundara*, *Yuddha* and *Uttara*; the extant volume of the *Mahābhārata* contains about one lakh stanzas distributed among eighteen *parvans* (sections): *Ādi*, *Sabhā*, *Vana*, *Virāta*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīsma*, *Drona*, *Karna*, *Śalya*, *Sauptika*, *Strī*, *Śānti*, *Anuśāsana*, *Āśvamedhika*, *Āśramavāsika*, *Mauṣala*, *Mahāprasthānika* and *Svargārohaṇa*. In addition to these eighteen *parvans* there is another book called the *Harivaṁśa* which is in reality a supplement or appendix (a *khila*) to the *Mahābhārata* proper. It contains more than 16,000 verses and does not seem to be the work of a single poet or compiler. As a literary production, it is a jumble of loosely connected mass of texts—legends, myths and hymns—professing to glorify Viṣṇu. The references to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, given in this article, are according to the Nirnaya Sagara Press Edition, and those to the *Mahābhārata* are according to the Critical Edition sponsored by the BORI, Poona.

[3] According to some, it is not the name of an individual king, but a title of distinction of the rulers of Lankā. See N. R. Navlekar, *A New Approach to the Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 267.

[4] *Vide HIL*, Vol. I, pp. 514-15.

however, reject this theory. But it is possible that the tranquillity and mildness of Rāma's character may have been, to some extent, due to the influence of Buddhism, which was extremely popular.[5] As 'Sītā' can be traced to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Atharva-Veda*, and some of the Gṛhya-Sūtras, some zealous mythologists regard these as bearing the first germs of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[6]

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as compared with the *Mahābhārata*, the art of poetry appears to have made great progress. To a great extent it appears to develop consciously, for content is no longer the sole concern of the poet; he is not a little concerned with form too. The poet is an adept in characterization, and this is displayed in a series of unparalleled portraits: Rāma's supreme sacrifice for the sake of his father; Lakṣmaṇa's obedience to his elder brother, at whose command he acts even against his conscience; the self-abnegation of Bharata in abjuring royal comforts during the absence of Rāma; and the unflinching loyalty of Hanūmān to his master at the cost of his personal comfort and even at the risk of life. Across the sea, in Laṅkā, we find Rāvaṇa, of tremendous physical and mental vigour, falling a victim to the frailties flesh is heir to. Among the women, Sītā is the glowing example of chastity and highmindedness, the paragon of all domestic virtues. She spurns the pleasures of the royal palace in order to follow her husband and be with him in his perilous forest-life. Amidst the various temptations held out to her by Rāvaṇa, who seeks her love, her fidelity to her husband is unshaken. King Rāma banishes her for no fault on her part; and, instead of accusing her husband, she accepts his decree without a word of protest, taking it as a decree of her own destiny. Kaikeyī, the typically designing and jealous queen, prevails upon Daśaratha, her husband, to banish Rāma and install Bharata on the throne. She gains her objective, but loses the respect of her noble son. The author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has thus presented a magnificent life-gallery throbbing with profound human appeal, and in the centre of this gallery the character of Rāma shines and shines almost like the Pole Star. He is a model son, husband, brother, king, warrior, and man. Though occasionally dazzled by flashes from his superhuman nature, we are not 'blinded or bewildered' by them.

The use of simile and imagery in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is superb. King Daśaratha, overwhelmed with grief, is compared to the sun under eclipse, to fire covered by ashes, to a lake the water of which has dried up[7] and so on. In the Aśoka

[5] Cf *Ibid.*, p. 510.

[6] Cf Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 348 n. 1 and p. 362 n. See also A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 262, and *HIL*, pp. 515-16.

[7] *Rām.*, II. 34 3.

grove, Hanūmān catches a glimpse of the emaciated Sītā. She looks, he thinks, like the thin line of the crescent moon (V. 15. 19), the flame enveloped in smoke (V. 15. 20), a lotus destroyed by the frost (V. 16. 30). The white moon moving in the sky is like a swan swimming in the blue waters (V. 17. 1). Held in the clutches of the dreaded Rāvaṇa, Sītā warns him that temporarily he may overpower her, but he cannot subdue her just as a fly can swallow clarified butter but cannot assimilate it (III. 47. 48). The employment of other figures of speech too has been done with a masterly skill and effortless ease.

The poet's description of nature is also masterly. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, unlike the *Mahābhārata*, brings out the close relationship between external nature and internal nature expressed in the minds and moods of people. There is, moreover, a suggestiveness in the picture of nature drawn by the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the *Mahābhārata*, descriptions are merely objective, but here the poet brings personal experience or his own interpretation to bear upon his depiction of nature. Unlike the other epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa* creates an idyll out of nature and produces a lyrical effect. The sad prospect of Rāma's going into exile casts a shadow of gloom not only on the minds of the people, but also on nature all around. The wind has lost its cool gentleness, the stars are devoid of radiance, gone is the brilliance of the moon, and all Ayodhyā reels like an ocean agitated (II. 41).

The description of the rainy season in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV. 28) reveals the dexterous hand of a true artist. Flashes of lightning are fancied to be wounds on the body of the blue firmament. Vapour, rising from the summer-parched earth after it is wet with showers, appears to Rāma like the tears shed by Sītā.[8] As Rāma watches streaks of lightning, again his thoughts turn to Sītā. The lightning tries to pierce the dark clouds and shines through them, but its dazzling brightness is dimmed by them as Sītā, in Rāvaṇa's captivity, is emaciated and bereft of all her lustre as she struggles to escape.[9] Then the rumbling clouds, with their banners of lightning unfurled and garlands of cranes on, are described as frantic elephants on the field of battle.[10] The earth, with luxuriant vegetation and small insects of red and velvety colour, is conceived as a damsel wearing a parrot-like green wrapper with pink dots of lac-dye (IV. 18. 24). The poet's pen-pictures of winter (III. 16), spring (II. 56 IV. 1), and autumn (IV. 30) are equally charming. Vālmīki's descriptive art shows its unique power and charm also in describing the ocean (IV. 64), rivers (II. 1; II. 95), lakes (IV. 1), forests (I. 24; III. 15), hermitages (III. 11), gardens (V. 14-15), hills (II. 94), and so on.

[8] *Ibid.*, IV. 28. 7.
[9] *Ibid.*, IV. 28. 11-12.
[10] *Ibid.*, IV. 28. 20.

Various sentiments have been introduced into the epic, but the main sentiment is the heroic. At the same time, pathetic scenes are described with masterly skill. Daśaratha broken down by the separation from his dearest son, Rāma; the city of Ayodhyā bereft of Rāma; Rāma separated from his beloved; Sītā pining in alien surroundings—these scenes are so poignantly described that the appreciative reader has to shed tears. The author's capacity to delineate the fierce and the cruel is shown in his description of a grim battle, or of Bharata's awful dream.[11]

Although ornate, the style of the epic is racy, and not pedantic. In form and content it is a very near approach to the *mahākāvya*, as defined in poetics. It is thus a precursor of the vast and varied classical *kāvya* literature in Sanskrit. The epic is a *kāvya* of the romantic type, the element of romance being most marked in the *Sundara-kāṇḍa*. The language is simple, and yet dignified, and does not indicate that straining after literary exercise which characterizes some later poetical works, especially those of the decadent age. The author of the epic appears to have been the first poet to adapt *anuṣṭubh*, the Vedic metre, to later Sanskrit literature, although with certain modifications. Vālmīki thus may aptly be described as the father of classical Sanskrit poetry.

Lassen and Weber, followed by some other scholars, consider the Rāma story to be allegorical. Rāma, they hold, symbolizes Aryan culture, and his expedition against Rāvaṇa represents the cultural domination of the southern regions by the Aryans. According to Wheeler, the epic symbolizes the conflict between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. Jacobi is one of those scholars who are of the opinion that this story is no allegory, but just an ancient Indian myth thus transformed into a massive narrative of earthly adventures. Monier Williams thinks that the story of the conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa contains a moral allegory. It seeks to typify the great mystery of the struggle ever going on between the forces of good and evil.

Some scholars have suggested that there is a philosophical allegory in the epic. Rāma and Sītā represent respectively Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Mārīca, in the guise of a golden deer, is Māyā. Sītā, held in confinement by Rāvaṇa, is the lost human soul in the grip of illusion. Rāma's search for her is the quest of the human soul by Puruṣa, the divine spirit. Sītā's fire-ordeal symbolizes the redemption of Prakṛti from the taints of Māyā. Ultimately, both Puruṣa and Prakṛti enter into their original state*.

[11] *Ibid*, II. 69 8-11.

* Sri Ramakrishna imparted a new allegorical interpretation when he said: 'Rāma, who is God Himself, was only two and a half cubits ahead of Laksmaṇa. But Lakṣmana could not see Him, because Sītā stood between them. Laksmana may be compared to the Jīva, and Sītā to Māyā. Man cannot see God on account of the barrier of Māyā.' *Vide Gospel of Śrī Rāmakṛsna* (tr) by Swami Nikhilananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, p. 101.

Swami Vivekananda said in the course of a conversation that Śrī Rāma was the Paramātman

The epic is highly valuable in another respect. It seeks to hold out lofty ideals in the life of the individual, the family, and society; it also holds out high political and economic ideals. It is, in fact, an epitome of Indian civilization, for the highest spiritual and metaphysical ideals are also set forth, stressing the transience of life, so full of misery, and the eternal nature of the soul. While fate is recognized as extremely powerful, good actions and penances are stated to be the means of overcoming it. Complete surrender to God is laid down as the way to attaining the *summum bonum* of life, *mokṣa*. Verses 14-31 of the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* (chapter CV) are regarded as the *Gītā* within the epic.

ARTISTIC MERIT

In the view of some Western critics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a piece of literary art suffers from some defects, such as diffuseness, frequent use of hyperboles, and exaggerations. Frederick Rückert, for instance, who otherwise admits the intrinsic beauty and excellence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in comparison to the *Iliad*, describes it as a 'formless fermenting verbiage'.[12] Such criticism appears too harsh to be justified. 'Verbiage' may be detected here and there in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it can by no means be called 'formless'. As stated earlier, it has set the pattern of the later Sanskrit *kāvya* in many respects, and matter is not the sole concern of the poet, the manner too counts very much with him. Besides, verbiage, hyperbole, exaggeration, diffuseness, etc. are natural in most poetical literature. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, therefore, could not be an exception. As Monier Williams puts it so beautifully, 'It (The *Rāmāyaṇa*) is like a spacious and delightful garden; here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams, and even its most tangled jungle intersected with delightful pathways'.[13] In fact, most of the artistic drawbacks of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are attributable to the later versifiers who added to, and altered the original production by Vālmīki.[14] The *Rāmāyaṇa*, indeed, is a marvellous piece of art which India can legitimately be proud of. In the

and that Sītā was the Jīvātman, and each man's or woman's body was the Laṅkā (Ceylon). The Jīvātman which was enclosed in the body, or captured in the island of Laṅkā, always desired to be in affinity with the Paramātman, or Śrī Rāma. But the Rāksasas would not allow it, and Rākṣasas represented certain traits of character. For instance, Vibhīsana represented *sattva guna;* Rāvana, *rajas;* and Kumbhakarna, *tamas. Sattva guna* means goodness; *rajas* means lust and passions, and *tamas* darkness, stupor, avarice, malice, and its concomitants. These *gunas* keep back Sītā, or Jīvātman, which is in the body, or Laṅkā, from joining Paramātman, or Rāma. Sītā, thus imprisoned and trying to unite with her Lord, receives a visit from Hanūmān, the *guru* or divine teacher, who shows her the Lord's ring, which is *Brahma-jñāna*, the supreme wisdom that destroys all illusions; and thus Sītā finds the way to be at one with Śrī Rāma, or, in other words, the Jīvātman finds itself one with the Paramātman. *Vide* Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*, Vol. V, Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, p. 415.—Ed.

[12] F. Rückert, *Poetisches Tagebuch* (Frankfurt a. M., 1888), p. 99. See also *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 500.

[13] Monier Williams, *Indian Epic Poetry* (Williams and Norgate, London, 1863), p. 12.

[14] Cf. *HIL*, *op. cit.*

whole range of Sanskrit literature, there are very few poems more charming than this one by the *ādikavi*. 'The classical purity, clearness, and simplicity of its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds, its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents and nature's grandest scenes, the deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting workings and most refined emotions of the human heart, all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions that have appeared at any period or in any country.'[15]

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The kernel of the *Mahābhārata* story is briefly this: The Pāṇḍavas, headed by Yudhiṣṭhira, and the Kauravas, headed by Duryodhana, descended from common ancestors. Duryodhana becomes jealous and, coveting the crown invites Yudhiṣṭhira to a game of dice. As the result of a rash wager, Yudhiṣṭhira loses his kingdom to Duryodhana and is then forced to go into exile, together with his brothers and Draupadī, the common consort of the Pāṇḍavas, for twelve years, followed by one year during which they must live incognito. But even when the stipulated period is over, Duryodhana refuses to give even a fraction of his territory to Yudhiṣṭhira, the rightful owner. A grim battle ensues. The Kauravas are routed and ruined, and the Pāṇḍavas regain their lost kingdom.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

The *Mahābhārata* has been characterized as a 'whole literature',[16] a 'repertory of the whole of the old bard poetry of ancient India'.[17] The nucleus of the epic, as we have seen, is simple, but around this nucleus has gathered a diverse mass of material dealing with innumerable topics—legendary, didactic, ethical, heroic, aesthetic, philosophical, political, and so on. Of the legends, some are edifying and testify to the great literary skill of the author. This may be seen, for example, in the legends of Nala and Damayantī, of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. Even a casual reader is struck by the wealth of characters in the epic, and the way they have been so beautifully portrayed. The composer is obviously a keen observer of human nature, and he can depict a character with masterly skill. He knows the value of contrast, for he shows how a good character shines brighter against a bad one. Each of the five Pāṇḍava brothers has his own distinct traits of character. Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest, never departs from the age-old path of virtue, however great his privation or humiliation, and however grave the provocation may be. Unflinching

[15] Monier Williams, *op. cit.*

[16] Cf *HIL*, Vol. 1, p. 327 In the epic itself, it is described as Itihāsa (I. 2. 237), Artha-śāstra, Dharma-śāstra, and Mokṣa-śāstra (I. 56. 21). Further on, it is told that whatever is in this epic occurs elsewhere, but what is not therein will not be found anywhere else (I. 56, 33).

[17] Cf. *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 318.

in his devotion to *dharma*, he has an unshaken faith that *dharma* must ultimately triumph. Arjuna is the warrior *par excellence*. Bhīma, of tremendous physical vigour, is rather blunt and impatient; nevertheless, he is obedient to his eldest brother when he counsels patience and restraint. Nakula and Sahadeva are extremely loyal to their brothers and skilled in sword-exercise. Duryodhana is a designing and ambitious person. But he is well-versed in politics and statecraft and also in the art of warfare. Materialistic in outlook, he is concerned mainly with *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (desire), and does not bother himself about *dharma*. He thus serves as an excellent foil to Yudhiṣṭhira. Karṇa, the faithful friend of Duryodhana, is a self-made man. Though contemptuously referred to as the 'son of a charioteer', he is a master of his craft, and in the art of warfare he can be matched only with Arjuna. His fidelity to the Kauravas, even after he learned of his close kinship with the Pāṇḍavas, is ideal. His charity even at tremendous personal sacrifice is proverbial.

The suffering caused by their enemies rouses the righteous wrath of Draupadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. Her speech[18] to spur the quiet Yudhiṣṭhira to action is fiery and imbued with the high Kṣatriya spirit. Gāndhārī, the mother of the Kauravas and wife of the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra, is similarly forthright. She condemns Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the one who is fully responsible for the rout and ruin of the Kauravas, thus clearly showing that she is not blinded by attachment to her husband or by affection for her sons. Her judgment is impartial and sound. Damayantī and Sāvitrī are models of chastity, ever solicitous of the welfare of their husbands for whose well-being no sacrifice is too great for them.

The dominant sentiment in the *Mahābhārata* is the heroic, but here too the pathetic sentiment is equally noteworthy. The battlefield is littered with corpses, some of them mutilated, others changed beyond recognition; the air is rent by the frantic wails of the bereaved women, in particular, of the aged queen-mother Gāndhārī, and the heart-rending laments of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Fate has afflicted him with blindness, and now, a forlorn father, he is doubly helpless. Such scenes cannot but draw forth the tears of the reader.[19] The lament of Gāndhārī, is in fact a masterpiece of elegiac poetry. Some Indian critics, however, regard *śāntarasa* (the quietistic sentiment) as the central sentiment of the epic. They believe that, through its various episodes and incidents, the epic seeks to create in the mind of the reader an aversion to worldly pleasures.

The epic reveals the poet's mastery of the art of description. The battle-scenes appear most vividly before our inward eye. The accounts of the forest life led by the Pāṇḍavas, the penances performed by Arjuna (III. 39), the *svayaṁvara*, self-choice, of Draupadī (I. 176-79), and many other such scenes

[18] *Mbh.*, III. 28, 29, 31 and 33.
[19] *Ibid.*, XI.

are all equally graphic. The description of Dvaitavana (III. 25) with its wealth of flowers and foliage, birds and beasts, and its hermitages, reveals the poet's eye for colour and his ear for music, and before the mind's eye of the reader it presents an unforgettable idyll. The poet of the epic is, however, as aware of the violent aspects of nature as of the pleasant. A most realistic picture is presented of the devastating storm that confronted the Pāṇḍavas on their way to Mount Gandhamādana: the reader vividly sees the ravages caused by the storm as the rivers swell with the heavy rain.[20]

In general, the style is effortless. Unlike the writers of Sanskrit poems of the post-Kālidāsa period, particularly of the decadent period, the composer of the epic is concerned more with matter than with manner. The long compounds, the difficult words, and the recondite allusions which disfigure the poetry of the age of decadence, are absent here. There is no attempt to use *tour de force* or to show off literary skill, verbal jugglery, etc. This absence of pedantry makes the epic eminently readable. However, a word is necessary regarding the so-called *Vyāsa-kūṭas*[21] or difficult passages. There are, in places, passages containing sort of riddles. These do not impede the comprehension of the epic story in a general way, but they do constitute stumbling blocks to the serious reader.

The epic shows spontaneous use of figures of speech. Though the prevailing metre is *anuṣṭubh*, which is common and most suitable in such a work, there occurs some metrical diversity also. The flowing ballad style of the epic conjures up the age of simplicity and reflects its popular character. Interest is also created by a mass of legends and the occasional inclusion of supernatural elements, such as the appearance of gods and their direct intervention in human affairs

The epic contains beautiful imagery too. The mighty tree entwined by clusters of flowering creepers under which Yudhiṣṭhira with his brothers gathered, immediately reminds the poet of a huge mountain surrounded by leviathan elephants.[22] Even in the philosophical *Bhagavad-Gītā* there are flashes of good imagery. Kṛṣṇa's mouth is wide agape, and as the people enter into it, they are fancied as insects jumping into a burning flame to meet with certain doom.[23] Again, the heroes of the world rushing into his flaming jaws are seen as so many currents of rivers flowing to merge into the

[20] *Ibid.*, III. 143.

[21] The legend goes that when sage Vyāsa was about to dictate the epic to Ganeśa, his amanuensis, he made it a condition that Gaṇeśa was not to write a word without understanding the meaning of it. This was necessary because Ganeśa, in turn, had agreed to write only on condition that Vyāsa would not falter or stop while giving the dictation. So the wise Vyāsa intentionally included these *kūṭas* because they would take Ganeśa a long time to comprehend, and in the meantime the sage would get a breathing time to think of new passages.

[22] *Mbh.*, III. 25. 26.

[23] *B.G.*, XI. 29 (References to the *Bhagavad-Gītā* are according to the Nirnaya Sagar Press Edn., Bombay).

ocean.[24] The effulgence of *Viśvarūpa* (the Lord's universal form) assumed by Kṛṣṇa standing before the perplexed Arjuna, is conceived as the brilliant radiance of a thousand suns rising simultaneously.[25] The description of the ocean in the *Ādiparvan* (I. 19) is a marvellously picturesque one. It is rich in detail, in colour, and in vividness. The imaginative touch also is very captivating. For example, the ocean with its huge billows and whirlpools is imagined to be dancing with arms, the waves, uplifted. The mighty rivers rush unto it with proud gait. It is as if the lovelorn ladies are coming eagerly to meet their beloved lord. At another place, the foam of the wavy sea is fancied to be its laughter (III. 102. 22). In describing the hermitage of Dadhīca (III. 98. 12-17), the epic poet refers to its heavenly calm and tranquillity where creatures which are by nature hostile to one another have now forgotten all enmity.

A noticeable feature of the love depicted in the epic is that it is sometimes motivated by material considerations rather than by the dictates of the heart. Śakuntalā, for example, is prepared to requite King Duṣyanta's love for her provided he promises to give the crown to her would-be son. Later, the king has no compunction in repudiating Śakuntalā in the royal court, probably in order to escape the calumny spreading among the people, and to escape, too, discord in the royal seraglio. Arjuna's marriage with Citrāṅgadā is also a conditional one. Perhaps the age, rather than the poet, is responsible for such an attitude to life and love.

The conflict of emotions, common in life, has been described in the epic with great ingenuity. The prospect of war between Karṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, all of them being her sons, makes the heart of mother Kuntī tremble. She feels that, in this war, Arjuna is sure to be killed. A sense of shame, usual for a respectable lady like her, prevents her from disclosing to Karṇa that he is her son and, as such, he should avoid a fratricidal war. But the mother in her prevails upon her. After a wakeful night, she approaches Karṇa and divulges the closely-guarded secret. Karṇa is in a dilemma. He cannot desert Duryodhana, his saviour and patron. On the other hand, he should not slay his own brothers. Torn by these sentiments, he decides to fight on Duryodhana's side but to a limited extent. He assures the worried mother that he would spare the four Pāṇḍava brothers and will encounter Arjuna alone; if Arjuna dies, Kuntī will have Karṇa as a son in his place; if Karṇa falls, Arjuna will continue enjoying her affection.

Some scholars[26] have tried to find an allegory in the *Mahābhārata*. One has suggested that the Pāṇḍavas symbolize the seasons, and Draupadī (Kṛṣṇā) the dark earth possessed by five successive seasons. At times the seasons lose

[24] *Ibid.*, 28.
[25] *Ibid.*, 12.
[26] Cf. V. S. Sukthankar, *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, pp. 25-27.

their wealth of lustre, as in the disastrous game of dice with Duryodhana when Kṛṣṇā is left with only a single garment, that is, the earth becomes denuded in winter. Another critic finds in Pāṇḍu (literally pale or white) the name of a royal family of a white race that migrated into India from the north and was afterwards known as Arjuna (literally white). According to yet another scholar, the epic story is an account of the relationship and the conflict among the different systems of Hindu philosophy and religion.

The epic has been a veritable fount at which the people of India, and indeed, of all climes and times, have drunk deep in seeking to quench their insatiable thirst for the truth. The key to the universal popularity of the epic seems to lie in the fact that it has invaluable treasure to offer on three planes: the mundane, the ethical, and the metaphysical.[27] On the mundane plane, it is a work of great art, transporting the reader to a new world vivified by intense imagination and masterly delineation. On the ethical plane, we find in it the eternal conflict between *dharma* and *adharma*, with *dharma* having temporary reverses but with the ultimate and inevitable triumph of good over evil. The *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the quintessence of the ethical teaching of the epic, teaches the philosophy of disinterested action, a philosophy highly prized by the wise of all ages and all lands. It also teaches us to practise *samatva* (equipoise) which, indeed, is the essence of *Yoga*. On the metaphysical plane, the epic demonstrates the ultimate Truth. And yet, in between all this, we find simple incidents which declare that the secret of the universal popularity of the epic is its tremendous human appeal—the actions of such noble characters as Yudhiṣṭhira and Karṇa, the exhortation of the hero-mother Vidulā to her cowardly son Sañjaya to act like a true Kṣatriya (V. 131–134), or the sage counsel of Vidura to face the challenges of life with aplomb and dignity (II. 69; III. 6).

ARTISTIC MERIT

The *Mahābhārata* is not a homogeneous and unified work of art. It is as a whole, to quote Winternitz, 'a literary monster' containing so many and so multifarious things. It has also been characterized as a 'jungle of poetry'. All this is true, yet it is a fact that the epic is 'more suited than any other book to afford us an insight into the deepest depths of the soul of the Indian people'.[28] The Brāhmaṇas utilized this popular epic as a medium for the propagation of their ideas among the people, ideas that were religious, philosophical, moral and ethical, political and economic. In doing this, they incorporated a mass of material, including legends and myths, into the corpus of the epic. Thus from the earliest times the epic literature did not emerge as an entity distinct from philosophy and moral and religious teaching. This accounts for the fact that,

[27] *Vide* V. S. Sukthankar, *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, pp. 32-124.
[28] Cf. *HIL*, Vol. I, pp. 326-27.

like the *Ṛg-Veda* and the Upaniṣads, the *Mahābhārata* contains beautiful poetry juxtaposed with philosophical or other topics which are, perhaps, to the ordinary reader, insipid and jejune. In the course of time, when the Buddhists assumed political power, they seized upon the popular *Mahābhārata* as a convenient tool for the dissemination of their doctrines and moral principles. The Jains, too, did not lose the opportunity to spread their doctrines among the masses through the framework of this popular epic. The epic thus underwent changes which have made it a medley of miscellaneous matters. It is not, however, amorphous, nor is it meaningless. It has the single purpose of upholding the glory of *dharma* and proclaiming the eternal value of peace and tranquillity in society.

While parts of the *Mahābhārata* contain profound wisdom and at the same time testify to the artistic skill of the composer, there are other portions which, as pieces of literature, are pedestrian. This phenomenon prompted Winternitz[29] to say that if one has to believe that the epic is by one and the same hand, then it must be presumed that the author was at once a sage and an idiot, a finished writer and a wretched scribbler. But modern research has proved that the *Mahābhārata* is not one single poetic production at all; it is a literary complex. So the presence of portions of varying merits in one and the same work is not surprising. It is not fair to say that the *Mahābhārata* began as a simple epic but ended in 'monstrous chaos'.

THE EPICS. THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP

As has already been stated, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the earlier of the two epics in their present forms. From the points of view of language and style, and also from their reflections of social conditions, however, it seems that the *Mahābhārata*, in its original form, preceded the *Rāmāyaṇa* in its original form. The language of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more refined, and its style more polished and ornate than the old ballad style of the *Mahābhārata*. The characters depicted in the *Mahābhārata* are less sophisticated, in fact more rude and rough than those in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. For instance, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā, even when her chastity and patience were put to the severest test at the hands of Rāvaṇa or when she was banished by Rāma, did not forsake her quiet dignity. In the *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, unrestrained emotion marks the utterances of Draupadī. The characters of Kauśalyā and Kaikeyī, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, may be compared with those of the queens of classical Sanskrit literature; but Kuntī and Gāndhārī, in the *Mahābhārata*, are depicted as true hero-mothers of the heroic age. Another notable point of difference is in the descriptions of the battle-scenes. Unlike those in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the battle-scenes in the *Mahābhārata* are so vivid that one feels they must have been witnessed by the author himself. According to some scholars,[30]

[29] *Vide HIL*, Vol. I, pp 460-61

[30] Cf. *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 507.

all these differences between the two epics do not indicate a difference in age, but a difference in region; the epics are seen as representing two distinct regions. While the *Mahābhārata* mirrors the comparatively primitive society of western India, the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents the more refined society of the eastern region.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine to what extent, if at all, one epic influenced the other. Jacobi is of the opinion that the *legend* of the *Mahābhārata* became an *epic* under the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. There is no incontrovertible evidence to support this view, but the occurrence of the Rāma story in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Vanaparvan* (III. 258–75), does tend to lend countenance to it as a hypothesis. Yet it is not known for certain whether it was taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or from an older Rāma saga. The possibility of its having been a later interpolation cannot also be ruled out. Moreover, this portion appears to be an inartistic abridgement of the Rāma story, and cannot have enhanced the literary value of the *Mahābhārata*.

The soliloquy of Sudeva (III. 65. 9–25) occurring in the Nala episode of the *Mahābhārata* (III. 50-78) resembles almost verbatim the longer one of Hanūmān in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V. 15–17). It is difficult to decide which epic is the borrower. If we are to presume that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the borrower, then the talents of the author of this artistic work have to be belittled. The fact that the passage fits into the context better in the *Rāmāyaṇa* than in the *Mahābhārata* has led some scholars to think that the *Mahābhārata* is the borrower.[31] There is also the possibility that both the epics borrowed this portion from a common source. It may be mentioned here that the *Nalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* in twenty-eight chapters is a beautiful poem of love. It is indeed an epic within the epic and, as Schlegel says, it 'can hardly be surpassed in pathos and ethos, in the enthralling force and tenderness of the sentiments.'[32] Similarly, a portion of the *Sabhāparvan* (chapter V) of the *Mahābhārata* has a counterpart in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and it is likely that here, too, a common source inspired both the epics.[33] A further case, in which the possibility of a common source cannot be entirely ruled out, is seen in some passages of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (I. 60. 54–67) which are found almost verbatim in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (III. 14. 17–32).[34] The question as to which is the borrower cannot be answered. Some eminent modern scholars think that the *Rāmāyaṇa* as an epic developed into its present form between the rise of the *Mahābhārata* legend and the establishment of the *Mahābhārata* epic; the transformation of the *legend* into the *epic* took, of course, several centuries.

[31] Cf. V. S. Sukthankar, *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*, p. 412.
[32] Cited in *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 382.
[33] Cf. *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*, p. 413.
[34] Cf. *Ibid.*

There are almost identical passages in portions of the two epics. E. W. Hopkins[35] has made some researches in this direction. But more remarkable is the resemblance between the two in some of their main episodes. For example, in both the epics, the heroes are to live in exile and that also for a similar duration; during the period of exile, the heroines are molested and taken away, Sītā by Rāvaṇa and Virādha, and Draupadī by Jayadratha and Jaṭāsura. Again, both Sītā and Draupadī are given in marriage by *svayaṁvara* (self-choice) and in both the cases the deciding factor in the choice of the suitor is physical feat. Moreover, both Sītā and Draupadī are born miraculously.

CONCLUSION

Both the epics are essentially didactic and ethical in spirit. Hence they are regarded as Dharma-śāstras and Nīti-śāstras. They provide detailed guidelines for rulers, for statesmen, for law-givers, and for persons belonging to the four castes and stages of life. Both have tried to propagate the same message: It is virtue not vice, truth not falsehood, that ultimately wins and prevails. The pictures drawn in the epics of happiness, harmony, and understanding in the domestic and social spheres are ideal. Affection of the parents, loyalty of the brothers, love of the wives, obedience of the children, and so on, have an irresistible effect on the minds of the reader. 'Indeed,' observes Monier Williams, 'in depicting scenes of domestic affection, and expressing those universal feelings and emotions which belong to human nature in all time and in all places, Sanskrit epic poetry is unrivalled even by Greek Epos.'[36] Verily, the epics reflect the national character of ancient India, her wisdom, her beauty, and her power. They are, therefore, aptly called India's 'national epics', India's 'pride and treasure'. Keeping in view the two other great epics of the world, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, it can be said that as monuments of the human mind and as documents of human life and manners in ancient times, the Indian epics are no less interesting than their European counterparts.[37] The life and literature of the Indian people beginning from the remote antiquity down to the modern times, have been largely influenced by these two great epics.* In fact, the story of Rāma

[35] *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 58-84 and pp. 403-45.

[36] *Indian Wisdom*, p. 439.

[37] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 420.

* 'Rāma (is) the ancient idol of the heroic ages, the embodiment of truth, of morality... Sītā is unique... She is the very type of the true Indian woman.' *Vide* Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*, Vol. III, p. 255. 'The internal conflicts between righteousness and filial affection in the mind of the god-fearing, yet feeble, old, blind King Dhṛtarāṣṭra; the majestic character of the grandsire Bhīsma; the noble and virtuous nature of the royal Yudhiṣṭhira, and of the other four brothers, as mighty in valour as in devotion and loyalty; the peerless character of Kṛṣṇa, unsurpassed in human wisdom; and not less brilliant, the characters of the women—the stately queen Gāndhārī, the loving mother Kuntī, the ever-devoted and all-suffering Draupadī—these and hundreds of other characters of this Epic (the *Mahābhārata*) and those of the *Rāmāyaṇā* have been the

and many of the episodes of the *Mahābhārata* are stock-subjects, which appear over and over again in the later literature. Many paintings, and architectural and sculptural pieces have also been designed after the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* motifs. On epigraphs and coins also the influence of the epics is considerable. They became so popular and famous that they travelled far beyond the limits of India, to the countries in the west, north, south and south-east, and to a great extent moulded their art and literature.[38]

cherished heritage of the whole Hindu world for the last several thousands of years and form the basis of their thoughts and of their moral and ethical ideas. In fact, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Māhābhārata* are the two encyclopaedias of the ancient Aryan life and wisdom, portraying an ideal civilization which humanity has yet to aspire after.' *Vide* Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 100-101.—Ed.

[38] For a detailed study of the influence of the epics on the life and literature of India and abroad *Vide CHI*, Vol. II, Part I

4

THE PURĀṆAS

THE Purāṇas are a very important branch of the Hindu sacred literature. They enable us to know the true import of the ethos, philosophy, and religion of the Vedas. They clothe with flesh and blood the bony framework of the Dharma-Sūtras and the Dharma-Śāstras. Without such a tabernacle of flesh and bone, the mere life-force of the Vedas cannot function with effect. It is, of course, equally clear that without such life-force the mere mass of flesh and bone will decay and crumble into dust. The Purāṇas relate to the whole of India so far as the historical portion therein is concerned and to the whole world so far as their ethical, philosophical, and religious portions are concerned.

The principal purpose of the present essay is toe xamine the Purāṇas from the positive traditional point of view and show how they explain the Vedas and how they have built up the national culture and inspired the national literature. But it will be of much use to know about the critical attitude of the West and the tenability or value thereof. H. H. Wilson's view that the Purāṇas were 'pious frauds written for temporary purposes in subservience to sectarian imposture' is as patently incorrect as it is blatantly unjust. Nor is it right to say that they are the expressions of a later and perverted Hinduism. These and other deprecatory opinions are based on insufficient knowledge and inadequate understanding and are as much opposed to truth as to tradition.

MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS

The term *purāṇa* means that which lives from of old,[1] or that which is always new though it is old.[2] Works like *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* refer to *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*. But probably these two terms relate to the stories and parables contained in the Vedas themselves. The references in the Dharma-Sūtras, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* are, however, to the Purāṇas proper. The tradition is that sage Vyāsa compiled the Purāṇas and taught them to Lomaharṣaṇa who was a *sūta*, a professional bard and story-teller, and that Lomaharṣaṇa taught them to his six disciples. It is also said that the *sūta* is a person who is a non-Brahmin, the son of a Kṣatriya father and a Brahmin mother. Even if the reciter *sūta* was a non-Brahmin, what follows from it ? The Purāṇas were written with the object of popularizing the truths taught in the Vedas by presenting them in relation to specific personages and to the events of their lives. Modern scholars,

[1] *Vāyu.*, 1.202.
[2] Śankarācārya's commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, II. 20.

however, say that the Purāṇas must be the work of many minds of diverse times and that the name Vyāsa indicates a mere arranger and compiler. This postulation seems to have been justified by several of the Purāṇas themselves. For example, the *Matsya Purāṇa*[3] says that Vyāsa arises in every *dvāpara yuga* to re-arrange the Purāṇas and give them to the world.

Some scholars find something tangible and important in the statement made in some of the Purāṇas (e.g. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*[4]) that the Purāṇas were heard by Brahmā even before the Vedas issued out of his four mouths. From this they infer that the Purāṇas were regarded as earlier productions than the Vedas. They forget that some affirmations are there only by way of praise. The statements were merely meant to extol the value of the Purāṇas and not to deride or decry the eternal, self-existent, and self-proved nature of the Vedas. The real function of the Purāṇas is to explain, illustrate, and amplify the Vedas.

In the *Amarakoṣa*,[5] it is said that a Purāṇa should have five characteristics: *sarga* (primary creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution), *vaṁśa* (genealogies of gods, demons, patriarchs, sages, and kings), *manvantaras* (periods of different Manus), and *vaṁśānucarita* (histories of royal dynasties). This is affirmed in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (1.12) also. It seems that this description refers to the special and specific topics contained in the Purāṇas and does not in any way affect the truth that the main value of the Purāṇas consists in amplifying, enforcing, and illustrating the spiritual truths stated in the Vedas in the form of injunctions and commands. The teaching of the Vedas has been likened to masterly commands (*prabhu-sammita*) and that of the Purāṇas to friendly counsel (*suhṛt-sammita*), and this is amply confirmed by the contents and delivery of these two classes of Brāhmaṇic literature. The five *lakṣaṇas* (characteristics) are found fully in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, and fully or partly in the other Purāṇas. It may be mentioned here that these five *lakṣaṇas* or characteristics are amplified in the *Bhāgavata*[6] and the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas*[7] into ten. But the classification into five *lakṣaṇas* by Amarasiṁha is the most usual, widespread, and important.

The Purāṇas then proceed to describe the historic evolution of the human destiny in the course of unfoldment of time. The four *Yugas* (ages of the world), viz. *kṛta* (*satya*), *tretā*, *dvāpara* and *kali;* the *mahāyugas* or the *manvantaras;* and the *kalpas* are described to illustrate the eternal cycle of the creation, destruction, and re-creation of the world, which constitutes a fundamental concept in all the Purāṇas.

[3] LIII. 8-10.
[4] I 58; see also *Mat.* LIII. 3.
[5] A famous Sanskrit lexicon (*c.* sixth century A.D.).
[6] XII. 7. 9-10.
[7] IV. 131. 6-10.

Much has been made of the sectarian and contradictory character of the Purāṇas and consequently an impression of rivalry and even of enmity has been adumbrated between Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. In the Vedas no such rivalry is stated at all. As the Purāṇas merely illustrate and amplify the Vedic truths, they could not have asserted any gradation among the *Trimūrti* (the Trinity). The Trinity is really and essentially one divinity with three divine forms associated with the three cosmic functions, viz. creation, preservation, and destruction. A careful study of the different Purāṇas, however, enables us to deduce that they had no real pugnacity in them.

The fact is that each Purāṇa has preferences, but no exclusions, in regard to the gods. Whether we call a Purāṇa a Śaiva Purāṇa or a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, we find references to the *līlās* (exploits) of various gods in each of them. For the purpose of intensifying devotion to one god, he is described as the supreme, but this does not mean a denial of godhood to the other gods. In the *Brahma Purāṇa*,[8] Viṣṇu teaches Mārkaṇḍeya that he is identical with Śiva. The *Padma Purāṇa*[9] says in express terms: 'Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara, though three in form, are one entity. There is no difference among the three except that of attributes.' The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[10] says that he who affirms superiority and inferiority among the gods is an ignorant fellow and that he who realizes their oneness is a man of true knowledge. The story of Atri's penance as described in the *Bhāgavata* (IV. 1. 17–29) clearly proves the same truth. We find it stated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[11] that 'The Bhagavān Viṣṇu, though one, assumes the three forms of Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā), Hari (Viṣṇu), and Śaṅkara (Śiva) for creation, preservation, and destruction of the world respectively.' Again in the same Purāṇa[12] the identity of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī with Śiva and Gaurī is affirmed. The fact is that each of the functions of creation, preservation and destruction implies the others and contains the others in a latent form. The Vedas and the Purāṇas affirm only one God, call Him by any name you like. Some Purāṇas affirm the origin of Viṣṇu and Brahmā from Śiva. Others affirm the *causa causans* to Viṣṇu. We can easily see the significance of this apparent variation. The one God conceived in His pre-tripartite state is described as the parent of Himself in His tripartite capacity.

CONTENTS

The principal (*Mahā*) Purāṇas are eighteen in number, viz. *Brahma*, *Padma* *Viṣṇu*, *Vāyu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Nāradīya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Agni*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Brahmavaivarta* *Liṅga*, *Varāha*, *Skanda*, *Vāmana*, *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Garuḍa* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. Some

[8] LVI 69-71.
[9] Cf. I. 2. 113-116; 7. 28.
[10] Cf. LXVI. 108-117.
[11] I. 2. 1-2.
[12] *Ibid.*, I. 8. 21.

times *Vāyu Purāṇa* is substituted for *Śiva Purāṇa* in the list. There are also eighteen secondary (*Upa*) Purāṇas but their names vary in different accounts.

It is, however, not possible to give here a résumé of the contents of all the Purāṇas. These contain about 4,00,000 verses on the whole and relate to a vast variety of topics. It may be mentioned for the benefit of those who wish to know briefly the contents of the Purāṇas, that the *Matsya Purāṇa* gives a short summary of them. A brief summary of six different Purāṇas is given here to show how they really speak with one voice and help us understand the true import of the Vedas and how they show that they are the basis on which the fabric of modern Hinduism rests.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa* we find at the beginning a description of creation. It is stated to be caused by Viṣṇu, who is described as being one with Brahmā and Śiva. The Purāṇa then describes the oldest Manu (Svāyambhuva Manu), his wife Śatarūpā and the Prajāpatis or patriarchs. The successive *manvantaras* are also described. The Purāṇa then speaks of the various continents (*dvīpas*) of the earth and also the nether regions (*pātāla*) and the upper regions(*svarga*). It next deals with the sacred places of India, especially Utkala (Orissa) and the worship of the Sun there, as well as the Ekāmra forest which is the favourite abode of Śiva. We have got also a detailed account of Dakṣa's sacrifice and the passing away of Satī and the birth and marriage of Umā. There is also a description of Purī of Jagannāth. The Purāṇa then proceeds to describe Viṣṇu's teaching to Mārkaṇḍeya that he is one with Śiva and that he pervades all things. It then tells of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life and doings. Next come the *śrāddhas* (obsequial rites) and the importance of the *ekādaśī vrata*.[18] Then follow the *yugas* (ages) and the *pralaya* (dissolution) of the world, the nature of Yoga and Sāṁkhya (systems of philosophy), and *mukti* (liberation) by attaining oneness with Vāsudeva. The Purāṇa has also an *uttara-khaṇḍa* or supplementary portion, describing the stories connected with Brahmā including his propitiation of Śiva.

The *Padma Purāṇa* has five parts. The first part, i.e. *sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa,* tells how Brahmā was born in the *padma* (lotus). It then describes creation according to the Sāṁkhya terminology. Its speciality is that Brahmā is given a prominence which is absent in the other Purāṇas. It also extols the supremacy of Viṣṇu. After treating the divisions of time from an instant to the life span of Brahmā, it speaks of the Prajāpatis, Rudras, and Manus. It states the importance of *śrāddhas*, especially at Gayā. It describes the lunar dynasty more elaborately than the solar. This part also dwells upon various *vratas* or observances of vows at length. The second part or *bhūmi-khaṇḍa* describes the lives of Prahlāda and Vṛtrāsura as also of Vena and Pṛthu. It then proceeds to enumerate the human embodiments of holiness (*jaṅgama tīrthas*, i.e. the parents and the *gurus*)

[18] The observance of a fortnightly devotional vow.

and the sacred shrines (*sthāvara tīrthas*, i.e. places of pilgrimage) at Mahākāla, Prabhāsa, Kurukṣetra, etc. The third or *svarga-khaṇḍa* tells of the upper spheres inhabited by the gods, in the course of King Bharata's ascent to *Vaikuṇṭha* (abode of Viṣṇu) beyond *Dhruva-maṇḍala* (the sphere of the Pole Star). It then describes the four *varṇas* (castes) and the four *āśramas* (stages of life) and their duties as well as *karma-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga*. The fourth or *pātāla-khaṇḍa* speaks of the nether regions. It also narrates in detail the exploits of the kings of the solar dynasty. The *Bhāgavata* is extolled in this part as the last and the best of the Purāṇas. The last part of the Purāṇa is the *uttara-khaṇḍa*, which deals with the story of Jālandhara. It praises the *mantra* (hymn), '*Oṁ Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇābhyāṁ namaḥ*' as the greatest of all *mantras*, and says that it can be taught to all classes including the Śūdras and women after *dīkṣā* (initiation). It describes also the *para*, *vyūha*, and *vibhava* aspects of Viṣṇu, and emphasizes the special sanctity of the month of *kārttika* and of *ekādaśī*. It also discusses *kriyā-yoga*, which deals with practical devotion as distinct from *dhyāna-yoga* or the path of contemplation.

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* was narrated by Parāśara to his pupil Maitreya. It is divided into six parts, each of which is subdivided into many chapters. The first part gives an account of creation, which is attributed to Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Viṣṇu, who is Paramātman, desired to create the universe so that the souls might perform their *karma* (work) and attain *mokṣa* (salvation) by means of God-realization. Creation is due to His mercy (*kṛpā*) and is His sport (*līlā*). Then follow accounts of the *avatāra* (incarnation) of Lord Viṣṇu as *varāha* (boar), of the *Svāyambhuva-manvantara*, of the Prajāpatis (lords of creation), of the churning of the ocean which yielded nectar (*amṛta*), and of the life of Dhruva who, by his devotion to Viṣṇu, was lifted to the supreme height of the *Dhruva-maṇḍala*. Dhruva's descendants are then described. The power of faith in Viṣṇu, however, finds its most magnificent expression in the legend of Prahlāda. The second part describes the earth and the nether worlds, and the courses of the planets. The third speaks of the Manus, the Indras, the gods, the sages and the Vyāsas (compilers). The fourth deals with the genealogies of the kings of the solar and the lunar dynasty, and brings them up to the *kaliyuga*, among whom are included the Magadha and Andhra kings and even later ones. The fifth part describes the life of Kṛṣṇa. The last part is philosophical and teaches how devotion to Lord Viṣṇu is the means to the attainment of beatitude.

The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* in four parts gives a detailed description of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā whose supreme abode is in *Goloka*. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is stated to be the supreme divine Principle from whom have come Prakṛti, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. The first part (*Brahma-khaṇḍa*) presents an account of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and Śiva emerging from the right and left sides of Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā from His navel. Rādhā emerges from the left side of the Lord. The *gopas* and

gopīs[14] come from Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā respectively. Brahmā then proceeds to create the ordinary universe. The second part or *Prakṛti-khaṇḍa* describes the evolution of Prakṛti according to the Sāṁkhya school of thought, but affirms that it is under the control of Īśvara and is his *śakti* (power). *Śakti* has five aspects: Rādhā, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and Sāvitrī. She has innumerable minor aspects as well. The third part or *Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa* is devoted to the birth and exploits of Gaṇeśa. The last part or *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa* deals with the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The meeting of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and their union form the theme of a most remarkable and picturesque poetic description in this part.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* largely emphasizes the worship of Śiva It has been mentioned earlier that in some of the lists of the main Purāṇas the place of *Vāyu Purāṇa* is sometimes taken by the *Śiva Purāṇa*. The two works, as now extant, are separate. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* is divided into two *khaṇḍas* (parts) and four *pādas* (quarters), and gives the story of creation, the history of the kings of the solar and the lunar dynasty, the description of the four *yugas* and fourteen *manvantaras*, and so on. It is worthy of note that this Purāṇa also contains accounts of the actions of Viṣṇu for the good of the world. Expositions of the Advaita system of thought are also to be found in this Purāṇa.

In the *Agni Purāṇa*, the emphasis is on the glory of Śiva, but descriptions of the glories of Viṣṇu also occur. It contains, in addition, a detailed account of political science, law, judicature, medicine, and rhetoric.

The foregoing survey of the six important and typical Purāṇas shows their method of treatment and their aim and content. It is seen that their main object, their very life, is to amplify the Vedic injunctions about morality and spirituality. They form in a way the kindergarten of the uprising soul which grows into fulfilment by means of *Brahma-vidyā* (knowledge of the supreme Spirit). They give us lessons in pure *pravṛtti* (enjoyment) and *nivṛtti* (renunciation) and make us fit for the ascent towards, and realization of, the highest spiritual truths taught in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.

ASSESSMENT

It has been shown that the Purāṇas are viewed by early Indian tradition from two standpoints. One is the *upabrāhmaṇa* theory of Manu: they illustrate and amplify the Vedic truths. The other is the *pañca-lakṣaṇa* theory of Amarasiṁha: they deal with the five topics stated earlier. Manu's view stresses the real essence of the Purāṇas, whereas Amarasiṁha's view relates to their external aspects. The description of creation and its dissolution is only to affirm and declare the glory of God, while the account of the lives of divine incarnations, sages, and kings is only to illustrate and inculcate moral and religious principles.

[14] The cowherds and milkmaids of Vṛndāvana.

Whatever may be the approach, it is clear that the Purāṇas are a vital portion of the scriptures of the Hindus. They are primarily an extension, amplification, and illustration in a popular[15] manner of the spiritual truths declared in the Vedas. The Purāṇas have, in fact, been described by the Upaniṣads as the fifth Veda and by the Smṛtis as the very exposition of what the Vedic seers realized. Outsiders may call them legends like the works of fiction current today. Some Indians too may regard them in a similar way. But the bulk of the Hindus and the main body of traditional opinion attribute to the Purāṇas a double character, namely: their illustrative value and impressive actuality. They reflect in meticulous details contemporary life and thought and have largely moulded public life, belief, conduct, and ideal in India for centuries and have contributed a great deal in bringing about religious harmony and understanding amongst the diverse sections of the Hindu society. As a Western scholar has observed, 'the Purāṇas afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies and its ethics, than any other works.'[16] It will not be fair to regard the Purānas as a mere mass of legends and the characters depicted in them as just creations of the poet's imagination. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, for instance, are still believed by millions of Hindus as actual human beings who walked the earth veiling their supreme glory and this faith is a part and parcel of their very existence.

The Purāṇas, by modern standards, may not be considered technically very happy as literary productions. But it must be remembered, while assessing their literary merit, that they are primarily of a didactic and liturgical character and have, therefore, a greater religious interest than literary. Besides, they have undergone numerous editions, transcriptions, and revisions in different periods of history. Lack of thematic and structural homogeneity, and of concentration and proportion, versification of a mixed character, weak vocabulary, fantastic details, etc. have, therefore, been some of the inevitable results. Yet, there are many passages in the Purāṇas which contain profound thought and wisdom and delineate moments of supreme human emotion. There are also instances of rare mastery in descriptive art.

Stotras or devotional hymns abound in the Purāṇas. From the stylistic and metrical points of view, they will be found interesting even to a modern reader. Most of these hymns are rich in philosophical or ritualistic contents. At the same time, 'the intensity of devout feeling', and 'the elevated mood of prayer and worship' expressed in them very often lift them 'to the level of charming poetic utterance'.[17] Mention may be made here of *Pradoṣa-stotrāṣṭaka* in the *Skanda*

[15] *Vide Vāyu.* 1.200. [16] *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 529.
[17] S. K. De, *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 113.

Purāṇa, the hymns addressed to Śiva by Asita and Himālaya in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, and so on.

The Purāṇas have exercised a powerful influence on the subsequent literary productions. The later poets and dramatists repeatedly turned to them for theme and even for style. Historians have discovered in them a chronicle of prehistoric ages; commentators have considered them as an inexhaustible treasure-house; and law-givers have referred to them as works of dependable authority. Thus, the Purāṇas are immensely helpful in tracing the evolution of ancient Indian thought and culture in all their aspects.

5

DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

THE CONCEPT OF DHARMA

THE Dharma-śāstras[1] as a class of literature represent the efforts of successive generations to adjust human behaviour to a just and valid norm. *Dharma* as a concept is very wide and comprehensive. It stands for the self-sufficient principle of ordering harmony—the great rationalizer. The term is derived from the root '*dhṛ*' signifying that it 'upholds' and 'sustains' humanity in all its coherence.[2] It is saturated with the notion of truth and righteousness. By reason of its integrating civil, moral and spiritual values, it supplies the basic impetus for human development towards higher and higher possibilities. It is a scheme of regulation which, with its countless norms and precepts and all that it deems sound and serviceable, is sought to be integrated in the values and perspectives of man's total career. Accordingly, *dharma* as a content of the Dharma-śāstras involves the things of the body, mind, intellect and soul in myriads of interests and values, and there is an inevitable mixing up of secular and empirical matters with those that are purely ethical and spiritual. The writers of the Dharma-śāstras were alive to this comprehensive character of *dharma*, for they knew that problems of life could not artificially be kept apart. They must meet at a point. This accounts for the wide connotation ascribed to *dharma*.

According to Indian belief, human good consists in *dharma* which is the geyser of the sustaining and forward-tending force of life. It induces a strong conviction that man, abiding by its tenets, conforms to the most efficient ways of 'right doing' and 'right living'. The ordering of human relations, according to this view, assumes momentous significance in terms of 'duty'. It fosters the process of rhythmic advance towards progress and prosperity (*abhyudaya*) as its own reward. It registers a sense of 'must' for the development of one's potentiality. Duty is not a tyrant, but a symbol of dignity to be discharged with affirmative joy. The realization of this vast perspective is assured in the Dharma-śāstras by the wonderful scheme of co-ordination of conduct adapted to different conditions, status and stations of life.

Our culture seems to have proceeded from the initial *elan* of 'duty' in which lies the ultimate guarantee of 'right', while the reverse has possibly been the

[1] In this article, a brief survey of the important literature on Dharma-śāstras is presented. For a detailed study on the subject please refer to the second volume of this series *(CHI)*, The Dharma-śāstras, Part IV, pp. 301-448.

[2] '*dhāraṇād dharmam ityāhur dharmo dhārayati prajāḥ*'—*Mbh.*, *Karṇaparvan* (49. 50). Cf. also '*dharmo viśvasya pratiṣṭhā*'—*Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, 22.1.

process of culture in the West. In the words of Manu (II.5): 'He who persists in discharging duties in the right manner obtains, even in this world, fulfilment of all desires he may have cherished, and reaches deathless state (in life beyond)'.

The scheme of the *varṇa* and *āśrama* rules of conduct as ordained in the Dharma-śāstras makes it significant that 'religion in India is not a dogma, but a working hypothesis of human conduct adapted to different stages of spiritual developments and different conditions of life'.[3] The object of religion is to help an all-round development of life, and its sphere extends not merely to this life but to the life hereafter. The broad understanding of human relations under this scheme leads to harmony by reconciling conflicting claims, social and the individual, as well as the real and the ideal. In this wider sense, *dharma* constitutes the basic concept of civil and religious law in the Indian tradition, and the Dharma-śāstras deal with it in all its aspects.

THE SOURCES OF DHARMA

In respect of the sources of law, we should not ignore the difference between the conditions in the ancient times and those prevailing during the period of recorded history. The modern jurist sees around him a world ruled by law imposed by the will of the State. It is either openly declared in a precept or command or tacitly recognized in custom. To Austin and his followers, political sovereignty is the ultimate source of law. Looking at law purely from Austin's angle of view, J. H. Nelson raised the question: 'Has such a thing as Hindu Law at any time existed in the world ? Or is it that Hindu Law is a mere phantom of the brain imagined by Sanskritists without law and lawyers without Sanskrit ?'[4] Obsessed as he was by the modern notion of law and sovereignty, he could not bring himself to believe that law had at any time been known to the people of India. But such a view of law is a part of the narrow world of ideas and is itself a modern growth to meet only a special exigency of social evolution. Such a conception of law and political sovereignty might not have an occasion for its growth in ancient India. But that does not mean the absence of law and order in ancient Indian society. 'Law which is the sum of the conditions of social co-existence with regard to the activity of the community and of the individual', to quote an authority, 'did not always in its concrete form present itself as the will of the State'.[5] The recognition of the existence of law in the sphere of human intercourse is inherent in man's nature itself.

The notion of culture presupposes a mind—a highly developed faculty of the 'super-organic' universe as Herbert Spencer calls it. Law-norms are meaning-

[3] Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 170.
[4] See *The History of Hindu Law* (Tagore Law Lecture) by Radhabinod Pal, Lecture I, p. 1. *et seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

ful components of values. Whether they form part of religion, ethics, beliefs, manners and convictions, there has never been over the globe any human society without law. According to Professor Ehrlick,[6] 'the centre of gravity of legal development was not in legislation, nor in juristic science nor in judicial decision, but in society itself', and that law is 'something much wider than legal regulation.' Cicero maintains 'that law is the highest reason implanted in Nature which commands those things which ought to be done and prohibits the reverse. The highest law was born in all ages before any law was written or the State was formed. It arose with the mind of God'.[7] The earliest form in which this authority theory of law manifests itself is that of a belief in a divinely ordained body of rules. In India it manifests itself in the belief nursed by tradition that the Veda is the embodiment of the fundamental knowledge of *dharma par excellence*. It is said to be the infallible source of the highest reason, antecedent to all human experience, and, accordingly, free from human imperfections of any kind whatsoever. This idea lies at the root of the interpretation of *dharma* as propounded in the Mīmāṁsā.[8]

The Mīmāṁsā theory has been greatly responsible for a reverential attitude to Law.[9] Law is said to be ingrained in the highest reason directing realization of the highest purpose. The idea of creation pre-supposes the existence of a supreme thinker or at least a supreme system of thought to regulate the scheme of cosmic evolution. The Veda stands for that fundamental knowledge. Manu[10] observes: 'In the beginning, He (the Lord) assigned several names, actions and conditions to all (created beings) even according to the words of the Veda.' Fundamental laws are conceived to have emanated from an authority higher than human agencies. The consciousness of dependence upon the highest cosmic power that controls nature and life is at the root of this belief. From this standpoint, a society is not merely the product of a humanly designed legal system. On the other hand, law is viewed as supreme and believed to have come from above as an efficient power, and there alone the forces—moral, legal, and highly spiritual—are conceived to unfold themselves, attaining full strength and vigour. The Mīmāṁsā system of thought links law with a vast cosmic design which is transcendental, and of eternal sanctity.

The true knowledge of *dharma*, according to the Indian conception, is derived from the Veda which is *apauruṣeya*,[11] free from interference of any

[6] *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law*, Foreword.

[7] Quoted by Thomas Holland, *The Elements of Jurisprudence*, 1924, p. 33.

[8] '*Codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ*'—*Jai. S.*, 1.1.2. See also *Śabarabhāṣya* on it.

[9] See for discussion present author's article entitled *Incarnation of Law from Mīmāṁsā Standpoint*, published in Charudev Shastri Felicitation Volume, New Delhi, 1974, p. 354, ff. See also *The Hindu Conception of Law, Calcutta Review*, November, 1938.

[10] I. 21: *Sarveṣām tu sa nāmāni karmāṇi ca pṛthak pṛthak, Vedaśabdebhya evādau pṛthaksaṁsthāśca nirmame*.

[11] *Jai. S.*, I. 1. 27-32.

personal being. In other words, it is immune from the influence of any kind whatsoever, whether of God or man. Its other name is *śruti* signifying that it was heard by the sages in the supernormal stage of their inspiration. Observance of the duty of maintaining *ṛta* or *dharma* by both gods and men including earthly sovereigns would ensure the upholding of the majesty of law, which is held to be just and true and supreme[12] in authority.

Our traditions involve veneration for the authority of law to restrain us from the danger of excessive human reasoning which, if let loose, may lead humanity back to grave anarchy. To us law or *dharma* is not the purposeless command of a wilful God or wilful human despot, nor is it left to the mercy of historical accidents and shifting currents and prejudices of social opinion, but is held as eternally sacred, salutary and valid.

But this rigid aspect of law has not ruled out the possibility that it is also susceptible to change. The cultural history of India bears ample evidence to show that law grows as the nation grows. Law is eternal in the sense that the leading principle or ideal is ingrained in the highest reason and the highest purpose, and in theory, the Veda is acclaimed to be the repository of the immutable law. The other source of law derives its authoritative force only by its affiliation to that fundamental source. The Smṛti came to be recognized as a secondary source only on the hypothesis that it is based on the Śruti. Jaimini, the founder of Mīmāṁsā, enunciates that the Smṛtis having been compiled by sages who were the repositories of the revelation, there arises an inference that they were founded on the Śruti and should, therefore, be regarded as authoritative.[13] The Smṛti represents the systematized memories of the Vedic revelations[14] which are otherwise lost to us. This affords an ingenious explanation as to how in the Indian tradition the legitimate scope of adjustment to the new changes could be admitted without affecting the rigid and eternal character of law. The laws derived from the memories of the Vedic traditions are preserved in the Smṛti as the recorded wisdom of old. The Smṛti is called *dharma-śāstra*: *Śrutis tu vedo vijñeyo dharmaśāstraṁ tu vai smṛtiḥ.*[15] In fact, it is the Smṛtis or Dharma-śāstras which became the positive guide for the history of civil and religious law in India. As a system, *dharma* is the precursor of the latest legal and ethical developments among the Greeks and Romans;[16] it also anticipates many a future century of normative thought and jurisprudence. Law here appears 'as an ever-present part of a perennial stream of the fundamental philosophy of life and action.'

[12] *Tad etat kṣatrasya kṣatram yad dharmastasmād dharmāt param nāsti*—*Bṛ. U.*, I. 4.14.
[13] Cf. *Jai. S.,: Api vā kartṛsāmānyāt pramāṇam anumānam syāt*, I. 3. 2.
[14] Cf. *Manu.*, II. 7 *Sa sarvo'bhihito Vede....*
[15] *Manu.*, II. 10.
[16] See for discussion Dr Berolzheimer's view in *Modern Legal Philosophy Series*, Vol. II, p. 37.

ORIGIN OF THE DHARMA-SŪTRAS AND THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

Whatever be the theory about the inviolable authority of the Vedas as the source of *dharma*, Vedic literature does not supply the systematized content of the civil and the canonical law except by way of incidental references. Towards the close of the era of the Vedic literature, there evolved a characteristic trend of composition called *sūtra* which is noted for its extremely compressed prose style—a brevity unparalleled in the literature of the world. During this period, *sūtras* became the vehicle of literary expression as an aid to memory on matters of diverse interest which were in a large measure connected with Vedic tradition. It is in the Sūtra period that the rudiments of canonical and secular laws derived from old traditions and established usages were accorded recognition for treatment in one of the branches of the Sūtra literature.

Connected with the Vedic tradition, as many as six branches of the Sūtras called Vedāṅgas sprang into existence of which the Kalpa-Sūtra, dealing with rituals, is directly concerned with *dharma*. Kalpa-Sūtra is divided into three branches called Śrauta, Gṛhya, and Dharma. The Vedic sacrificial rites form the subject-matter of the Śrauta-Sūtra. The domestic rites and household ceremonies to be performed at the domestic fire are dealt with in the Gṛhya-Sūtra. The content of the Gṛhya-Sūtra is large enough. It furnishes instructions chiefly on matters of sacrifices and ceremonies called *saṁskāras* which are to be performed at different stages of life. Such sacramental ceremonies add a gleam of sanctity to life. They help the development of the potentiality in the body, mind and intellect of an individual from his conception right up to death and even beyond. The Gṛhya-Sūtras are more intimately connected with the third section of the Kalpa-Sūtra, called Dharma-Sūtras; for the Gṛhya and the Dharma-Sūtras are *smārta sūtras* (based on recollected traditions), while the Śrauta-Sūtras are directly based on the Śruti. The Dharma-Sūtras appear to have been evolved as an extension of the Gṛhya-Sūtras or household-aphorisms. They contain a large body of the sprawling norms and precepts governing the conduct of people in different stations and stages of life. As to the growth of the Dharma-Sūtra, Keith[17] observes: 'It was perfectly natural that when *sūtras* began to be composed on matters of ritual, there should be adopted the practice of including in these texts instructions on matters closely akin to ritual, the daily life of the people, their duties of all kinds, including matters which more advanced civilization would classify as questions of etiquette and social usage, moral, legal or religious.' Such rules, of course, included regulation of all issues affecting *varṇa* (caste) and *āśrama* (order of life) and the texts of the Dharma-Sūtras served as the rudimentary manuals of both secular and religious law.

[17] A. B. Keith: *HSL*, p. 437.

The Dharma-Sūtras[18] were composed in prose of compact and compressed style, the language of which mostly approached Pāṇinian standard, though Vedic archaisms were not wanting. But prose *sūtras* were sometimes interspersed with verses in *anuṣṭubh* or *triṣṭubh* metre to emphasize a doctrine or sum up a point impressively. They deal with diverse rules of *dharma*, which comprise right, duty, custom, usage, law, morality, religion, etc. Law here emerges as an associate phenomenon of religion, and as such, sacraments (*saṁskāras*)[19] occupy an important place as a topic of the Dharma-śāstras. Their connection with socio-religious ideas is obvious,[20] though their purpose is not sufficiently explained by our authorities.[21]

We are not definite as to when exactly the Dharma-śāstras began to be composed for the first time. Yāska's reference in the *Nirukta* (III. 4.8-10) to earlier controversies about the legal issue of inheritance and his reliance on a verse called *śloka* as distinguished from a *ṛk*, gives us the clue to the pre-existence of works dealing with the content of *dharma* in the *śloka* metre. Patañjali[22] (second century B.C.) recognizes the authority of the Dharma-Sūtras as next to the commandment of God. All this establishes beyond doubt the existence of the literary tradition of the Dharma-śāstras even before 600 B.C.

A brief outline of the contents of the Dharma-Sūtras which also fall within the class of the Dharma-śāstras is indicated below. These include the sources of *dharma*, the rights and duties of the four *varṇas* and four *āśramas*, various *samskāras* including *upanayana* (investiture with the sacred thread) for the twice-born and *vivāha* (marriage), the vocations of the four *varṇas*, the duties of the king, the administration of justice, topics of legal dispute (for example, debts, deposit, ownership, inheritance and partition, witnesses and other items of evidence, offences and their punishment etc.), rights and duties of women, kinds of sons and their status, *aśauca* (temporary spiritual impurity on birth, death, and on other grounds), *śrāddha* (obsequial rites), sins and their expiations, etc.

[18] For the different branches of the Kalpa-Sūtra, see Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. I, Sec. I (1972), pp 271 ff.

[19] Hārīta classifies the *samskāras* as two—Brāhma and Daiva *dvividhaḥ samskāro bhavati brāhmo daivaśca*. The text is cited in Mādhava's commentary on *Parāśara.*, Vol. I. Part 2, p. 18. Gautama in his *Dharma-Sūtra* (8 14-24) mentions forty *samskāras* to which he adds eight virtues of the soul. For detailed treatment of the *Samskāras* the following works may be consulted: *The Hindu Sacrament, (Samskāras) CHI*, Vol. II, pp. 390-413. Kamalabai Deshpande, *The Child in Ancient India.* R. B. Pandey, *Hindu Sacraments* H Chatterjee, *Studies in Some Aspects of Hindu Samskāras in the Light of Samskāratattva of Raghunandana.*

[20] Cf *Manu.*, II. 26-27 and *Yāj.*, I. 10-13. See *Gaut. Dh S*, 8.14-20, *Viṣṇu. Dh. S.*, 27. 1-12. Cf also *Vas. Dh. S.*, II. 3; *Visnu. Dh. S.*, 28 37-38; *Manu.*, II 169.; Yāj., I. 39.

[21] P. V. Kane, *H Dh*, Vol. II, Part I, p 192.

[22] Cf. *Naiva īśvara ājñāpayati nāpi dharmasūtra-kārāḥ paṭhanti apavādair utsargābādhyantamiti*: *Mahābhāṣya*, Edited by Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 115.

The *Dharma-Sūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Āpastamba are considered to be the most ancient. Of these, Gautama's text presents an appearance of a regular Dharma-Sūtra. Its language corresponds to the Pāṇinian standard more than that of the other two *Dharma-Sūtras*. It may be due to its later remodelling. The two other *Dharma-Sūtras* show much of archaism in language. Some of the *sūtras* of the *Hiraṇyakeśi Dharma-Sūtra* are distinguished by the smoothness of classical Sanskrit. The *Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra* contains *sūtras* largely mixed up with verses, and some chapters[23] are entirely in verse. Its style agrees with that of Gautama. Some of the verses introduced by the words *ath'āpyudāharanti* and also other verses not so introduced are in *upajāti*, *indravajrā* or *upendravajrā* metre.[24] Some are in *triṣṭubh* (VI. 3 and 30; VIII. 17; XVIII. 71). Vasiṣṭha refers to the views of Manu of which some are put in prose.[25] Some scholars[26] take them to be reminiscent of the *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra* from which the extant *Manu Saṁhitā* is said to have been redacted as a metrical text. P. V. Kane,[27] however, sees in them reference to the view of an early version of the metrical Smṛti as adapted in prose by Vasiṣṭha, but not to the *Mānava Dharma-Sūtra* whose existence is merely hypothetical. The *Viṣṇu Dharma-Sūtra* is an extensive Sūtra work in both prose and verse. Its verses are mostly in *anuṣṭubh*. But some verses are in the classical *indravajrā*[28] and the *upajāti*[29] metres, while a few are in *triṣṭubh*. Its style is simple and easy.

LAW AND PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE IN THE DHARMA-SŪTRAS

Leaving aside some minor Dharma-Sūtras, let us discuss some of the valuable pronouncements of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasiṣṭha on law and the philosophy of life.

Sketching out the sources of law, Gautama proceeds to enumerate diverse rules of conduct, which, if carried out, will lead to the preservation of social harmony. This is considered to be the end of law. It was believed that through the security of the existing institutions of *varṇa* and *āśrama*, harmony could be maintained. Most of the Dharma-śāstra writers endeavoured to base their theories on 'welfare' and 'utility', but their notions of welfare and utility were conceived in terms of not only worldly advantage, but also in association with the idea of self-sufficiency and salvation in the world beyond. These *sūtrakāras* set on 'welfare hereafter' the highest prize of life. The doctrines preached by

[23] *Vas. Dh. S.*, XXV-XXVIII.
[24] *Ibid.*, I. 38, X. 20; VI. 9, 25; X. 17; XVI. 36.
[25] *Ibid.*, IV. 5-8.
[26] See *SBE*, Vol. 25, *Laws of Manu, Introduction.*
[27] *H. Dh.*, Vol. I, pp. 55-57.
[28] *Viṣṇu. Dh. S*, 19. 23-24.
[29] *Viṣṇu. Dh. S.*, 23. 61; also 59. 30.

them are rather *eudaemonistic* and *utilitarian.* Gautama[30] characteristically says: 'People devoted to the practice of their respective duties of *varṇa* and *āśrama* reap after death the consequences of their own deeds, and then from the remainder of their merit—take (next) birth accordingly' (11.29), and 'those who act in a contrary manner perish' (11.30). The knowledge of *dharma,* according to Vasiṣṭha,[31] leads to the highest good. By this one becomes most commendable in this world, and after death attains heaven.[32] Gautama[33] raises a very pertinent question as to whether one should perform any penance at all for a wrong, since the effect of no deed perishes without being experienced in the physical world. If in the moral or spiritual world, too, there is nothing to distinguish the process from the order of the physical phenomenon, penances will be futile to set the wrong aright. But Gautama, after all, discards the doctrine of eternal damnation and gives verdict in favour of penance on the authority of the Vedic revelation which declares the efficacy of such penance. It is to be noted that expiability is an attribute of mature law,[34] and in the treatises of Dharma-śāstras, expiation plays an important role for moral rehabilitation.

Next we refer to the views of Gautama[35] and Baudhāyana[36] as to the mode of deciding the law in cases not provided for. In such cases that course should be followed which an assembly (*pariṣad*), consisting of at least ten persons, well-instructed, skilled in reasoning, and free from covetousness, approves. Such an assembly should include three persons belonging to the three orders, namely, those of *brahmacārin, gṛhastha,* and *bhikṣu.* According to Baudhāyana, it is on the failure of the *śiṣṭas* (enlightened persons, who are free from pride and covetousness, etc.), that an assembly of ten members should decide the disputed points of law. Baudhāyana[37] admits practice or custom as authoritative only in the locality where it prevails, provided it is not opposed to the tradition established by the *śiṣṭas.* Āpastamba looks to the Veda as the ultimate source of law, but the immediate source, according to him, is the consensus of the learned: *dharmajña-samayaḥ pramāṇam* (I.1.2). Vasiṣṭha agrees with Baudhāyana that in the absence of the Śruti and the Smṛti, the practice of the *śiṣṭas* is authoritative: *tad alābhe śiṣṭācāraḥ pramāṇam* (I.5). But Vasiṣṭha defines *śiṣṭa* as one whose heart is free from desire (I.6). A heart free from desire is able intuitively to reflect and assess the divine reason governing the universe. Custom

[30] *Varṇāśramāśca svakarmaniṣṭhāḥ pretya karma-phalam anubhūya tataḥ śeṣena. . . .janma pratipadyante. Viparītā naśyanti*—*Gaut. Dh. S.,* 11. 29-30.

[31] *Athātaḥ puruṣaniḥśreyasārtham dharmajijñāsā,* I. 1.

[32] *Vas Dh. S.,* I. 3.

[33] *na hi karma kṣīyata iti kuryād ityapare punastomeneṣṭvā,* 19. 6-7

[34] See for discussion Prof. Cahn, *Sense of Injustice,* p. 158.

[35] 28. 46-48.

[36] I. 1. 5-6.

[37] I. 2.1, 5-6, 8-9.

takes its origin in some need felt by society, and there must be a general conviction of satisfaction of that need. It is the dispassionate mind which can attest to the validity of custom as a source of law.

The preservation of the existing social institutions and social *status quo* was an important concern for the sages in our ancient system of law. They were convinced that in every society there must be grades and classes, and justice is only a condition in which each keeps himself within his appointed sphere. The administration of such justice is the duty of a king. Vasiṣṭha enjoins: 'Let the king looking deep into all the laws of countries, castes and families, make the four classes (of people) adhere to their own respective particular duties: *deśadharma-jātidharma-kuladharmān*. . .*rājā caturo varṇān svadharme sthāpayet*.[38] Let him punish those who go astray from these.'[39]

The Dharma-śāstra writers direct the nature and measure of punishment on due consideration of circumstances, time, place, age, learning, responsibility, etc. not overlooking the caste of the perpetrator. Gautama[40] derives the word *daṇḍa* from *damanāt*, and according to him, a king should restrain.[41] Most of the *Dharma-sūtrakāras* recognize the probability of the assertion of law by coercion and it is connected with the function of a king. Brāhmaṇas and kings are the two classes engaged in the common mission of maintaining *dharma*, the former as exponents and the latter as executants. This is the significant view upheld by Gautama[42] and also by Vasiṣṭha.[43]

METRICAL DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS[44]

It has been shown how the Dharma-Sūtras came to be recognized as part of the Kalpa-Sūtra tradition of the Vedic school. The metrical texts of the Dharma-śāstras represent the next phase of development in the history of Indian law. Law is then no longer kept confined to the grooves of the Vedic *sūtracaraṇa* at all. Multiple are the factors which lead to the enlargement of law. The environment in the process of mutual interaction and adjustment leads to the development of law. Metrical Smṛti-saṁhitās of more or less universal authority sought to crystallize the age-old customs and usages of the community of the Vedic Aryans and included *inter alia* much of the resources available from the surrounding human population steadily absorbed within its fold.[45]

38 *Vas. Dh. S.*, XIX. 5.
39 *Ibid.*, XIX. 6.
40 Cf. *Gaut. Dh. S.*, *daṇḍo damanāt*, XI. 27.
41 11. 28, *tenādāntān damayet.*
42 *dvau loke dhṛtavratau rājā brāhmaṇaśca*, 8.1.
43 *brāhmaṇo dharmaṁ brūyāt; rājā cānutiṣṭhet*, I. 18.
44 For a detailed reference see *CHI*, Vol. II, ch. XV and XXI.
45 See N. C. Sengupta's *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, Tagore Law Lecture (C.U., 1953), p. 71.

The *śloka* metre or *anuṣṭubh* became the usual metre of the verses of the Smṛti-saṁhitā. Of the metrical Smṛtis, the *Manu Saṁhitā* occupies the most exalted place in the list. Manu is the sage-legist of India *par excellence*. He is also a sociologist. 'Whatever he says is medicine indeed'—so goes the remark: *Yad vai kiñcana manuravadat tad bheṣajam.*[46] It helped to cure the ills of life and thereby exercised overpowering influence on India's life and culture for about two thousand years and spread its sway far into the countries of South-East Asia.[47]

MANU SMṚTI AND ITS OUTLOOK

The *Manu Smṛti*[48] itself attributes its origin to Brahman whence it is said to have been revealed to men through Manu and Bhṛgu. The *Nārada Smrti* refers to a tradition of successive redactions of the Samhitā and also alludes to Vṛddhamanu and Bṛhanmanu. The present text possibly took its shape during the Brāhmaṇic revival in the first century B.C.

Manu has admirable command over language. He writes in a simple flowing style. Some verses have epic vigour while similes or imageries[49] in some verses are very apt and accurate. Some of his verses are repositories of profound wisdom.[50] Manu's work really represents the genius of a master mind. It is not merely an important law code but also a valuable compendium of a philosophy of life. Nietzsche praises it for its bold affirmative religion and ranks it above the *Bible*.[51]

Manu teaches man to regulate the pattern of his behaviour within certain clearly recognized limits so that he may develop his true powers and potentialities both socially and individually. If he fails to conform to this ideal, he sins, and suffering is the wages of sin.

In the ordering of our life, Manu[52] warns that we must not let loose the reins of our inferior passions exclusively for self-interest. The distracting nature of pleasure's rewards is clearly set forth in his exhortation: *Na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati*:[53] 'To try to extinguish desire by its enjoyment is like trying to quench a fire by pouring butter-fat over it.' Manu, however, does not disavow desire for pleasure, for there can be no endeavour without desire: *Akāmasya kriyā kācid dṛśyate neha karhicit.*[54] The world holds immense possibility of delight

[46] *Taittirīya Samhitā*, II. 2. 10. 2.

[47] Kewal Motwani, *Manu Dharma-śastra*, 1938, p. 312 ff.

[48] I. 58-60.

[49] *Manu*, II. 94, 99; III. 77; IV. 195; VII. 33, 105, 106, 129, XII. 101; and *Manu*, VII. 25 (*rūpaka*); XII. 103 (*sāra*).

[50] *Manu.*, II. 156; IV. 12, 161; V. 106; VIII. 84.

[51] Reference is made to the present writer's article *Mānava Principle in Manu and Nietzsche's Appraisal*, published in Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume (1969), pp. 684-95.

[52] *Kāmātmatā na praśastā*, II. 2.

[53] II. 94.

[54] *Manu.*, II. 4.

for all our senses. It heightens the tenor of both psychic and aesthetic life. Virtually, our religion in all its rites and rituals and legal dictates is presented as something which also meets the diverse needs of practical utility, health, wealth, success, fame, power, and progeny. But India knows that pleasure (*kāma*) and worldly success (*artha*) are not everything that one wants. They are too trivial and cannot satisfy man's total nature. Things material are short-lived and perish with the body: *Śarīreṇa samaṁ nāśaṁ sarvam anyad hi gacchati.*[55]

But that does not mean that India's attitude towards worldly success would be wholly negative. There are clear suggestions in the Dharma-śāstras for human enterprise, incentives for power, possession, and wealth. A modicum of worldly success is indispensable for the upkeep of the household, raising up of a family and for the discharge of several civic, social and religious duties. Individual and social well-being depends largely on man's acquisitive power and its disposal in the right manner. Property and enjoyment are the first guarantee of the State through its sanction, *daṇḍa.*[56] The *varṇa* system furnishes the frame within which the highly complex net-work of castes and sub-castes has helped differentiation of crafts and callings for the fostering of economic powers and potentialities. The importance of proprietary right, title and succession, ownership and inheritance, the transactions of economic exigency for debt, trade, contract and commerce, the diverse recognized means of remedy enforceable by the State through judicial or other tribunal processes—all these form the legitimate part of the discourse of the Dharma-śāstra and we have enough provisions of the same in the *Manu Saṁhitā* (Chapters VII-IX).

In Manu's teaching, the pursuit of wealth and pleasure (*artha* and *kāma*) is reconciled with the great purpose of *dharma*. The acquisition of wealth can be justified if it leads to the acts of piety or benevolence. Similarly, in the rules regarding wedded life, there is involved a mighty discipline for transmuting sex (*kāma*) from elemental dross into the highest form of bliss and love (*prema*). From conjugal amity and attachment to the family, the impulse of love, by and large, radiates in varied social and spiritual expressions to serve the greater cause of universal life. Marriage as a sacrament promotes greater interests and values and stimulates the spirit of selflessness to a pattern of ideal significance.

The *varṇa* and *āśrama* theory in *Manu* and other Dharma-śāstras is a unique combination of 'nature' and 'nurture'. Manu does not ignore the importance of the individual development of power and potentiality, but knows that such development is the sum-total of the conditions of human nature, its social setting, its external existence, its heredity, environment, and training. It is by co-ordination of both individual and social activities that the *varṇāśrama* scheme

[55] *Ibid.*, VIII. 17. [56] *Ibid.*, VII. 22.

furnishes the necessary scope for the fostering of the twofold force consistently in their vastness, depth, and variety.

The patternization of the fourfold socio-cultural group (*varṇas*) is based on natural and bio-psychic differences of mankind. It is really a huge experiment in the domain of India's social organization. If this system denied the *laissez faire* principle as in the modern age of articulated industries, it assured, through occupational differentiations fixed by birth, opportunities for employment for one and all. It is true that the *varṇa* theory does not recognize the arithmetical or artificial sameness of men, but it admits that each individually has a worth which is to be duly respected in the co-ordinated human relation. Here everybody cannot resemble everybody else. But each forms an inseparable part of the social body and contributes to the common good of social solidarity. This organization has ensured for ages steady co-ordination of social and individual energies, leading to the development of culture; and the *āśrama* ethics has kept the *varṇa* organization free from its abuses. The doctrine of *dharma* as law, duty or religion in *Manu* and other texts of Dharma-śāstras forms an integral and indispensable part of India's philosophy of life and sociology.

In the charted plan of life as outlined in *Manu* and other Dharma-śāstras, the four human ends, *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa,* and the four stages of the discipline of life, *āśramas,* have so marvellously been adjusted. *Varṇāśrama* is the *svadharma* writ large, and a king is the custodian of the rule of *dharma* in the matter of its administration.

Manu has several commentators, one of whom, Medhātithi, is the writer of an extensive commentary called *bhāṣya.* He made a profitable use of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā maxims of interpretation. He belonged to the ninth century A.D. Govindarāja is another important commentator (twelfth century A.D.). Kullūka Bhaṭṭa of Bengal is also a popular commentator who is generally held to have flourished in the fourteenth century A.D.

YĀJÑAVALKYA AND OTHER DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

Next in importance to *Manu* is the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya. It contains 1010 verses.[57] Yājñavalkya is the first Smṛti writer to divide the work into three sections: *ācāra* (rites), *vyavahāra* (dealings) and *prāyaścitta* (expiation). He distributes the topics in a well-knit arrangement with lucidity and condensation. He has dealt with most of the subjects which are found in *Manu,* but in a little more than a thousand verses in contrast with the bulk of about 2700 verses of *Manu.* This shows his remarkable capacity for terseness and brevity. His treatment is more systematic and his view is more liberal than those of Manu.

[57] Nirnayasagar Press Edn. See for discussion the present writer's paper *An Inquiry into Idealism in Hindu Marriage, Calcutta Review,* April, 1941.

The eighteen topics of law (*vyavahāra*) as mentioned in *Manu* are discussed in *Yājñavalkya* more systematically adding a necessary discourse on miscellaneous matters. His outlook on life and the ends[58] of human endeavour is similar to that of Manu, though his approach is more pragmatic.

The rules of judicial procedure in *Yājñavalkya* are more advanced in comparison with those in *Manu*. *Manu* does not refer to documents as evidence. But in *Yājñavalkya*, the law of evidence attaches substantial importance to documents (II. 86-96). Evidence by ordeals receives detailed treatment in this Smṛti.[59] Legal definitions are conspicuous by their absence in *Manu*, while these are frequently presented in *Yājñavalkya*. *Manu* is silent about the widow's right to estate, but *Yājñavalkya*. (II. 138) mentions her first in the list of the heirs of a man without a son. Yājñavalkya deals with *grahaśānti*[60] (propitiation of evil planetary influences) and considerable anatomical and medical matters.[61] Regarding ordeals, the sanctions of religion are added to those of law. The favour of the gods is assumed to be available to him who observes the truth, and supernatural penalties come to him who deviates from it. In the matter of expiation, Yājñavalkya's theory about twofold effects is a notable contribution.[62] Expiation removes sin or social disability, and restores a person to his former legal status through social approbation. We have from *Yājñavalkya* (I. 4–5) the well-known list of twenty writers of Dharma-śāstra, viz., Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Uśanas, Aṅgiras, Yama, Āpastamba, Saṁvarta, Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Dakṣa, Gautama, Śātātapa and Vasiṣṭha.

Yājñavalkya has a large number of commentaries. The best known is the *Mitākṣarā* by Vijñāneśvara (eleventh century), which has summed up the views of the old authorities with considerable skill and scholarship. It was authoritative in the Deccan, Banaras and North India. The earlier commentaries are those of Viśvarūpa and Aparārka.

The extant *Parāśara Smṛti* contains only two sections, one dealing with *ācāra* (forms of conduct), and the other with *prāyaścitta* (forms of expiation) in greater details. Excepting one verse in *upendravajrā* (IX. 33) and another in *indravajrā* (IX. 48) the work is in *anuṣṭubh*. It is said to be an authority for the *kali* age.[63] It admits the adjustability of *dharma* to keep pace with the changing age (I. 21). It permits widow remarriage[64] and also praises the practice of

[58] *dharmārthakāmān sve kāle yathāśakti na hāpayet, Yāj.*, I. 115. Cf. *Manu* II. 224.
[59] *Ibid*, II. 95-113.
[60] *Ibid.*, I. 271-308.
[61] *Ibid.*, II. 75-108.
[62] *Ibid.*, III. 226. See also, *Mitākṣarā*.
[63] *Parāśara*, I. 23: *Kalau pārāśaraḥ smṛtaḥ*.
[64] *Ibid.*, IV. 26. *Naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite klībe ca patite patau, pañcasvāpatsu nārīṇām patiranyo vidhīyate.*

satī.[65] It gives the very practical advice that one should protect one's body first during invasion, journey, disease, and calamity, and then care for *dharma* (VII. 41–43). The *Parāśara Smṛti* is assigned to a period between the first and the fifth century A.D. Mādhavācārya has written an extensive gloss on it.

Among the later Smṛti writers, whose number is more than a hundred, the contributions of Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana regarding procedural law show remarkable features of advancement. Nārada's discourse on the principles of judicial procedure (*vyavahāra-mātṛkā*), judicial assembly, and the titles of law follows in the main the nomenclature and the arrangement of Manu. But he subdivides the eighteen titles into one hundred and thirty-two. His classifications of property and other legal issues are more exhaustive than those of Yājñavalkya. He allows remarriage of widows and permits gambling under State control. He seems to be later than Yājñavalkya.

The *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* on the aspect of pure law evinces high acumen regarding legal principles. He seems to be the first jurist to distinguish civil and criminal justice. Bṛhaspati, like Nārada, stresses the importance of reasoning in a legal decision. He says, *Kevalaṁ śāstram āśritya na kartavyo hi nirṇayaḥ, Yuktihīne vicāre tu dharmahāniḥ prajāyate*.[66] His elaborate rules of procedure from the filing of a plaint to the passing of the decree can be compared with any modern code of procedure. Kātyāyana quotes Bṛhaspati as an authority. Bṛhaspati was possibly not later than the fourth century A.D.

P. V. Kane has reconstructed a text of Kātyāyana, called *Kātyāyana-Smṛti-sāroddhāra*. Kātyāyana is widely quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas. He follows Nārada and Bṛhaspati as his model, but expounds and elaborates their dicta in greater details. Kātyāyana's treatment of *strīdhana* in its definitions and assessment about kinds, grades and legal impact has attained recognition as highly authoritative. Kane[67] has rightly said that Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of ancient Hindu law and procedure. So minute, thorough, and concrete are the details, so rich are the reflections about the administration of law and justice in these records that they still inspire admiration. They bear out with convincing proofs that the worth of the culture envisaged in our scripture consisted not only in its power to 'raise and enlarge the internal man', but also 'to mould and modulate his external existence' and the ways of human interaction in the practical sphere of life and in the matrix of society. This shaping of man's external existence means a sound political, economic, and advanced social basis to sustain 'rhythmic advance' towards great ideals of culture.

It is true that 'India never evolved the scrambling and burdensome indus-

[65] *Ibid.*, IV. 28.
[66] Cited by Aparārka on *Yāj*. II. 1.
[67] *H. Dh.*, Vol. I., p. 213.

trialism or the parliamentary organization of freedom and self-styled democracy characteristic of the burgeois or Vaiśya period of the cycle of European progress'.[68] Yet there was remarkable evidence of the political efficiency of the Indian people in their striving towards a welfare state by pursuing the ideals of *dharma* which were of a higher kind, and governed the spirit and body of Indian society as a whole. Our Dharma-śāstra represents the wisdom of the centuries of legal and religious thoughts of great significance, and we have drawn the readers' attention here only to a few points of their excellence.

NIBANDHA WORKS OF THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

With growing recognition of complexities in customs and regional usages, the need was felt for reconciling the conflicting texts of the old authorities by way of interpretation. A number of learned commentators wrote important glosses incorporating the Mīmāṁsā maxims of interpretation. This gave rise to some celebrated schools of law differing in their viewpoints through adherence to local usages. Ultimately the need was felt also for compilation of comprehensive digests or manuals on various growing topics of Dharma-śāstra, called Nibandhas. These were prepared mostly under the auspices of kings or great teachers. The age of the commentaries and Nibandhas[69] extends from the eighth to the eighteenth century. Commentaries and Nibandhas were written in prose in the body of which old authorities in either prose or verse were quoted.

One of the earliest Nibandhas is the *Smṛti-kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, the foreign minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj (A.D. 1105-43). It is a work on religious, civil, and criminal law as well as on the law of procedure.

Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa was a native of West Bengal. He settled at Vikramapura in East Bengal as a minister of king Harivarmadeva (1073-1119). His *Vyavahāra-tilaka* and *Nirṇayāmṛta* are cited by later authorities. His *Sambandha-viveka* and *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* are important works on the subject.

Jīmūtavāhana is one of the three leading exponents of the Bengal school of Dharma-śāstra. His *Dāyabhāga* forms a part of the *Dharma-ratna*. The *Kāla-viveka* and *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* are his two other treatises. In matters of Hindu law on inheritance the *Dāyabhāga* was deemed as of paramount authority in British Indian courts for Bengal. He repudiates the doctrine of ownership by birth. Ownership arises on the death of the last owner—this is his bold view as against that of the *Mitākṣarā*.

Ballāla Sena, the famous king of Bengal, seems to have patronized the compilations of the great works, *Ācāra-sāgara*, *Dāna-sāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhā-sāgara*, and

[68] Sri Aurobindo, *The Renaissance in India.* See also *The Brain of India.*

[69] For Nibandha works, reference may be made to P. V. Kane, *H. Dh.*, Vol. I.; *CHI*, Vol. II. ch. XXII., *The Nibandhas* pp 364-80; S. C. Banerjee, *Smṛtinibandha Literature and Bengal's Contribution*, IHQ., March, 1949; Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, *Studies in Nibandhas* (Calcutta, 1968).

Adbhuta-sāgara (on omens). The last work was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devanna Bhaṭṭa is an important extensive digest (twelfth century). Hemādri is another voluminous writer. He is the author of the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (written between 1260 and 1309), an encyclopaedic work on religious rites and observances. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya (A.D. 1300) is the earliest among the medieval writers of Nibandhas in Mithilā. His works are *Ācārādarśa*, *Pitṛbhakti*, and *Śrāddhakalpa*. Caṇḍeśvara is another prominent Nibandha writer of Mithilā. He is the author of the *Ratnākara* series (seven in number), e.g. *Vivāda-ratnākara*. Vācaspati Miśra (fifteenth century) is the leading Nibandha writer of Mithilā. His works bear the title *Cintāmaṇi*. The *Daṇḍa-viveka* of Vardhamāna Miśra, a pupil of Vācaspati, is an important work on civil and criminal law.

Śūlapāṇi (fifteenth century) is the next authoritative writer of Bengal on Dharma-śāstra. He is the author of *Smṛti-viveka* and such other works ending in *viveka*, e.g. *Śrāddha-viveka*, *Prāyaścitta-viveka*. His *Śrāddha-viveka* is a masterpiece, full of Mīmāṁsā dialectics. Raghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on Dharma-śāstra. He wrote an encyclopaedic *Smṛti-tattva* divided into twenty-eight sections—each bearing the ending *tattva*, besides a few other tracts on stray topics. He also wrote a commentary on Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga*. Raghunandana and Śrī Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, at Navadvīpa. The period of his literary activity is fixed as A.D. 1550-75. His intellectual powers made him virtually a doyen in the academy of Navya Smṛti.

Among later Nibandhas, we may mention the *Nirṇaya-sindhu* of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* etc. of Nīlakaṇṭha, *Vīra-mitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra (seventeenth century) and *Smṛti-kaustubha* of Anantadeva. The *Vivādārṇava-setu* of Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana was compiled in 1775 for Warren Hastings to be treated as a readily accessible digest for the court, and it was translated into English.

This represents a brief survey of the Dharma-śāstra literature. The sweep of this literature was as comprehensive as human ingenuity of the time could dream of. From conception to the last rites, every aspect of the life of men received detailed treatment and prescriptions in the works of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. This shows how rich was the vocabulary, how refined the idioms, and how deep the understanding of the human problems by those who created the vast literature of the Dharma-śāstras. As a result, the Dharma-śāstras[70] have

[70] On the different aspects of the Dharma-śāstra, reference may be made to the following important works: P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra* in several volumes; K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*; P. N. Sen, *The General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence* (1918); D. M Derret, *Religion, Law and the State in India* (London, 1968); L. Sternbach, *Judicial Studies in Ancient Indian Law* (Parts I-II), Delhi, 1965-67; K. G. Goswami, *Intercaste Marriage in Ancient India*.

profoundly helped the continuity of culture, conduct, and the social and religious life of the Indians for thousands of years. Our Dharma-śāstras point to a continued tradition of how *dharma* was more than a mere moral suasion. It became rather a central power to shape and sustain order and harmony in India's social life in all its aspects. *Dharma* is conceived as something eternal, leading to good and truth; it is the king of kings, far more powerful than they.[71] Even when India's political power was on the wane, the norm of *dharma* continued its mighty task of subduing the potential anarchy of evil forces correcting human vices and guiding life to a nobler and higher pattern of sanctity.

[71] *Br. U.*, I. 4. 14.

6

ŚAIVA LITERATURE*

ŚAIVISM as a cult goes back to pre-Vedic times. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have revealed the existence of a proto-Śaiva cult. One of the seals shows the figure of a three-faced (?) deity[1] in yogic posture, with horns adorning the head, and surrounded by cattle and other animals. This figure is typical of the Pāśupata cult,[2] one of the earliest schools of Śaivism—a school with a literature of its own. Among the other finds were also figures resembling the *liṅga*, the symbol of Śiva. The inscriptions on the seals, probably the earliest writing, have not yet been conclusively deciphered. Some scholars hold that the script is proto-Dravidian, while others say that it has Indo-Aryan affinities. Later excavations at Harappan sites have not thrown further light on this question. The time bracket for the Harappan civilization is now seen by scholars as between 4000 and 2500 B.C.

VEDIC TIMES

The next formative period of this cult is the Vedic age, when we have the world's earliest known literary composition, the *Ṛg-Veda.* One of the gods mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* is Rudra who later became identified with Śiva. Whatever may be the basis of the Rudra-Śiva[3] identification in the *Ṛg-Veda*, the hymns describe Rudra as the destroyer of disease and the protector of man and cattle.[4] In the *Sāmavidhāna Saṁhitā* of the *Sāma-Veda*, there is a

*The present survey does not deal with the philosophy of Śaivism as it has already been discussed in Volumes III (pp. 387-99) and IV (pp. 63-107) of *CHI.*

[1]We can compare this Indus valley seal with a coin of Huviska (second century A.D.) representing Śiva with three heads (*Vide* P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886, p. 148). It is not unlikely that the deity in each case is really four-faced having one at the back, and the artist in both the cases could not depict it as he was giving the front side of the deity. We make this guess on the basis of the description of Tumburu, the four-faced Gandharva in the early Tāntric texts who, according to P. C. Bagchi, was no other than Śiva himself. In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 216. 22-28 and XIII. 141. 5ff.) also, we have references to the four faces of Śiva. (*Vide* P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, pp. 13-15).

[2]Cf. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.

[3]The origin and development of Rudra-Śiva is an interesting subject. The early Aryans did not know the reason behind the dreadful and destructive phenomena of nature. When storms and epidemics broke out or thunders rumbled, they were caught in panic. They attributed these things to the wrath of some powerful god. They called this god Rudra, the Terrible. They believed this god could be appeased by hymns, prayers and sacrifices. Thus Rudra became Śiva, the Benign, Conqueror of evil and Giver of boons. R. G. Bhandarkar thinks this is how the concept of Rudra-Śiva gradually evolved in ancient India. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 102.

[4]Bhandarkar takes the following as representative of the trend of the Ṛg-Vedic prayers addressed to Rudra: 'Oh Rudra, do not, out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee always with offerings.' (I. 114. 8).

collection of hymns addressed to Rudra-Śiva which are chanted even today. In the *Śatarudrīya* of the *Yajur-Veda*, we find the full unfoldment of the auspicious aspect of Śiva as the *pati* (Lord) of *paśus* (finite souls), for there Śiva is given the name Paśupati. Here we find, for the first time, in Śiva a god with a comprehensive control over all nature. The enumeration of one hundred names of Śiva in the *Śatarudrīya* (the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, XVI and the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, IV. 5) marks the first beginnings of this form of prayer in the later literature.[5] In the *Vājasaneyi* (XVI. 51), and also in some other *Saṁhitās*[6] the ritualistic visualization of Śiva holding his bow called *pināka* is noticed. In the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*, Mahādeva-Śiva is described as the great Puruṣa or the supreme Deity governing the cosmos. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, Śiva or Rudra is described as the Lord of the *Soma* plant,[7] and thus Soma and Rudra, though originally two separate deities, became identified in later days. In the *Atharva-Veda* (XV. 5. 1-7), occur several names, such as Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva, and Īśāna, by which Rudra was known in later times. There is also a reference to the Vrātyas who were probably the prototypes of the adherents of the later Kāpālika cult of Śaivism. Western scholars somehow depict Rudra-Śiva as a malevolent and dreaded deity, but the earliest Vedic literature represents him also as benevolent and generous deity. Some scholars have suggested that Śiva was originally a non-Vedic god, but was later admitted to the Vedic pantheon. Later Sanskrit literature, however, does not bear this out.

THE BRĀHMAṆAS AND THE UPANIṢADS

In the Brāhmaṇas, the concept of Rudra gives place to Prajāpati and Paśupati. This change is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and more significantly, in the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*. The *mantras* here are different from mere nature-invocations made out of wonder or fear; they are meaningful incantations, expressing faith in, and a personal relationship with, the deity. The *Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad* gives the most poetic description of *Īśa*, the Lord, which may also be applicable to Śiva. But it is the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* which explicitly declares the identity of Śiva with the highest Brahman (III. 2). This Upaniṣad is, therefore, sometimes called a Śaiva Upaniṣad or an Āgamic Upaniṣad. In this, we may see the seeds of the thought that ultimately matured into the literature of Śaivism. The *Maitrī Upaniṣad* refers to the *trimūrti* conception: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (IV. 5). These three forms are respectively represented as embodiments of the three *guṇas: rajas, sattva* and *tamas* (V. 2). This marks the parting of ways among the deities. Viṣṇu

[5] Cf. *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 185.
[6] *Vide Tai. S.*, IV. 5.10.4; *Mai. S*, II. 9.9; etc.
[7] *Tai. S.*, IV. 5.10.

and Śiva (with Śakti) emerge foremost in the Hindu pantheon. They also inspire separate texts and literature.

THE ĀGAMAS

For an understanding of Śaivism, the Āgamas are as important as some of the Upaniṣads. Some of the Āgamas have an artistic and intellectual appeal, as they are in the form of dialogues between Śiva and his consort Umā, the bestower of all *vidyā* (knowledge).

The Āgamas are as old as the Brāhmaṇas, perhaps even older. Constant additions have, however, been made to them till the eighth century. The Āgamas had the same authority as the Vedas. They were written in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and some of the Dravidian languages.[8] They are, however, available today only in Sanskrit. Music, architecture, and sculpture play a prominent part in the later Āgamic rituals, whereas in the Vedic rituals, the scope was for poetry and music only. This is why, perhaps, the language of the Āgamas is not so poetic as that of the Vedas, but it is more precise in the use of terms. The Āgamas, moreover, are monotheistic, and cover both *karma* and *jñāna* in sensible proportions.

The Śaiva Āgamas, twenty-eight in number, form the largest body of religious literature in Sanskrit. They are said to have been revealed originally by Śiva to his disciple and attendant, Nandikeśvara; they were in ten million verses until Ananta, an incarnation of Śiva, abridged them in one hundred thousand verses. The Āgamas are comprehensive in scope. Their *vidyāpāda* (the section on knowledge) discusses the philosophy of Śaivism; other sections deal with rituals, *mantras*, and rules valid for different purposes, such as, installation of deities or construction of temples, etc.

The twenty-eight Śaivāgamas,[9] which are believed to have emanated from the five faces of Śiva, are: *Kāmika*, *Yogaja*, *Cintya*, *Kāraṇa*, *Ajita*, *Dīpta*, *Sūkṣma*, *Sahasra*, *Aṁśumat*, *Suprabheda*, *Vijaya*, *Niḥśvāsa*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Āgneya*, *Vīrabhadra*, *Raurava*, *Mākuṭa*, *Vimala*, *Candrajñāna*, *Mukhabimba*, *Prodgīta*, *Lalita*, *Siddha*, *Santāna*, *Sarvokta*, *Pārameśvara*, *Kiraṇa*, and *Vātula*.

Mention of the Āgamas occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Purāṇas. They were familiar at the time of Ācārya Śaṅkara. Mādhava's *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* also mentions some of them.

No one can understand the *paribhāṣā* (technical terms) of Śaivism without a study of the Āgamas. The Āgamas seem to follow the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system of logic, but their classification of *tattvas* (basic principles) is based on the

[8]Cf. *Saṁskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaśca śiṣyānurūpataḥ;*
Deśabhāṣādyupāyaiśca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ.
Śivadharmottara—(Grantha Edn. by Maraijnana Desikar, 1938).

[9]Many scholars refer to twenty-eight Āgamas, but there are variations in the titles. Cf. *HIP*, Vol. V, p 16n.

Sāṁkhya. The twenty-four *tattvas* of the Sāṁkhya and the transcendental twelve of the Śaivas form the very basis of the higher philosophy of Śaivism. The literary style of the Āgamas may not be poetic, but it is definitive.

There are also a number of Śaiva Upāgamas, i.e. secondary Āgamas. The *Mṛgendrāgama*, one of the Upāgamas, opens with a discussion on how the old Vedic form of worship became superseded by the Śaiva cult, and proceeds to describe Śiva as free from impurities, as omniscient, and as the instrumental cause of the universe. It gives the correct linguistic interpretation of such terms as *bindu* (latent energy), *kalā* (finite experience), *niyati* (principle of determination of *karma*), and *māyā* (substratum of cosmos). The same can be said of the *Pauṣkara*, *Mataṅga* and other *Upāgamas*. The *Sarvajñānottara*, another *Upāgama*, contains Śiva's discourse to his son, Kumāra, wherein Śiva, the ultimate Reality, is postulated as *pati* (lord), *paśu* (finite self) and *pāśa* (bondage).

The ritual portion of the Āgamas has been in daily use in temples and *maṭhas* (monasteries) for a long time. Their philosophy also became known through later Śaiva exegetics. The texts of the Āgamas, however, were not published till the nineteenth century. The process of bringing out the texts is slow and is still very incomplete.

THE PURĀṆAS AND UPAPURĀṆAS

The next important body of Śaiva literature is formed by the Śaiva Purāṇas. Of the eighteen Purāṇas, six are usually styled Śaiva Purāṇas. They are: *Śiva* or *Vāyu*, *Liṅga*, *Skanda*, *Agni*, *Matsya*, and *Kūrma*. The *Śiva* and *Skanda* are highly adored Purāṇas, especially the latter, which is a masterpiece of encyclopaedic interest. It contains stories about the births of Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, and Skanda and the marriages of Pārvatī, Devakuñjarī, and Vallī. Skanda's representation as Śiva's manifestation is highly successful in this Purāṇa. The *Matsya Purāṇa* gives a detailed account of Śiva's destruction of Andhakāsura.[10] The *Liṅga Purāṇa* gives the philosophy of the worship of Śiva in his form-cum-formless symbol, the *liṅga*. The *Padma Purāṇa*, though not a Śaiva Purāṇa, contains the *Śiva-Gītā* (taught to Śrī Rāma). The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, magnificent in style and substance, is an important work regarding the theistic cult of *bhakti*. Though the book is primarily about Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it contains many episodes in praise of Śiva also. There are yet a few other principal Purāṇas

[10]A mythological demon born of Diti by Kāśyapa. Being protected by a boon that he would be killed by none other than Śiva himself, he began to harass the gods so much that they ultimately went to sage Nārada seeking relief. After hearing their tale of woe Nārada appeared before Andhaka wearing a garland of *mandāra* flowers grown in the Mandara hill. The demon was struck by the beauty of the garland and wanted one such for himself. When he learnt that those flowers were available only in the Mandara hill, he set out for that hill. There he met Śiva and had some altercations with him. Ultimately Śiva killed him.

in which Śiva is accorded a prominent place in spite of their central figures being Viṣṇu or Brahmā, for example, *Bhaviṣya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Varāha*, *Vāmana*, and *Brahmāṇḍa*. Some of the *saṁhitās* of the Śaiva Purāṇas are classic pieces of Śaiva literature, e.g. the *Sūta Saṁhitā* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā* of the *Śiva Purāṇa*, etc. The *Śiva Purāna* is a voluminous work amplified from time to time. It appears to have been consolidated in its present form in the eighth century. It is a collection of various treatises or *samhitās* dealing with the different legends of Śiva, Śiva worship, *Śivadharma*, and Śaiva philosophy. The *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā* is the most important from the philosophical point of view. *Sūta Saṁhitā* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* speaks of the Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Āgamas as cognate literature.

All Āgamic literature recognizes the three classic episodes connected with Śiva, viz. Śiva's burning of Tripura,[11] the churning of the ocean of milk and Śiva's acceptance of the cosmic poison,[12] and his manifestation as a pillar of light[13] which Brahmā and Viṣṇu could not comprehend. These are beautifully described in the Purāṇas. These legends have often been a source of inspiration to many writers of later Sanskrit poetry and drama dealing with Śiva.

Of the Śaiva Upapurāṇas the most important are: *Śivadharma*, *Saura*, *Parāśara*, *Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga*, and *Śiva-rahasya*. *Śiva-rahasya* is said to have been taught by Śiva to Umā in Kailāsa and later transmitted by Skanda to sage Jaigīṣavya in Skandagiri. It is a revelation of the *upāsanā* and *jñāna-kāṇḍas*. It has twelve *aṁśas* and it speaks of *Śivadharma*, i.e. *caryā* (observance), *kriyā* (rites), *yoga* (meditation), and *jñāna* (knowledge). It is important to note that the text is in diverse metres, and in the prose parts some of the terms are difficult to interpret. The *stotras* interspersed in the text are liturgical hymns of a high order. This text, however, finds no mention in most of the histories of Sanskrit literature.

EPICS

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, especially the *Mahābhārata*, though

[11]Three mythological cities (*tripura*) made of gold, silver and iron were built for the three demons, Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Bidyunmālī. The gods drew the attention of Śiva to the atrocities committed by these demons. Annoyed, Śiva killed the three demons and burnt *tripura*, the three cities. 'Tripura' is also the name of a demon who was killed by Śiva. Hence, Śiva is called Tripurāri (Enemy of Tripura) and Tripurāntaka (Killer of Tripura).

[12]At the supplication of gods and demons, Śiva drank the deadly poison which threatened to destroy the world. The poison itself came out of the ocean while it was being churned. The blue stain on Śiva's throat is due to the action of that poison. Hence he is called Nīlakaṇṭha (the blue-throated).

[13]Once there was a dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu as to who was the greater deity. Śiva then appeared before them in the form of a pillar of light. Brahmā and Visnu tried to measure the body of Śiva to prove their respective supremacy, but both failed. At this, in all humility, they began to praise Śiva who, being pleased with their prayer, revealed himself to them.

no part of Śaiva literature, have much to say about Śiva. For instance, the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (chapters XIV ff.) of the *Mahābhārata* gives a glowing account of Mahādeva whom Kṛṣṇa and others propitiated by austere penances. In the *Śāntiparvan* (chapter CCLXXXIV) there is an attempt to minimize the distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord. Both Arjuna (*Vanaparvan*, XXXVIII-XL) and Aśvatthāmā (*Sauptikaparvan*, VII) are represented to have propitiated Mahādeva and obtained deadly weapons from him. The *Mahābhārata* is replete with legends relating to Śiva and accounts of Śaivite sacrament of *dīkṣā* (initiation). We see here a reflection of the transition from the Pūrva Mīmāṁsaka rituals to the Āgamic worship and yogic discipline. In the *Vanaparvan* (chapters LXXXII-XC), we have information about several *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage) sacred to Śiva.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we have a few pointed references to Śiva. *Bālakāṇḍa* (chapter XXXV) refers to the marriage of Śiva with Umā. Bhagīratha's penances to persuade Śiva to contain the flow of Gaṅgā down to the Earth are described in chapter XLIII. In chapter LXVII, Rāma's winning the hand of Sītā by breaking *Hara-dhanu* (Śiva's bow) which was given to Janaka is a delightful episode. While coming back to Ayodhyā, Śrī Rāma told Sītā that on the seashore at Setubandha (Rāmeśvaram) Lord Mahādeva had blessed him (*Yuddhakāṇḍa*, chapter CXXIII). Rāvaṇa is depicted as a great devotee of Śiva. In the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (chapter XXXI), there is a reference to his carrying a golden *liṅga* with him for worship wherever he went. In chapter XVI, Rāvaṇa's attempt to uproot Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, his failure in that, and his supplication to Śiva are described.

KĀVYA LITERATURE

Śiva is a very popular deity with the poets of ancient India and, consequently, an enormous mass of *kāvya* literature has grown round him. Starting from Bharata (the date ranging between second century B.C. and second century A.D.) to the modern times, Śiva has been described in various ways in Indian *kāvya* literature. Sometimes, he is the hero of a particular book, or the guiding deity, and sometimes he plays an important role otherwise.

Śiva is a special favourite with Kālidāsa (the date variously fixed from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.). Wherever Kālidāsa mentions Śiva, he always uses glowing epithets. In this connection, we may mention *Kumārasambhava* where Śiva is the hero. In fact, there is hardly any book of Kālidāsa where Śiva is not mentioned.[14] Incidentally, we have in Kālidāsa

[14] *Vide Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*: Benedictory verse; *Meghadūta: Pūrvamegha*, verse 34; *Raghuvaṁśa* I.1, VI. 34, VII. 33, and XVIII. 24, and so on.

sidelights of the Pāśupata cult which was in vogue then. Kālidāsa also alludes to different forms of Śaiva worship, *anuṣṭhānas* and *vratas*.

Bhāravi's (*c.* sixth century) *Kirātārjunīya*, Ratnākara's (ninth century) *Haravijaya*, and Maṅkha's (*c.* twelfth century) *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* also deserve mention. In *Kirātārjunīya*, Śiva, in the guise of a *kirāta* (hunter), fought with Arjuna and finally blessed him with his divine weapon, the *pāśupata astra*. The other two works depict Śiva's heroism. It is evident from *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* that Bāṇa (seventh century), the famous prose writer in Sanskrit, must have been a close student of the *Śiva Purāṇa*. Harṣa (seventh century) in the benedictory verses of his plays, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*, pays homage to Śiva and Pārvatī. Bhavabhūti (*c.* eighth century) in his *Mālatī-Mādhava* and Mahendravikrama Varman (seventh century) in his *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* mention Kāpālikas. Śiva has been adored in the introductory verses of *Kathāsaritsāgara* by Somadeva (eleventh century). Śiva's *sandhyā-nṛtya* (evening dance), his *aṣṭamūrti* and *ardhanārīśvara* forms, etc. have been described there in mellifluous poetry. There are also references to *Śivakṣetras* like Nandi-kṣetra, Amara Parvata, etc. Bharata in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* mentions that Śiva and Pārvatī invented *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* forms of dance. In fact, Śiva's influence, directly or indirectly, on *kāvya* literature, can never be overestimated.

STOTRA LITERATURE

The *stotra* literature established itself as *kāvya* by the seventh century. Some of the *stotras* (hymns) were originally in the Purāṇas and the Tantras, and some were written separately. Some among the hymns add much to the importance of Śaiva literature. One such hymn is *Śivamahimnaḥ Stotra* of Puṣpadanta (tenth century) written in *śikhariṇī* metre. *Prātasmaraṇa-stotras*, the morning hymns (in *vasantatilaka* metre) in praise of Śiva, Caṇḍī, and Gaṇeśa, are included in *Saddharma Cintāmaṇi*. Similarly there are *pādādi-keśa-varṇanā-stotras* of Śiva (hymns describing Śiva from foot to head) included in the hymnal poetry. Of greater devotional fervour and finer style is the *Śiva-stotra* attributed to Upamanyu in *viyoginī* metre, a metre rarely used in *stotras*.

There is also a body of *stotras* written by the Śaiva authors of Kashmir. Not all of them are of a high order. Some again merely depict the amours between Umā and Śiva. Kalhaṇa's (*c.* A.D. 1149) *Ardhanārīśvara-stotra* in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre is, however, of a high standard.

We have a parallel of the Kṛṣṇa-gopī mystical erotic poetry in *Bhikṣāṭana-kāvya* of Śivabhaktadāsa (fourteenth century), which describes the attraction of *apsarās* (nymphs) for the beautiful mendicant Śiva. Vijayamādhava's *Pārvatī-Rukmiṇīya* is a *vicitra kāvya* (*tour de force*), each verse giving two meanings, one applicable to the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and the other to the marriage of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa.

The beautiful *Śiva-stotras* of Ācārya Śaṅkara must be specially mentioned here, although the authorship of some of them is disputed. The *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-aṣṭaka*, *Saundarya-laharī* and *Śivānanda-laharī* are matchless in beauty and melody. They are recited by pundits and laymen alike even today. A long time after Śaṅkara came Appaya Dīkṣita (1552) who was a *kavi* (poet) as well as an apostle of Śaivism. He was the author of a large body of *stotras* and Śivādvaita works, apart from his purely Advaita works like his commentary *Parimala* and dialectic work, *Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi*. Appaya's commitment to Advaita did not deter him from making four weighty contributions to Śaiva theistic literature. His *Śikhariṇīmālā* consists of sixty *ślokas* in praise of Śiva, giving arguments for establishing his supremacy. His *Śiva-tattva-viveka* is an elaborate commentary on them. His *Śivamahima-kālikā-stuti* is another work on the supremacy of Śiva. His *Śaivakalpadruma* is an authoritative Śaiva theological work. Appaya's important Śaiva devotional works are: *Aruṇācaleśvara-stava*, *Gaṅgādharāṣṭaka*, *Śivakarṇāmṛta*, *Śivānanda-laharī*, *Śivārcanā-candrikā*, *Harihara-stuti*, etc. The next important author after Appaya was Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita who belongs to the next century and whose *Śivalīlārṇava* and *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* are famous hymns on Śiva.

ŚAIVA COMMENTARIES ON THE BRAHMA-SŪTRA

The Śaiva commentary of Śrīkaṇṭha (A.D. 1270) is the most well-known *Śaiva bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*. He claims that his commentary, though brief, would clear the controversy raised by previous commentators. He says that the commentary will expound the essence of the teachings of the Upaniṣads or the Vedānta and will appeal to those who worship Śiva : 'Obeisance to Śiva, the Paramātman, embodiment of *Saccidānanda*, whose feet are the giver of the highest gain or *siddhi*.'[15]

It is evident that Śrīkaṇṭha was influenced by the Śaivāgamas, into which he was initiated by his *guru* Śvetācārya. He had also mastered the *Bodhāyana sūtras* and the *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā* of the *Śiva Purāṇa*. The language of Śrikaṇṭha's commentary is lucid and flowery. A sub-commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's *bhāṣya* is Appaya Dīkṣita's *Śivārkamaṇi-dīpikā* which is an authoritative work for understanding Śivādvaita. Another work by Appaya, *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya*, a prose treatise, quotes extensively from the *bhāṣya* and is noted for its dialectic.

Śrīpati Paṇḍita's (A.D. 1400) *Śrīkara-bhāṣya* is a Vīraśaiva commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*. It is remarkable as a comprehensive reconciliation of the Upaniṣads, the Āgamas and the Mīmāṁsās, establishing the Vīraśaiva doctrine which is variously called Śivādvaita and Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita. Śrīpati's

[15] *Om namo'ham padārthāya lokānāṁ siddhihetave*
Saccidānandarūpāya śivāya paramātmane. *Śaiva-bhāṣya* of Śrīkaṇṭha on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, Vol. I, Nirnayasagar Press, 1908.

commentary on the *sūtra*, *Jīvamukhyaprāṇaliṅgāt* . . . (*Brahma-Sūtra*, I. 4.17) interprets it as referring to the Vīraśaiva Liṅgāyata cult. Śrīpati refers to a *bhāṣya* called *Agastya-vṛtti* which is not available now.

As important as the *Brahma-Sūtra* or *Yoga-Sūtra* is Bhoja's (A.D. 1018-63) *Tattva-prakāśa*. This work is based on the Āgamas and the *Yoga-Sūtra*, and is frequently quoted by later writers. Another important text is *Nandikeśvara-kāśikā*. Fourteen *sūtras* known as *Māheśvara-Sūtras* are supposed to have emanated from the sounding of the drum (*ḍamaruka*) in Śiva's hand. These *sūtras* are found at the commencement of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is said that the sages were unable to understand the meaning of the *sūtras*, and so Nandikeśvara himself expounded them in twenty-six verses (*ślokas*).

Although Ācārya Śaṅkara is strictly monistic in his *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, his Śaiva leanings are nevertheless discernible in a few places. Śaṅkara must have been familiar with the Āgama literature, but he does not allude to it as an authority in his commentary. He, however, refers to Śaiva philosophy in his commentary on *sūtras* II.2.35-38. This indicates that Bādarāyaṇa, author of the *Brahma-Sūtra*, was aware of the Śaiva system and its antiquity. In his commentary on *sūtras* II.2.37 *et seq.*, Śaṅkara refutes the crucial and distinctive doctrine of the Śaiva system that Brahman is the instrumental cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) and not the material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) of the universe.

Vācaspati Miśra (A.D. 840), commenting on the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, refers to the Śaiva cults. Ānanda Giri, a contemporary of Śaṅkara and author of *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, refers to two schools of Kāpālikas, one Vedic and the other non-Vedic. Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137) in his commentary on *sūtra* II.2.37 mentions the four schools of Śaivism, viz. the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas, the Pāśupatas, and the Śaivas. He is said to be a junior contemporary of Śrīkaṇṭha (some, however, hold that Śrīkaṇṭha was anterior even to Śaṅkara), and some of the passages in their two *bhāṣyas* are verbally similar, although they differ in their doctrines. Haradatta Śivācārya (A.D. 879) was the author of *Śruti-sūkti-mālā*, *Caturveda-tātparya-saṅgraha*, and *Hari-Hara-tāratamya*, which are polemical works to establish the *Śivaparatva* (Śiva as the supreme Reality). *Śruti-sūkti-mālā* is an oft-quoted work. Although Haradatta did not write any Śaiva commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, he is believed to have influenced Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīpati Paṇḍita. His *Gaṇa-kārikā* is an exegetic of the *Pāśupata-Sūtra*. Mādhavācārya (fourteenth century) in his *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* formulates the philosophical doctrines found in the Śaiva Āgamas and other literature.

PĀŚUPATA-SŪTRA

Lakulīśa was the founder of the Pāśupata system. He was the last of the twenty-eight *yogācāryas* mentioned in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. The *Pāśupata-Sūtra*, the sacred book of the Pāśupatas, might have been in vogue earlier than the sixth

century and it came to be termed *āmnāya* (having Vedic authority). The *Sūtra* has a *bhāṣya* called the *Pañcārtha-bhāṣya* by Kauṇḍinya. This is probably the same as the *Rāśikara-bhāṣya* referred to by Mādhava in his *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*. The *Vāyavīya Saṁhitā* also mentions the *Pāśupata-Sūtra* as *Pañcārtha-vidyā* (Knowledge with Five Ends). It is believed that Kauṇḍinya, the commentator, must have lived between the fourth and the sixth centuries. The *Sūtra* does not enunciate any systematic philosophy, but deals with the rituals and austerities of the cult. It needs a deeper study, as it is the earliest literature of one of the most ancient systems. Kauṇḍinya's *bhāṣya* on the *Sūtra* is in an archaic style and does not contain any reference to earlier commentaries. *Gaṇa-kārikā* of Haradatta Śivācārya, as already said, is an expository text on the *Pāśupata-Sūtra*, and is really a summary of the system. The *Mṛgendrāgama* is said to be the original basic text of the Pāśupata system.

KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

Kashmir Śaivism is an ancient system and has to its credit a very large body of literature exclusively in Sanskrit. The earliest text, *Śiva-Sūtra*, is believed to have been revealed by Śiva himself to Vasugupta (eighth or ninth century). The *Sūtra* has a *vṛtti* (gloss), a *vārttika* (explanatory text), and a *vimarśinī* (critical comment). The *Vimarśinī* of Kṣemarāja (eleventh century), the famous commentator, is held in high esteem.

The system owes its name 'Trika' (triad) to the fact that it deals with Śiva, Śakti, and Nara. The literature of the Trika falls into three divisions: Āgama-śāstra, Spanda-śāstra, and Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. The Āgamas are the basic 'revelations', Spanda means the 'vibration or the stir of consciousness', while Pratyabhijñā is 'recognition'. The two branches, Pratyabhijñā and Spanda, are similar but not exactly the same. The Pratyabhijñā-śāstras are sometimes called *manana-* or *vicāra-śāstras*. The *Śiva-dṛṣṭi* of Somānanda (*c.* ninth century) is the most important Pratyabhijñā work. He expounded the system as monistic. The next important work is the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* or the *Pratyabhijñā-Sūtra* by Utpala, a pupil of Somānanda. Commentaries on it are: *Vṛtti* by Utpala himself, *Vimarśinī* (*laghvī vṛtti*) and *Vivṛti-vimarśinī* (*bṛhatī vṛtti*) by Abhinavagupta (eleventh century). Abhinavagupta's *Paramārtha-sāra* is another important work. It is said to be based on an old treatise called *Ādhāra-kārikā* which is not available now. There are also commentaries from the Trika point of view on some of the Āgamas like *Svacchanda*, *Netra*, *Vijñāna-bhairava*, and *Mataṅga*. Kṣemarāja's commentary *Uddyota* on *Svacchanda Āgama* is an important work.

The Spanda-śāstras lay down the main principles of the system. The *Spanda-Sūtra* or the *Spanda-kārikā* (containing fifty-two *sūtras*) is based on the *Śiva-Sūtra* and is attributed to Vasugupta by Kṣemarāja. The *Spanda-Sūtra* and the *vṛtti* on it by Kallaṭa (eighth or ninth century) are called *Spanda-sarvasva*. There are,

besides, four commentaries on the *Spanda-Sūtra*, namely, *Vivṛti* by Rāmakaṇṭha, *Pradīpikā* by Utpala, and *Spanda-sandoha* and *Spanda-nirṇaya* by Kṣemarāja.

The *Tantrāloka* in twelve books by Abhinavagupta is a monumental work and deals with Advaita Śaivism comprehensively in all its aspects. The first part is the Āgama section with the *Śiva-Sūtra*; the second, the Tantra section, represents Śiva's replies to Pārvatī's questions; and the third is an exposition of the *sūtras*. The originators were respectively Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, and Somānanda, all of them belonging to the eighth-ninth centuries. Somānanda employs logical reasoning extensively in his work, while Kallaṭa expounds the system as pure revelation. The term *pratyabhijñā* itself connotes recognition of the identity of the knower and the known. The tradition was carried on in greater detail by Utpala and Abhinavagupta. It was adopted by Kṣemarāja in his *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, by Yogarāja in his *Paramārtha-saṅgraha*, by Jayaratha (twelfth century) in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*, and by Śivopādhyāya in his *Vijñāna-bhairavī*.

Kṣemarāja's Śaiva works are astounding in their volume. The notable extant ones, besides *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, *Spanda-sandoha*, *Spanda-nirṇaya*, and *Svacchanda-uddyota*, are: *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*, *Netra-uddyota*, *Vijñāna-bhairava-uddyota*, *Śiva-sūtra-vṛtti*, *Stava-cintāmaṇi-ṭīkā*, *Utpala-stotrāvalī-ṭīkā*, *Para-praveśikā*, and *Tattva-sandoha*. While Kṣemarāja is the leading exponent of the Pratyabhijñā system, Utpala's thoughts were in a more compact form.

Maheśvarānanda (*c.* twelfth century), who lived in Cidambaram, has written two Pratyabhijñā works, viz. *Mahārtha-mañjarī* and *Parimala*. He has also written a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* from the Śaiva standpoint.

Some of the Pratyabhijñā works are highly poetical though their main concern is philosophy. For example, Utpala's *Stotrāvalī* speaks of Śakti as an expression of the joy which the Lord felt when he saw his own splendour. Śakti, emanated by delight, created herself out of herself and became the manifested world.[16]

VĪRAŚAIVISM OR LIṄGĀYATA SCHOOL

This school traces its origin to the Āgamas. The *pañcācāryas*[17] (five teachers of Vīraśaivism) are traditionally believed to have sprung from the five faces of Śiva referred to in the *Suprabheda* and *Svāyambhuva Āgamas*. The *Mṛgendrāgama* refers to the practice of carrying the symbol of Śiva, the *liṅga*, by the votaries on their body itself. Some of the earlier Upaniṣads provide the monistic basis of this cult. Ānanda Giri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya* has reference to the *liṅga* worn on the body. Haribhadra (date ranging between eighth and tenth centuries) in his *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* refers to Śaivas carrying the *liṅga* on their person and regarding it as dearer than life itself. Some *uttarabhāga* Āgamas like *Uttara Vātula* and *Uttara*

[16] *Ānandocchalitā śaktiḥ sṛjatyātmānam ātmanaḥ.*

[17] They are Revanārādhya, Marulārādhya, Ekorāmārādhya, Panditārādhya, and Viśvārādhya.

Kāmika indicate later developments of this cult. The *Vīraśaivāgama*, an Upāgama, mentions the four *pīṭhas* or pontifical seats of this sect, viz. *yogapīṭha*, *mahāpīṭha*, *jñānapīṭha*, and *somapīṭha* (*paṭala* VIII).

The first comprehensive treatise of this school is, however, *Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi* of Reṇukācārya (thirteenth century). It is in the form of a dialogue between Agastya and Revaṇasiddha, and reveals the secret of Vīraśaivism. It is in simple *anuṣṭubh* metre except for the comments which follow at the end of each chapter (*pariccheda*). Most of the *paricchedas* have *cūrṇikās* (purport) prefixed, explanatory of the topic dealt with in the chapters concerned. The first chapter gives an account of the *pañcācāryas*, while chapters II to IV enumerate the tenets of Vīraśaivism. The rest of the chapters expound the *ṣaṭ-sthala*, the process of evolution of the soul (*aṅga*) till its final union with God (*liṅga*). This book is said to be the essence of Śaiva Āgamas and the most authentic exposition of the Śivādvaita Vīraśaiva theology. The basis of this work was obviously the discourses of Allama Prabhu, the teacher of Basava, who revived Vīraśaivism as a cult in the twelfth century and infused new blood into it.[18] He was regarded as an incarnation of Śiva himself. Basava requested Allama Prabhu to give his discourses in the *anubhavamaṇṭapa* in which the votaries held their dialogue. Basava did not write any book, but his *vacanas* or utterances are a free mixture of Sanskrit and Kannada, and are a very authentic record of the spiritual experience of Vīraśaivism given in the form of precepts. The *vacanas* are prose-poetry with a musical ring in them. They are highly mystical.

Anubhava-Sūtra of Māyideva, a follower of Basava, is a small Sanskrit work. It has been treated as part of the *Vātulottara Tantra*. It is also included as the second part of *Śiva-siddhānta Tantra*, the first part being *Viśeṣārtha-prakāśikā*. *Anubhava-Sūtra* deals with *guru-paramparā*, *sthala*, *liṅgasthala*, *aṅgasthala*, *liṅga-saṁyoga-vidhi*, *liṅgārpaṇa-sadbhāva*, *sarvāṅga-liṅga-sāhitya*, and *kriyā-viśrānti*. The *Sūtra* gives a completely different definition of *bhakti* or adorative action which abolishes duality between *aṅga* and *liṅga*. The language of the *Sūtra* (in Śaiva theological literature *ślokas* are frequently called *sūtras*) is beautiful.

Paṇḍitārādhya-carita is a voluminous work by Gururāja (fifteenth century). *Śivādvaita-darpaṇa* and *Śivādvaita-mañjarī* are other important works on Vīraśaivism. Some minor works are: *Vīramaheśvarācāra-saṅgraha*, *Vīraśaiva-pradīpikā*, *Anādivīraśaiva-sāra-saṅgraha*, and *Vīraśaiva-sudhānidhi*. They are obviously much later works.

Basava Purāṇa is a work of considerable length giving the life and teachings of Basava and also of the sixty-three Śaivite saints or Nāyanmārs, as they are called in Tamil, who are regarded as *purātana puruṣas*. It is considered as part of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. It is said to have been written in Sanskrit by Śaṅkarārādhya (fourteenth century) of Kāñcī. It is also called *Nandikeśvara-vijaya* or *Vṛṣabhendra-*

[18] *Vide* M. R. Sakhare, *History and Philosophy of Lingayata Religion* (Belgaum, 1942), pp. 415-18.

vijaya. Although Basava was a historical figure, the narration is in mythical style. This Purāṇa must have become famous after the time of Śrīpati Paṇḍita, a commentator on the *Brahma-Sūtra,* who considered the Purāṇas as authoritative literature.

Liṅga-dhāraṇa-candrikā by Nandikeśvara is an important book on the Liṅgāyata cult. The author appears to be well versed in the Vedas, Āgamas, Upaniṣads, and Tarka (Logic). He appears to be a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha's metaphysics. The work is theological, dealing mainly with the significance of wearing the *liṅga,* the procedure of *dīkṣā* ceremony, etc. The date of its composition is not known for certain, but it is not likely to be earlier than the sixteenth century. It has a Sanskrit commentary by Śivakumāra.

Prabhu-liṅga-līlā, believed to be a part of the *Vīraśaivāgama,* is a symbolic epic, complete in twenty-five *gatis* or *paṭalas,* i.e. cantos, on the advent of Allama Prabhu. It is said that Allama Prabhu came to the world to demonstrate the way of salvation. His advent, according to this book, was in response to Umā's request to Lord Śiva. Śiva says that he would go to *bhūloka* (earth) as a *jñāna-guru* and teach the path. Umā sends down Māyā to the world to defeat the plan. But Allama, the saviour, makes her powerless and establishes the path of Vīraśaivism. *Prabhu-liṅga-līlā,* which explains the philosophy of Vīraśaivism, has high literary value.

ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

Śaiva Siddhānta or Southern Śaivism traces its origin to the Śaiva Āgamas. In fact, some early writers called the Śaiva Āgamas themselves as the Siddhānta. It treats both the Vedas and Āgamas as revelations of God, the Vedas as general and the Āgamas as special. While the Vedas propitiate many gods, the Śaiva Āgamas proclaim Śiva alone as the supreme One. Although no difference is made in regard to authority between the Vedas and Āgamas, this distinction is maintained by the Śaiva school. Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya, who is a Siddhāntin, says: 'We do not perceive any difference between the Vedas and the Āgamas. The usage of the term *Śivāgama* to refer also to the Vedas is proper.'[19] The same sentiment is echoed by Tirumūlar (fourth century) in his *Tirumandiram* in Tamil: 'The Vedas and the Āgamas are both authoritative as they emanated from God. The Vedas are general, the Āgamas are specific. The learned do not discriminate' (verse 2397). Haradatta Śivācārya also says in the *Śruti-sūkti-mālā*: 'The very people who affirm that the Vedas are authoritative texts know that the Āgamas of divine origin, attributed to you, are also authoritative'[20] (verse 109).

[19] *Vayaṁ tu vedaśivāgamayorbhedaṁ na paśyāmaḥ*
Vede'pi śivēgama iti vyavahāraḥ yuktah. Śrīkaṇtha Śivācarya's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* (II.2.38).

[20] *Vedāḥ pramāṇamiti saṅgiramāṇa eva*
Divyaṁ tavāgamam avaiti janaḥ pramānam.

The Southern school acknowledges the authority of the Vedas, but relies only on the Āgamas and the Śaiva Upaniṣads like the *Śvetāśvatara* as true interpretations, in view of the conflicting ideas in other texts. In this respect, it resembles the Pāśupata and the Pratyabhijñā which had their own separate *Sūtras*. In common with Vaiṣṇavism, it accepted the authority of some Purāṇas and also the divine utterances of contemporary saints. When Śaṅkara wrote his *bhāṣyas* on the *Prasthāna-traya*, some of the Śaiva saints and their utterances were well known. Śaṅkara has referred to Jñānasambandhar and Kaṇṇappar in his *stotra* works (e.g. *Śivānanda-laharī*, verse 63).

Next to the Vedas and Āgamas and the theistic Upaniṣads, the Sanskrit source for Southern Śaivism is the Śaiva Purāṇas and their *saṁhitā* portions. The Southern school in general accepts Śrīkaṇṭha's *bhāṣya*, although its interpretation of *Ekamevādvitīyam* (One without a second) is different. Its preoccupation was not with interpretation of texts but with broadbasing *Śiva-bhakti* on the basis of the fourfold path of *caryā*, *kriyā*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*. This was done for understanding the pentad aspects of Śiva's grace, viz. *sṛṣṭi* (creation), *sthiti* (sustenance), *saṁhāra* (destruction), *tirobhāva* (obscuration), and *anugraha* (grace).

The devotional poetry in Tamil of the four great Śaiva *samayācāryas* has for its recurrent theme the grace of Śiva. They are collected as the *Devāram* and the *Tiruvācakam*, the first comprising the hymns of Jñānasambandhar, Tirunāvukkarasar (Appar), and Sundaramūrti, and the second those of Māṇikkavācakar. These saints frequently refer to the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, and the legendary deeds of Śiva which are retold in the Purāṇas and Itihāsas. The *Devāram*, the *Tiruvācakam*, many other *padigams* (hymns), the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar which is an Āgamic book, and the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam*,[21] the last, a book of hagiology, are arranged as the twelve canonical books of Southern Śaivism called the *Tiru-murais*. They are regarded as the Tamil Vedas. The very name is significant, because it implies both *daivika* or *apauruṣeya* (*tiru*) and *āgamya* or revealed (*murai*). Passages in the *Tiru-murais* which have parallels in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, some of which are Āgamic, have been listed by the Siddhānta scholar Śenthināthayyar. Parallel passages in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (claimed to have been written under Āgamic influence) and the *Pārameśvara Āgama* have been listed by the Vīraśaiva scholar, M. R. Sakhare. Both the Vedas and the

[21] The *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* or the *Periya Purāṇam* in which the lives of sixty-three Tamil Śaiva saints were originally depicted by Śekkizhār (twelfth century) has a parallel Sanskrit version called *Bhakta-vilāsa* by Upamanyu which is believed to be part of a *saṁhitā* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. The lives of the saints given here are told by Agastya to Upamanyu. There is also another similar work called *Śiva-bhakta-vilāsa* whose authorship is not known. These works are interesting as they relate many wonderful deeds and anecdotes connected with the Tamil saints. The Sanskrit versions often differ in detail from Śekkizhār's *magnum opus*; they are nevertheless useful to scholars and savants not knowing Tamil.

Āgamas are accepted by Southern Śaivism, but the Tamil *Tiru-murais*, which were compiled by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi (*c.* eleventh century), are regarded as the cherished texts. As Śiva worship is believed to have been prevalent in South India even in pre-Vedic times, this is understandable. The Sanskrit works on Śaivism in other parts of the country are not alien to Southern Śaivism but the body of Tamil canons is so large and engrossing that it is felt to be self-sufficient. The Southern school relies for its doctrines only on the Śaiva Āgamas revealed by Śiva on the Mahendra hills in South India.

As the doctrinal truths are found scattered in several Āgamas (just as the Vedānta is propounded in several Upaniṣads), codification of the Siddhānta was made by Meykaṇḍār (*c.* A.D. 1232) in his *Śiva-jñāna-bodham*[22] in Tamil. *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* is supposed to have had its Sanskrit original in the *Pāśa-vimocana-paṭala* of the *Rauravāgama*. There is, however, no basis for this, as it is not found in any of the texts of the *Rauravāgama* so far traced. Nor does Meykaṇḍār mention it as his source in the prologue. Meykaṇḍār does not profess to teach anything new. His birth is shrouded in mystery and he is believed to have had direct revelation. The work comprises twelve *sūtras* (aphorisms) including thirty-nine *adhikaraṇas* (sections). The author has also added *vārttika* and *udāharaṇa* (illustration) to his *sūtras*. The *sūtras* were later translated into Sanskrit (apparently by Śivāgrayogin); but there are slight deviations from the original Tamil and even subtle doctrinal variations.[23] Śivāgrayogin (sixteenth century) of the Sūryanārkoil

[22] The key position held by *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* in the literature of Tamil Śaivism is brought out by the following verse: 'The Veda is the cow. The Āgamas are its milk. The Tamil hymns of the four great Śaiva *ācāryas* are the butter in the milk, and *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* of Meykaṇḍār is the taste of that butter.' The verse also signifies the attitude of profound veneration with which the Vedas and the Āgamas are looked upon by the Southern school of Śaivism.

[23] The Sanskrit version is rarely published, and is practically a sealed book to Sanskrit scholars outside. The *sūtras* are exquisite and terse literary pieces. They have also much logic and metaphysical content. The whole text is, therefore, given below for the convenience of those who cannot make use of the Tamil original.

Strīpuṁnapuṁsakāditvāt jagatah kāryadarśanāt
Asti kartā sa hṛtvaitat sṛjatyasmāt prabhurharaḥ.
Anyaḥ sanvyāptito'nanyaḥ kartā karmānusāratah
Karoti saṁsmrtiṁ puṁsām ājñayā samavetayā.
Netıto mamatodrekād akṣoparatibodhatah
Svāpe nirbhogato bodhe boddhṛtvāt astyanustanau.
Ātmāntahkaraṇādanyo'pyanvıto mantribhūpavat
Avasthāpañcakastho'to malaruddhasvadrkkrıyaḥ.
Vındantyaksāṇi puṁsārthān na svayaṁ so'pi śambhunā
Tadvıkārī śivaścenna kānto'yovat sa tannayet.
Adrśyaṁ cedasadbhāvo drśyaṁ ced jaḍimā bhavet
Śambhostadvyatirekena jñeyaṁ rūpam vidurbudhāh.
Nācit cıtsannıdhau kintu na vittaste ubhe mithah
Prapañcaśivayorvettā yah sa ātmā tayoh prthak.
Sthitvā sahendriyavyādhaih tvāṁ na vetsīti bodhitah
Muktvaitān gurunā'nanyo dhanyah prāpnotı tatpadam.

monastery has written a voluminous *bhāṣya* on *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* in Sanskrit running to about 600 pages. It is a valuable commentary[24] which calls for more attention of the scholars than seems to have been given. The commentator cites here parallel Āgama texts for every *adhikaraṇa* of the Tamil *sūtras*, and thus establishes a very important link between them. Another Sanskrit work by Śivāgrayogin is *Śaiva-paribhāṣā*, a manual in five sections on the categories of Śaiva Siddhānta. His *Śivāgra-Paddhati* is a manual on rituals, and *Kriyā-dīpikā*, a book on Śaiva *sannyāsa* sacrament.

We have already said that Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* is a supporting work for Śaiva Siddhānta, although it has monistic leanings. Śrīkaṇṭha's work was further carried on by Nīlakaṇṭha Śivācārya (*c.* A.D. 1400) whose *Kriyā-sāra* is a metrical composition on *Śrīkaṇṭha-bhāṣya*. It sought to bridge the gap between Śivādvaita and Vīraśaivism. *Śataratna-saṅgraha* of Umāpati Śivācārya (early fourteenth century), the famous commentator of the *Pauṣkarāgama*, is a valuable collection of Āgama texts expounding the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine. The hundred texts collected are of immense importance to the students of Śaiva Siddhānta. *Siddhānta-sārāvalī* of Trilocana Śambhu (*c.* A.D. 1350) is one of the illuminating exegetics of Śaiva Siddhānta. It deals with the four paths, *caryā*, *kriyā*, *yoga*, and *jñāna*, but gives the greatest importance to *kriyā*. So, it is in the nature of a *paddhati* (manual of rules for rituals and sequence of *mantras*). It has a gloss by Ananta Śivam. Sadyojyoti Śivācārya (fifteenth century) wrote commentaries on some Āgamas like the *Raurava* and the *Svāyambhuva*. He is also known as Kheṭapāla or Kheṭakanandana.

The *jñānapāda* of Śaiva Āgamas, on which Śaiva Siddhānta is based, has been condensed into eight treatises called *aṣṭaprakaraṇas*: *Tattva-saṅgraha*, *Tattva-nirṇaya*, *Bhoga-kārikā*, *Mokṣa-kārikā*, and *Paramokṣa-nirāśa* by Sadyojyoti Śivācārya; *Tattva-prakāśa* by Bhoja; *Ratna-traya* by Śrīkaṇṭha; and *Nāda-kārikā* by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇḍa. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇḍa has written a *bṛhatī ṭīkā* and Aghora Śivācārya a *laghvī ṭīkā* on *Tattva-saṅgraha* of Sadyojyoti. Aghora Śivācārya (fifteenth century) has written commentaries on all of them excepting

Ciddṛśātmani dṛṣṭveśaṁ tyaktvā vṛttimarīcikām
Labdhvā śivapadacchāyāṁ dhyāyet pañcākṣarīṁ sudhīḥ.
Śivenaikyaṁ gataḥ siddhaḥ tadadhīnasvavṛttikaḥ
Malamāyādyasaṁspṛṣṭo bhavati svānubhūtimān.
Dṛśordarśayitevātmā tasya darśayitā śivaḥ
Tasmāttasmin parāṁ bhaktiṁ kuryāt ātmopakārake.
Muktyai prāpya svatasteṣāṁ bhajedveṣaṁ śivālayam
Evaṁ vidyāt śivajñānabodhe śaivārthanirṇayam.

[24] The best commentary on *Śiva-jñāna-bodham* is, however, *Śiva-jñāna-sittiyār* in Tamil by Aruṇandi Śivācārya (*c.* A.D. 1250). Another authoritative and voluminous commentary is Śivajñāna Svāmigaḷs *Śiva-jñāna-māpāḍiyam* in Tamil.

Sadyojyoti Śivācārya's last two works of which Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇḍa happens to be the commentator.

Sakalāgama-saṅgraha is a selection from eighteen principal Āgamas, five Upāgamas, ten Tantras, and twenty-three Śāstras like *Somaśambhu-Paddhati* and *Jñāna-ratnāvalī*. This deals with the rituals and daily discipline of the Siddhāntins. In this connexion, it may be mentioned that Nijaguṇa Sivayogin and Śambhu Deva in their respective works *Viveka-cintāmaṇi* and *Śaiva-siddhānta-dīpikā* have given an estimate of the verses in the various Āgamas. *Siddhānta-śekhara* is a voluminous omnibus of texts dealing with *Śiva-liṅga-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi* (rituals connected with the installation of *Śiva-liṅga*). It was originally printed in the Grantha script in Jaffna (Ceylon). Recently, it has been printed in Devanāgarī also in Mysore. Siddhānta exegetists attach great importance also to some Upāgamas like *Śivadharmottara*[25] and *Sarvajñānottara*, which contain beautiful poetry as well as philosophy in the *uttara* (dialogue) form.

ŚAIVA PADDHATIS

The rituals of the Āgamas are not mere *kriyā-kramas* (methodologies), but also definite means to mystic experience. The *mantras* (hymns), *mudrās* (poses and postures of fingers, hands, or body), *nyāsas* (gestures of touching the various parts of the body for purification), etc. are highly artistic expressions of the spiritual delight that the participants, both individual and congregational, attain during worship. These procedures are written in the form of *paddhatis*. Composed in simple Sanskrit, these procedural texts are in use even today. They were written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. They helped to establish the Āgamic rituals in the place of the Mīmāṁsaka rituals. The *Prapañcasāra* of Śaṅkarācārya is said to have served a similar purpose. The *paddhatis*[26] were all written by *śivācāryas* (Śaiva teachers) who must have been Āgamic pundits or heads of *maṭhas*. These *paddhatis* are different from the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* of the Nātha Siddha cult of North India.

[25] *Śivadharmottara* is usually regarded as a Śaiva Upapurāna. *Vide* Dr R. C. Hazra's list of the Śaiva Upapurānas in *CHI*, Vol. II, p 282.

[26] A list of some *paddhatis* is given below:
Siddhānta-Paddhati (by Īśānaśiva—*c.* A.D. 800);
Varuṇa-Paddhati, Mṛgendra-Paddhati, Brahmaśambhu-Paddhati, Rāmanātha-Paddhati, Naṭarāja-Paddhati (*c.* A.D. 1000-1300);
Uttuṅga-Paddhati (*c.* A.D. 1400); *Bhoja-Paddhati* (*c.* A.D. 1400); *Guṇa-Paddhati, Guha-Paddhati* (authors unknown—*c.* A.D. 1400); *Sadāśiva-Paddhati* (*c.* A.D. 1475); *Aghoraśiva-Paddhati* (*c.* A.D. 1500); *Somaśambhu-Paddhati* (*c.* A.D. 1500); *Śivāgra-Paddhati* and *Śiva-sannyāsa-paddhati* (by Śivāgrayogin—*c.* A.D. 1600); *Ātmārtha-pūjā-paddhati* (by Maraijñāna Deśika—*c.* A.D. 1600);
Dīkṣāmaṇḍala-Paddhati and *Snāpana-Paddhati* (by Ganapati Bhaṭṭa—*c.* A.D. 1600); and *Vidyākāṇḍa-Paddhati* (*c.* A.D. 1600).

The prestige and popularity of the *paddhatis* can be inferred from the fact that they have many Sanskrit commentaries. Almost all of them were written in South India like the *bhāṣyas* on *Prasthāna-traya*. The most important are *Soma-śambhu-Paddhati* and *Aghoraśiva-Paddhati* (also called *Kriyā-krama-dīpikā*). The latter consists of three parts, *pūrva*, *apara*, and *ṣoḍaśa-prakāśikā*. It has a gloss called *Prabhā*.

ŚAIVA STHALA-PURĀṆAS

Another important class of Śaiva literature is formed by the Sthala-Purāṇas. They are devoted to the glorification (*māhātmya*) of the places and shrines sacred to Śiva. One of the best known is *Halāsya-māhātmya* attributed to Haradatta. It gives an account of the sports of Śiva in the holy place Madurai, called the *dvādaśānta-sthala*. It is a very popular book and recited in temple congregations. The *Ekāmra Purāṇa*[27] is a fairly big work written in praise of Ekāmra-kṣetra (Bhuvaneśvara) in Orissa. There are many other Sthala-Purāṇas relating to other sacred places like Cidambaram, Rāmeśvaram, Kāñcī, etc. Besides independent works like these, there are numerous descriptions in praise of *tīrthas* sacred to Śiva in the principal Purāṇas.*

[27] Dr R. C. Hazra has included the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* in the list of Śaiva Upapurāṇas, *Vide CHI*, Vol. II, p. 282.

*This account gives a fairly full picture of the Śaiva literature in Sanskrit. Southern recensions of ancient books are mostly in the Grantha script (a script similar to later Brāhmī or early Tamil script) and not in Devanāgarī, and because of this handicap they are not looked into by scholars elsewhere. Their publication in Devanāgarī is very much desirable, otherwise a rich heritage of a very valuable tradition would remain a closed book to many.

7

VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

I

VAIṢṆAVISM[1] is one of the oldest religious cults of India. It is a cult of *bhakti* or devotion. It holds that God can be approached only through love. *Bhakti*, Vaiṣṇavism claims, is the best way of attaining the highest salvation. With this cult grew up a new literary tradition, not only in Sanskrit, but in other Indian languages also. Contributions of the Vaiṣṇavas have enriched Indian literature for hundreds of years. Here we shall trace, in brief, the development of Vaiṣṇava literature written in Sanskrit. We shall not discuss Vaiṣṇavism and its philosophy, for these have been dealt with in the preceding volume of this series.[2]

VIṢṆU IN VEDIC LITERATURE

Viṣṇu[3] is a Vedic deity. He assisted Indra in the killing of Vṛtra and he is the god that measured the three worlds and lived in the highest heaven. In his abode there is a perpetual spring of honey. In the Brāhmaṇas, Viṣṇu became the most important god and the symbol of sacrificial worship (*yajña*). In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*[4] the goal of human life is represented as attaining the abode of Viṣṇu, while in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*[5] food that sustains the universe is called Bhagavān Viṣṇu. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[6] assigns the highest place to Viṣṇu. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[7] gives prominence to Nārāyaṇa. He assumes a cosmic character in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.[8] The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[9] states that Viṣṇu, taking the form of a dwarf, conquered the three worlds.

[1] In the pre-Christian era, the highest deity was the human hero Vāsudeva of the Sātvata family. In the course of time, he came to be identified with Visnu and Nārāyaṇa. According to Pānini, the cult or sect was called Vāsudevaka and not Vaisṇava (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3.98). This cult was also known by the names Sātvata, Aikāntika, Pāñcarātrika, and Bhāgavata. Sātvata points to the family in which Vāsudeva was born; Aikāntika denotes *ekānta-bhakti* or absolute devotion to Vāsudeva-Krṣṇa; Pāñcarātra centres round Vāsudeva and the members of his family, and the worshippers of Vāsudeva are termed as Bhāgavatas. The term *vaisnava* is of rather late origin, and occurs for the first time in the last *parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. *Vide* Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Evolution of Hindu Sects* (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970), pp. 24-25.

[2] *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 108-210.

[3] In the *Ṛg-Veda*, Viṣṇu is a solar god. It is believed that Visnu worship is nothing but Sun worship transformed over the ages.

[4] I. 3.9.

[5] VI. 13.

[6] I.1.

[7] XIII. 3.4.1; VIII. 6.1.1; II.12.

[8] I.31.

[9] II. 1 3.1

There are some Upaniṣads which are generally known as Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads. These are, however, of much later origin. To this group of Upaniṣads belong the *Avyaktopaniṣad* or *Avyakta-nṛsiṁhopaniṣad*, *Kali-santaraṇopanisad*, *Kṛṣṇopaniṣad*, *Garuḍopaniṣad*, *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad*, *Gopālottara-tāpanī Upaniṣad*, *Tārāsāropaniṣad*, *Tripād-vibhūti-mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, *Dattātreyopaniṣad*, *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, *Nṛsiṁha-tāpinī Upaniṣad*, *Nrsiṁhottara-tāpinī Upaniṣad*, *Rāma-tāpinī Upaniṣad*, *Rāmottaıottara-tāpinī Upaniṣad*, *Rāma-rahasya Upaniṣad*, and *Vāsudevopaniṣad*.[10]

'Nārāyaṇa', which really meant 'supremely valiant man', was an implied epithet of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, and soon became a synonym of Viṣṇu. About the second century B.C., the identification of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was complete. This marked also the emergence of a composite Vaiṣṇava cult. The doctrine of *avatāıa* started from the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, if not earlier. It was fully developed before the composition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* where Kṛṣṇa has been placed above Viṣṇu.

PĀÑCARĀTRA SAṀHITĀS

The Pāñcarātra* sect of the Vaiṣṇavas is very old and is associated with the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Ṛg-Veda*. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* gives an account of the Pāñcarātra doctrine. Yāmuna, in his *Āgama-prāmāṇya*, tries to show that the Pāñcarātra literature is as valid as the Vedas, since it originates from the same source, namely, the divine Being, Nārāyaṇa. Originally, the followers of Nārāyaṇa were designated as Pāñcarātras. They worshipped *pañcavīras*,[11] Vāsudeva and four other members of his family. According to them, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha constituted the *vyūha* or emanatory aspect of Viṣṇu. It is believed that from Vāsudeva sprang Saṅkarṣaṇa, from Saṅkarṣaṇa Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna Aniruddha. Schrader remarks that the name *pāñcarātra* came from the central dogma of

[10] But these Upaniṣads are mostly full of inessential descriptions, ritualistic practices, and the muttering of particular *mantras*. Some of them, like the *Nṛisiṁha-tāpinī*, *Gopāla-tāpanī*, etc., have been utilized by the Gauḍīya school of Vaiṣṇavism. Cf. *HIP*, Vol. III, p. 13.

*See foot-note 12 in the next page for explanation.

[11] The inscriptions of the first century B.C. show Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva being worshipped jointly with equal veneration; there are indications that sometimes not only the two but as many as five hero-gods of the Vṛṣṇis were worshipped jointly. An inscription of the first century A.D. recovered from a well in Mora, a village seven miles west of Mathurā city, records the setting up of the statues of the five holy heroes (*bhagavatāṁ pañcavīrāṇām*) of the Vṛṣṇis in a stone temple built by a woman named Toṣā. The images, made of stone, were meant for worship and are said to have a glowing and exceedingly handsome appearance. Lüders identified the five heroes as Baladeva (Saṅkarsaṇa), Akrūra, Anādhṛsṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha on the basis of the Jaina sources. But J. N. Banerjea with the help of a passage in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* identifies them as Baladeva, Vāsudeva, Śāmba, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.—Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism* (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1967), pp. 68-69.

the *pañcarātra sattra*[12] of Nārāyaṇa, which speaks of fivefold manifestation of God representing His *para* (transcendent), *vyūha* (emanatory), *vibhava* (incarnatory), *antaryāmin* (immanent), and *arcā* (worshipable in images) aspects.

Side by side with the doctrine of *vyūha*, the Pāñcarātra system of the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* records a parallel doctrine of *avatāras*. In the *Nārāyaṇīya* section we have the following account of the ten *avatāras*: Appearing in the forms of a swan, a tortoise, a fish, O foremost of twice-born ones! I shall then appear as a boar, then as a man-lion, then as a dwarf, then as Rāma of Bhṛgu's race, then as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, then as Kṛṣṇa, the scion of the Sātvata race, and lastly as Kalki.[13]

In later works, the number of *avatāras* is given as twelve, eighteen, and even twenty-four. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu cannot be limited in number; they are innumerable just as countless streams spring forth from the unending waters of a lake.[14] Archaeological evidences, however, show that the doctrine became a popular one in the time of the Guptas. The introduction of Śakti worship in the Pāñcarātra may be a later development, but the cult from the very beginning seems to have had a close affinity with Tāntricism.[15]

[12] According to the *Nārada Pañcarātra*, *rātra* means knowledge; hence Pāñcarātra is a system which deals with five kinds of knowledge, cosmology (*tattva*), the science of liberation (*muktiprada*), of devotion (*bhaktiprada*), of Yoga (*yaugika*), and pertaining to the senses (*vaiśeṣika*). But, as pointed out, few of the extant Samhitās conform to this scheme of the topics outlined, and the apocryphal nature of the text renders its evidence highly untrustworthy. According to the *Īśvara Saṁhitā*, the religion that was taught by the god to five sages, Śāṇḍilya, Aupagāyana, Mauñjāyana, Kauśika, and Bharadvāja, in five successive days and nights came to be known among the people as Pāñcarātra. The *Śrī-Praśna Saṁhitā* states that *rātri* means nescience (*ajñāna*), and *pañca* derived from the root *pac* means that which cooks or destroys: hence Pāñcarātra is the system which destroys ignorance. According to the *Padma Tantra*, the system is so named because just as the sun dispels the night, the Pāñcarātra dispels the other five systems, which are the Yoga, Sāmkhya, Buddhism, Jainism, and Pāśupata. A passage mentioned in the *Agni Purāna* states that the five elements (*pañcabhūtas*) which form the body of Brahmā are known as *pañcarātra*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that the *pañcarātra sattra* of Nārāyana was the *puruṣamedha* which lasted for five days; the duration of the sacrifice being counted from the previous night, the word *rātra* is used. In the *Vaitāna-Sūtra* of the *Atharva-Veda* also, the sacrifice is a five-day performance. Thus it seems that *pañcarātra* originally meant the sacrifice with which Nārāyaṇa was connected. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-44.

[13] *Mbh.*, XII. 340. 100.

[14] *Bhāgavata*, III. 26-27.

[15] The worship of the Boar and Nṛsimha incarnations was the most popular form of Vaiṣnavism in the Gupta period. In both these sects we can clearly discern Tāntric elements showing how gradually Tāntricism was expanding its sway over Vaiṣṇavism, or showing indirectly how the Vaiṣnava sect was now gradually adopting Tāntric practices. The devotees of the Nrsiṁha cult practise the sectarian *mantra* in *anuṣṭubh* verse called the *mantrarāja* of Nṛsiṁha which is accompanied by four ancillary *mantras*. The sectarian laws enjoin that if the Nṛsiṁha diagram—clearly a Tāntric one—is carried by a devotee, he becomes free from all dangers. Even at the present time the Nṛsimha sub-sect can be found in South India where Nṛsiṁha is the god of many families. *Vide* J. N Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (Oxford University Press, London, 1920), p. 188.

The Pāñcarātra literature is pretty large, but most of the works are in manuscripts and very few are in print. The *Sātvata Saṁhitā* is the most important Pāñcarātra text. It is stated in this *Saṁhitā* that the Lord created the Pāñcarātra literature at the request of Saṅkarṣaṇa. The *Sātvata Saṁhitā* consists of twenty-five chapters which describe in detail the mode of worshipping Nārāyaṇa in all his four *vyūha* manifestations. The *Sātvata, Pauṣkara, Parama, Īśvara,* and *Jayākhya* are the earliest Pāñcarātra *Saṁhitās* of high authority. Of the many treatises on the Pāñcarātra doctrine, the *Pañcarātra-rakṣā-saṅgraha* by Gopālasūri is the most important.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Saṁhitā* consists of thirty-two chapters. It speaks of 108 Saṁhitās.[16] The *Viṣvaksena Saṁhitā,* which has thirty-one chapters, is a very old work. Śrī Rāmānuja referred to this work quite often. Most of the Pāñcarātra works are ritualistic in content with very little of philosophy. The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā, Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā, Viṣṇu Saṁhitā,* and *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā,* however, have some philosophical elements in them. Of these, the first two are the most important. The *Jñānāmṛta-sāra Saṁhitā,* also entitled the *Nārada Pañcarātra,* seems to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, a little before Vallabhācārya. It is devoted to the glorification of young Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

The two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* are rich in Vaiṣṇava legends and teachings. Scholars think that the first and last books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are later additions, for they deify Rāma and identify him with Viṣṇu. The interpolation must have taken place towards the end of the second century A.D. In the other books (II to VI), Rāma is described as a human being and not as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The *Mahābhārata* contains enough material to show Vaiṣṇava influence and also the history of Vaiṣṇavism. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* section of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* is the most esteemed book not only with the Bhāgavatas, but with the whole Hindu community. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Śāntiparvan* is another sacred text for the Bhāgavatas. It emphasizes that the grace of Nārāyaṇa can be attained only through *bhakti* or devotion. The *Anuśāsanaparvan* (Chapter CXXXV) of the *Mahābhārata* contains the *Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra,* a hymn on the thousand names of Viṣṇu. It is in this epic that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is identified with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. The *Harivaṁśa,* in 16,374 verses, forms a supplement to the *Mahābhārata,* and is an important source of the myths and legends current about Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

Among the eighteen Purāṇas, six are primarily dedicated to the glorification

[16] Although the traditional list enumerates 108 Samhitās, there is actually mention of more than 215, of which, however, only very few have been published. *Vide HIL,* Vol. I, p. 589.

of Viṣṇu. They are: *Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Garuḍa, Padma,* and *Varāha.* The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is held in the highest esteem by the worshippers of Viṣṇu and is recognized even by Rāmānujācārya as the most authentic work on Viṣṇu. Here Viṣṇu is glorified as the highest Being, as the creator and sustainer of the universe. Most of the legends narrated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* are elaborated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the most popular book among the Vaiṣṇavites. The *Bhāgavata* is a later Purāṇa, of the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. In the *Nāradīya Purāṇa, Viṣṇubhakti,* devotion to Viṣṇu, is again and again proclaimed to be the only means of *mokṣa,* salvation. Without this, the *Purāṇa* says, study of the Vedas and scriptures, observance of austerities, sacrifices, and other such practices are of no avail. The *Matsya Purāṇa* was originally compiled by the Vaiṣṇavas; the Śaivite portions were added later. The *Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Vāmana, Kūrma,* and *Agni* also give considerable importance to Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, or Nārāyaṇa.

A large number of *māhātmyas* glorifying Vaiṣṇava *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage) are found in the Purāṇas. Mention may be made of *Gayā-māhātmya* (*Garuḍa Purāṇa*), *Mathurā-māhātmya* (*Varāha Purāṇa*), *Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya* (*Brahma Purāṇa*), and *Vṛndāvana-māhātmya* (*Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*).

Of the Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, the most important ones are: the *Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Nṛsiṁha, Bṛhannāradīya,* and *Kriyā-yoga-sāra.* Scholars think that they were written between A.D. 400 and 900. The first four of these Upapurāṇas are Pāñcarātra works and the last belongs to the Bhāgavatas. The other Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, not so important, are: the *Puruṣottama, Dharma, Bhārgava, Ādi,* and *Kalki.* Except the last two, they appear to have been written before A.D. 1200.

JAINA AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The Rāma and Vāsudeva legends were popular with the Jains and were known to the Buddhists also. Vimala Sūri gives the earliest version of the Rāma story in his work, the *Paümacariya.* The *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* and the *Antakṛddaśāka* are among the important Jaina sources containing legends about the Vṛṣṇis. Buddhist works like the *Milindapañha,* the *Avadānaśataka,* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* also contain references to Vaiṣṇavite deities. The *Lalitavistara* throws considerable light on the transformation of Buddha into an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu.

OTHER LITERATURE

The Smṛtis, too, shed light on the Vaiṣṇava cult. The introductory chapter of *Manu Smṛti,* explaining the creation of the universe, attributes it to Nārāyaṇa. The Smṛtis help us to understand the social conditions of Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavism. The influence of the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* is seen in some of the pages of

the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (third century A.D.). The *Vaikhānasa Smārta-Sūtra* discusses the details of Vaiṣṇava rituals.

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* provides valuable information on the cult of Vaiṣṇavism by way of examples and citations. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata refers to the worship of the implements of Viṣṇu, which is an indication of how much popular Vaiṣṇavism had become. The *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla, the Sātavāhana king, refers to Viṣṇu and his various incarnations. The works of Kālidāsa, Bhāsa, Viśākhadatta, and other poets and dramatists of the Gupta period contain material relating to Vaiṣṇavism. The early life of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa forms the subject-matter of the *Bālacarita* of Bhāsa. His other plays, too, are built around Vaiṣṇava themes. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* presents Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The medical works, *Caraka Saṁhitā* and *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, recommend the recitation of some magical formulas mentioning the names of Vaiṣṇavite deities as a cure for some diseases. The *Amarakoṣa*, famous lexicon of Amarasiṁha, gives synonyms of Vaiṣṇavite gods and goddesses, and refers to various legends connected with them.

BHĀGAVATA VAIṢṆAVISM

The earliest reference to the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism is found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (*c.* fifth century B.C.). The Besnagar inscription (second century B.C.) clearly shows the completion of the deification of Vāsudeva. The composite cult of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism had a considerable number of adherents during the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa periods. During the Gupta period its following greatly increased. The Gupta rulers, bearing the title *parama bhāgavata*, championed Vaiṣṇavism. It extended even up to Bengal, as is proved by the Susunia rock inscriptions of King Candravarman (*c.* fourth century A.D.). After the Guptas, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism began to decline in North India. The cult, however, continued to flourish in the south under the patronage of the Cālukyas of the Deccan. In the west, too, it flourished, but only among the members of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. It dominated the scene in Bengal only much later.

BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

Although the Pāla kings were ardent followers of Buddhism, numerous epigraphic records suggest that Vaiṣṇavism was popular with the masses. But what is technically known as Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is a 'complex product' of multifarious elements. Caitanya is known to be its founder. This is not to say that it is something new, divorced from early and medieval Vaiṣṇavism. What Caitanya did was to infuse a new life into Vaiṣṇavism and also to give it a new slant. After the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Vaiṣṇavism took a rigorous philosophical turn simultaneously with the revival of the cult of *bhakti*. This happened as a reaction to Śaṅkarācārya's theory of absolute non-

dualism. About the twelfth century A.D., the Vaiṣṇavas were sharply divided into four schools* of thought. *Bhakti* and the concept of a personal God were the main planks in the creeds of these sects. Meanwhile, the Purāṇas eulogizing different deities were composed. The *Bhāgavata* exercised great influence on the Vaiṣṇava movement of this period. Two other important texts of the Vaiṣṇavas which preach the supremacy of Viṣṇu are the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. These two works describe the whole life of Kṛṣṇa but the *Bhāgavata* depicts Kṛṣṇa as a vigorous youth and as an object of passionate love of the *gopīs*. Rādhā figures as his partner only in much later texts.

PRE-CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE IN BENGAL

Even though Buddhism, as was mentioned earlier, was the official religion of the Pāla rulers, and the early Sena rulers were Śaivas, Lakṣmaṇa Sena happened to be a Vaiṣṇava. His contemporary Jayadeva wrote the *Gītagovinda*, which is no doubt the most important devotional work before Caitanya. A work of deep lyrical fervour, the *Gītagovinda* has inspired the Vaiṣṇavas through the ages. There are some verses in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* describing the divine sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. These verses are attributed to Lakṣmaṇa Sena. In fact, the Rādhā cult made its first appearance about this time. The Rādhā legend has been elaborately worked out by Jayadeva. The Nimbārka sect also has done its bit to promote it. A late Purāṇa, the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, also has a hand in popularizing it. Śrīdhara Dāsa, author of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, was a devout Vaiṣṇava of this period. Two other scholars, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa and Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa, are said to have written the *Bhāgavata-tattva-mañjarī* and *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva* respectively.

Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* drew upon *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* for its emotional slant. This lyrical work of Jayadeva, complete in twelve cantos, is the first specimen of devotional eroticism, depicting as it does the spiritual yearning of the *gopīs* to unite with Lord Kṛṣṇa. The *Gītagovinda* marks the beginning of what is called Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī literature.

As was stated earlier, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is closely linked with the name of Caitanya. Caitanya himself was probably brought up on the Mādhva tradition. His predecessors, too, were all Mādhvas, followers of Madhva. As a monk, Caitanya belonged to Śaṅkara's *daśanāmī* tradition. Interestingly, Śrīdharasvāmin, in writing his commentaries on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, reconciled devotional mysticism with Śaṅkara's Advaita philosophy. Mādhavendra Purī and his disciple Īśvara Purī, Caitanya's *guru*, followed in the steps of Śrīdharasvāmin. The *Rāsa-pañcādhyāya* section of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* was also a source of inspiration to Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. Īśvara

*See page 120 of this article.

Purī is said to have composed *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta*. *Rukmiṇī-svayaṁvara* is also attributed to him.

POST-CAITANYA VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

A fairly good number of biographies of Caitanya, written with devotional fervour, is available in Sanskrit and Bengali. The earliest is the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, often known simply as *Kaḍcā* and attributed to Murārigupta, an older contemporary of Caitanya. In seventy-eight cantos it depicts Caitanya's life and takes the form of a regular Sanskrit *kāvya*. Svarūpa Dāmodara, an associate of Caitanya at Purī, is also known to have written a biography known as *Kaḍcā*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* has utilized this *Kaḍcā* to depict the later years of Caitanya's life. Next comes the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta-mahākāvya*, in twenty cantos, written by Paramānandasena. The author is better known as Kavi Karṇapūra. Paramānandasena also wrote the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, a drama in ten acts, depicting the later phase of Caitanya's life, at the request of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. His other important works are: *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* and *Alaṁkāra-kaustubha*. The first gives an account of Caitanya's associates in their previous births as associates of Lord Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. By this time Caitanya had come to be regarded as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The second work depicts the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa in twenty sections in the campū style of mixed prose and verse. This is a work on Sanskrit poetics complete with illustrations mostly on Kṛṣṇa. A small *kāvya* in six cantos, the *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī*, is also attributed to him. Of the biographies of Caitanya in Bengali the most important are Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya-Bhāgavata*, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, and Locanadāsa's *Caitanya-maṅgala*. Mention may also be made of a work of the same title i.e. *Caitanya-maṅgala* written by Jayānanda.

SIX GOSVĀMINS

Excepting the eight Sanskrit verses known as *Śikṣāṣṭaka*, Caitanya never wrote any work to propagate his devotional philosophy. The six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, viz. Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Jīva inspired by the Master, however, wrote voluminous books to propagate the philosophy of *bhakti*. They systematized the doctrines and practices of the faith. The two brothers, Rūpa and Sanātana, were chosen by the Master for the difficult task of writing on the theology and the poetics (*rasaśāstra*) of this faith, while their nephew Jīva wrote about its philosophy.

Sanātana, the elder brother, wrote the following works: *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* (with an auto-commentary called *Dig-darśanī*), *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, a commentary on the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*. Rūpa's works include: *Uddhava-sandeśa-kāvya*, the two works of *Bhaktirasa-śāstra*, viz. *Bhakti-*

rasāmṛta-sindhu and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, *Padāvalī*, a work on dramaturgy, *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, and *Saṁkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta.*

JĪVA GOSVĀMIN

Jīva was the master exponent of the metaphysics of Caitanyaism. He was a versatile scholar in all branches of Indian philosophy and may rightly be considered as the founder of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta. After studying at Vārāṇasī, he settled at Vṛndāvana and was a great help to Rūpa in writing the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu.* Jīva was a prolific writer and his works put the Caitanya cult on a firm and well-defined philosophical basis. His major work is called *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* also called *Ṣaṭsandarbha.* It consists of six treatises (*sandarbhas*) on Vaiṣṇava philosophy and theology. These are *Tattva, Bhagavat, Paramātmā, Kṛṣṇa, Bhakti*, and *Prīti-sandarbhas*. The *Tattva-sandarbha* discusses the *pramāṇas*, means of knowledge, and the *prameyas*. Jīva thinks that *śabda* is the only authentic source of knowledge, and speaks of the supreme authority of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata.* In the *prameya* section Jīva discusses the *sambandha, abhidheya* and *prayojana* of his work and the origin of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata. Prīti* or divine love is the *prayojana* and cultivation of *bhakti* or *bhagavad-bhajana* is the *abhidheya.* The second *sandarbha*, the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, contains the discourses on the idea of God (*Bhagavān*), the highest manifestation of *advaya-jñāna-tattva.* To Jīva Bhagavān is endowed with form and attributes as distinguished from the ineffable absolute Brahman. In the *Paramātma-sandarbha* he deals with the concept of *Paramātman* or God-head which is consciousness and is in relation to *Prakṛti* and *Jīva.* Paramātman is the partial manifestation of Bhagavān. Bhagavān as possessed of *jīvaśakti* and *māyāśakti* is called Paramātman. *Jīvaśakti* is responsible for the existence of individual soul and *māyāśakti* for creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world. The *Kṛṣṇa-saṁdarbha* is primarily a text on theology which seeks to establish Kṛṣṇa as the highest deity. Kṛṣṇa is not an *avatāra* but the very source of all *avatāras.* In the *Bhakti-sandarbha* Jīva speaks of devotion as the only means of salvation. True knowledge (*tattva-jñāna*) is the secondary effect of *bhakti* and *bhakti* is itself *mukti.* One is *ahaitukī bhakti*, i.e. not prompted by any desire worldly or other-worldly (*phalāntarāṇām anusandhāna-rahitā*), but it is a state in which the true devotee finds a natural pleasure in absorbing meditation upon God's merciful actions. The *Prīti-sandarbha* establishes that *prīti* or divine love is the highest *bhakti* in its purely emotional form as the service of God, through bonds of intense love, takes the form of *prīti.*

Jīva's *Sarva-saṁvādinī* is a summary of the above six discourses and not a commentary as some scholars have thought. It contains explanatory comments on the points imperfectly dealt with in the original texts. His *Krama-sandarbha* is a commentary on the *Bhāgavata.* He also wrote commentaries on the *Brahma-*

Saṁhitā and on the *Gopālatāpanī Upaniṣad.* An anonymous *Kṛṣṇārcana-dīpikā,* apparently on the modes of Kṛṣṇa worship is attributed to him. His two other commentaries, *Durgama-saṅgamanī* and *Locana-rocanī* are respectively commentaries on Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi.*

Jīva was also a great grammarian of his time. His unique work on Sanskrit grammar is *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa.* In this work Jīva has used the names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and their associates as technical terms of grammar and has thereby shown his ingenuity in intermingling grammar with sublime theology.

His literary works include the *Gopāla-campū,* a work in mixed prose and verse extending to seventy chapters. It describes the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā. Jīva himself informs us that in this *kāvya* his *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* has been presented in a literary form. Jīva's *Mādhava-mahotsava,* a *kāvya* in nine cantos and 1164 verses, describes the consecretation of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa as the queen of Vṛndāvana. His *Saṅkalpa-kalpadruma* is a philosophico-poetical work, dealing with *Kṛṣṇalīlā* in Vṛndāvana. This work, a product of Jīva's advanced age, consists of four parts: *Janmādilīlā, Nityalīlā, Sarvartulīlā* and *Phala-niṣpatti.* Jīva's *Gopāla-birudāvalī* is a *biruda-kāvya* (a type of literary composition in prose and verse) dedicated to the prayer of the deity.

OTHER GOSVĀMINS

The *Haribhakti-vilāsa* is attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Raghunātha Dāsa's *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru, Vraja-vilāsa-stava,* and *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi* are hymns in praise of either Caitanya or *Kṛṣṇalīlā.* His *Muktā-carita* is a Sanskrit *kāvya* with Kṛṣṇa's early life in Vṛndāvana as its theme. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa wrote nothing. But the other five Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana covered the major part of the religio-philosophical literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (*c.* A.D. 1754) wrote a commentary called *Ānanda-candrikā* (or *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi-kiraṇa*) on *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. His other commentary is on *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* called *Sindhu-bindu.*

Thus following Caitanya, there was a spurt in literary activities among Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. Not only in Bengal but in other parts of India too, the impact of Caitanya's advent was felt. For instance, a large number of Sanskrit lyrical songs were written in Orissa.

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the great Advaitin of the sixteenth century, was also a protagonist of the *bhakti* discipline. His *Bhakti-rasāyana* is a most esteemed text in which one can discern an attempt to bring about a synthesis between Advaitism and the *bhakti* cult from the aesthetic point of view.

VAIṢṆAVISM IN ASSAM

Śaṅkara Deva (? 1449-1568) is the central figure in the religious history of medieval Assam. Śaṅkara Deva drew much of his inspiration from the *Bhagavad-*

Gītā and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The latter, it may be noted, comprises the quintessence of Vedānta and is described as 'the sun' among the Purāṇas. Śaṅkara Deva's chief concern seems to have been to reduce religion to the simplest principles so that the ignorant masses could easily grasp them.

Śaṅkara Deva holds that, while Brahman is one without a second, the qualities attributed to Brahman are equally real. Śaṅkara Deva maintains that God-realization is possible only through *bhakti*. The *bhakti* cult he enunciates consists in the cultivation of an intimate relationship with God, the eternal, omniscient, all-powerful Person. For instance, one of his books, *Kīrtana*, opens with his obeisance to God whom he describes as *Sanātana* Brahman. God, according to him, assumes a form and is the cause of all incarnations (*avatāras*).

Many scholars are of the opinion that the influence of Rāmānuja is evident in the philosophy of Śaṅkara Deva. Others feel Śaṅkara Deva came under the influence of Śrī Caitanya, though this is open to doubt. In any case, Vaiṣṇavism in Assam grew under the guidance of Śaṅkara Deva and his followers.

The *bhakti* cult as propounded in the different Śāstras finds its expression in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* written by Śaṅkara Deva in Sanskrit. Most of his works are, however, in Kāmarūpī, the spoken dialect of the people of Assam. He translated a large part of the *Bhāgavata* into simple Kāmarūpī verse. Among his other works (in Kāmarūpī) are: *Bhakti-pradīpa* in verse (on the *bhakti* cult as propounded in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*); *Kīrtana*, in simple verse suited to music (the subject being the life-story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*); and *Guṇamālā* (synopsis of the *Bhāgavata*, so far as the life-story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is concerned). These apart, Śaṅkara Deva wrote six one-act plays—five of them based on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the sixth on the marriage of Sītā with Rāma. He composed a large number of songs also. After Śaṅkara Deva, various groups or schools emerged in course of time, and different Vaiṣṇava institutions also were set up. All schools of thought, however, accept the philosophical interpretations given by Śaṅkara Deva. The *Kīrtana* of Śaṅkara Deva and the *Nāma-ghoṣā* of Mādhava Deva are their important works. The chief difference between the groups consists in the observance of rites and ceremonies.

VAIṢṆAVA SAINTS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA

Rāmānanda, a follower of Rāmānuja, was responsible for spreading the Vaiṣṇava movement in the north. To Rāmānanda Śrī Rāma was the chosen deity. A host of devoted followers like Kabīr and many others were very much influenced by this movement. A rich literature grew on the basis of their teachings, but it is in vernacular.

In West India, popular Vaiṣṇavism is associated with two great names, Nāmadeva and Tukārāma. Nāmadeva, a contemporary of Jñānadeva (author

of a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), composed devotional songs in Marathi in praise of Govinda or Hari. Tukārāma was born (*c.* A.D. 1608) near Poona. He had composed about one thousand and three hundred devotional songs in Marathi and was well-known for his *kīrtanas*. According to him, only intense love can lead one to Hari. A collection of his songs has been published in two volumes from Bombay.

Sūradāsa (*c.* A.D. 1483-1563) was another great Vaiṣṇava poet of the Kṛṣṇa cult who wrote in Braja-bhāṣā. The songs of Mīrābāī, a poetess of the *bhakti* school, were originally written in Rajasthani. Tulasīdāsa's *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, in Hindi, has always been, and still is, a source of inspiration to all sections of people in India, particularly in North India.

II

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Ṛg-Veda* mentions the people of the south—Śavaras, Āndhras etc. But Vedic religion as such might have spread to the south only later along with Jainism and Buddhism. Somehow or other Jainism became more popular and remained pre-eminent for nearly ten centuries. It was only after the fifth century A.D. that the indigenous Dravidian religion completely fused with Vedic Brāhmaṇism to create a popular Hindu religion easily assimilable by the people. In the beginning, Vedic religion must have come to the south in Sanskrit as Jainism did in Prakrit. The phenomenal success of the Jains, however, was the result of their switching over to the local language to spread Jainism. When Jainism, due to political and other factors showed signs of weakening, the Hindus in the south took the opportunity to use Tamil to popularize the many stories relating to Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord. Thus, the earliest Vaiṣṇava literature of the south emerged, the language of which was Tamil.

THE SAṄGAM AGE AND THE ĀḶVĀRS

For the ancient Tamils, Viṣṇu was Māyon, the dark-hued; and many of the poems in the Saṅgam anthology *Paripāḍal* (second century A.D.) are dedicated to Māyon. The *genre* known as *Paripāḍal* was originally meant for love poetry. During the Saṅgam age it was transformed into poetry inspired by love for God.[17] The poems of *Paripāḍal* are ecstatic outpourings of devotees gifted with spiritual vision. In them the fearsome aspects of nature are drawn upon to describe in detail the Varāha, the Mohinī, the Narasiṁha and the Kṛṣṇa *avatāras* (incarnations) of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is the ancient deity having seen many *kalpas* and performed wondrous deeds in each *kalpa*. Yet, He is eternally young.

[17] *Vide* Agnihotram Rāmānuja Thathachariar, *Varalātril Pirandha Vaiṇavam* (Sri Sarangapani Swami Devasthanam, Kumbakonam, 1973), p. 298.

As dark-hued Vāsudeva, fair Saṅkarṣaṇa, red Pradyumna and green-complexioned Aniruddha, Viṣṇu rules supreme, creating, sustaining and destroying this world by turns.

Many literary gems of the Saṅgam age dealing with Viṣṇu were lost to posterity. But this literature no doubt led to the efflorescence of Vaiṣṇavism between the sixth and the ninth centuries A.D., resulting in the remarkable anthology of devotional lyrics, now known as *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*. This is considered as very sacred and spoken of as the Vaiṣṇava Veda in Tamil. In this anthology, twelve Āḷvārs[18] (devotees immersed in god-consciousness) have sung of Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord of the universe, depicting him in a variety of attitudes.[19]

THE ĀCĀRYAS

The age of Vaiṣṇava revival by the Āḷvārs was followed by the age of consolidation by the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas.[20] A new dimension was added to Vedic Vaiṣṇavism by giving equal importance to the Tamil Veda in matters of theology. While the Āḷvārs scored by appealing to the heart, the Ācāryas had to contend with the intellectual forces of dissent when they tried to spread Vaiṣṇavism. To reach a larger audience, Sanskrit had to be used. Thus the Ācāryas created a vast Vaiṣṇava literature in Sanskrit. Most of it was dialectics, theology and exegesis. But there was also devotional poetry of a high order.

Nāthamuni (A.D. 824-924), the first Ācārya of Ubhaya-Vedānta,[21] made arrangements for the recital of the *Divya Prabandham* in temples. He wrote *Nyāya-tattva*, *Yoga-rahasya* and *Puruṣa-nirṇaya*.

Nāthamuni's grandson was Yāmunācārya (*c*. A.D. 918-1038), the first Viśiṣṭādvaitin to controvert non-dualism by dialectics in *Ātma-siddhi*. This work, in mixed prose and verse along with *Īśvara-siddhi* and *Saṁvit-siddhi*, is considered 'the fountain head of Śrī Rāmānuja's epoch-making works'.[22] Having dispelled the clouds of *avidyā* posited by the Advaitins, Yāmuna firmly holds on to devotion and surrender as the only means to attain salvation and gain *ānanda* or divine bliss.

Yāmuna's *Āgama-prāmāṇya* confronting Śaṅkara and Bhāskara in a dialec-

[18] They are: Poygai Ālvār, Bhūtattālvār, Pey Āḷvār, Tirumaliśai Āḷvār, Naṁmāḷvār, Madhurakavi Āḷvār, Kulaśekhara Ālvār, Periyāḷvār, Āṇḍāl, Tondaradippoḍi Āḷvār, Tiruppān Āḷvār, and Tirumaṅgai Ālvār.

[19] For a detailed study of the Āḷvārs and their works, the following books may be consulted: K. C. Varadachari, *Ālvārs of South India*, J. S. M. Hooper, *The Hymns of the Ālvārs; HIP*, Vol. III, etc.

[20] For an exhaustive catalogue of the works of the different Ācāryas and their followers *HIP*, Vols. III & IV and *CHI*, Vol IV may be consulted

[21] The Vedānta which harmonizes the teachings of both the traditional Vedānta and the teachings of the Ālvārs.

[22] R. Rāmānujachāri (Tr.) *Siddhi-trayam*, (Ubhaya Vedanta Granthamala Book Trust, Madras, 1972), p. 1.

tical battle seeks to establish the Pāñcarātra Tantras or the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas as having equal authority with the Vedas. His *Gītārtha-saṅgraha*, in thirty-two verses, an admirable summary of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, is in line with the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. His *Mahāpuruṣa-nirṇaya* which sought to establish the primal Lord of the universe is now lost. Yāmuna's *Stotra-ratna* and *Catuḥ-ślokī*, however, are happily available as evidence of the essentially poetic nature of the Vaiṣṇava philosopher. Brilliant poetic imagery adds to the flow of devotional ecstasy in the former which is really a gem in the realm of Indian hymnal literature.

The *Catuḥ-ślokī* describes the Mother in four verses. Though brief, this cluster has blazed a new trail in Vaiṣṇava philosophy. Mother Lakṣmī as the divine intermediary taking the devotee's aspiration to the Lord and bringing him the Lord's grace is described in this poem in terms of affection, wonderment, and gratitude. Under the influence of the *Catuḥ-ślokī*, there arose in later times more detailed statements in the form of *stotras* about the personality and position of Lakṣmī. Chief among them are passages to be found at the beginning of the *Śaraṇāgati-gadya* of Rāmānuja, the *Śrī-stava* of Vatsāṅkamiśra, the *Śrīguṇa-ratna-koṣa* of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, his son, and the *Śrī-stuti* of Veṅkaṭanātha.[23]

The Vaiṣṇava movement split itself into four different schools of thought: Śrī-sampradāya of Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137) preaching Viśiṣṭādvaita (qualified non-dualism), Sanakādi-sampradāya or Haṁsa-sampradāya of Nimbārka (eleventh-twelfth century) upholding Dvaitādvaita (dualistic non-dualism), Brahma-sampradāya of Madhva (A.D. 1197-1276) extolling Dvaita (dualism), and Rudra-sampradāya of Vallabha (1473-1531) adhering to Śuddhādvaita (pure non-dualism).

RĀMĀNUJĀCĀRYA

Vaiṣṇava theology gained widespread popularity through the writings of the great Rāmānuja. Intellectually well-equipped, and deeply devoted to the Āḷvārs, Rāmānuja emerged on the Vaiṣṇava literary scene with his *Śrībhāṣya* and *Gītā-bhāṣya*. Though they discuss high philosophy and intricate dialectics, Rāmānuja himself simplified the complexities of knowledge to pure devotion.[24]

Interpreting the *Bhagavad-Gītā* is no easy task; for, the poem is the drama of a soul straining to reach the reality of God by climbing an intricately structured stair-case. Rāmānuja explains the entire corpus of the *Gītā* patiently and dis-

[23] Cf. M. Narasimhachari, *Contribution of Yāmuna to Viśiṣṭādvaita* (Prof. M. Raṅgacharya Memorial Trust, Madras, 1971), p. 49.

[24] This is evident from the opening verse of *Śrībhāṣya:* 'May knowledge transformed into intense love directed to Śrīnivāsa, the highest Brahman, become mine, the Being to whom the creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe is mere play, whose main resolve is to offer protection to all those who approach Him in all humility and sincerity, and who shines out like a beacon light out of the pages of the Scripture.'—Translated by M. Yamunacharya.

covers every possible clue in support of the qualified non-dualism propounded by him.

Vedārtha-saṅgraha, *Vedānta-dīpa* and *Vedānta-sāra* are the other philosophical treatises by Rāmānuja. While the last two deal with certain points in the *Brahma-Sūtra*, the first is a masterly attempt to prove the closeness of Viśiṣṭādvaita to the Vedas. Some passages in this closely argued philosophical text rise to poetic heights, indicating the enthusiasm of the Ācārya.[25]

Absolute self-surrender to Nārāyaṇa, the Lord of the Universe, is advocated in his *Gadyatraya*, containing the triple gems, that is, *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*, *Śrīraṅga-gadya* and *Śrīvaikuṇṭha-gadya*. Self-surrender is the essence of Vaiṣṇava doctrine, and *Śaraṇāgati-gadya* details every aspect of it with authority and precision. 'There is a sense of certainty, an atmosphere of utter serenity, that prevails in the *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*, the hymn of self-surrender, which is said to have been poured forth from Rāmānuja's heart on seeing a beatific vision of the Lord on the occasion of a temple festival'.[26] The *gadya* moves towards the end like a monologue in which the Lord assures Rāmānuja of salvation.

The *Śrīraṅga-gadya* sets forth the overwhelming splendour of the Lord whose *karuṇā* (kindness and mercy) draws Him to the devotee in moments of distress. *Śrīvaikuṇṭha-gadya* concludes with the eternal form of Nārāyaṇa that spreads the mantle of *ānanda* (bliss) upon His devotees who dwell in Him. Another of his works is *Bhagavadārādhana-krama*.

FOLLOWERS OF RĀMĀNUJA

Among the writers who followed Rāmānuja, Kureśa wrote five hymns that contain superb poetry. He was a disciple of Rāmānuja and had been tortured and exiled by the Coḷa king, Kulottuṅga. The following five hymns were the

[25]Here is an example of the Ācārya's poetic description of Visnu in the 'Ideal Heavens':

'In the same way as this Supreme Being, Nārāyaṇa, has infinite knowledge, bliss, and purity (which are attributes that define His nature), in the same way as He has countless, wonderful and unsurpassed, auspicious qualities such as wisdom, power, strength, lordship, might and splendour, in the same way as He controls, by His will, all other things, sentient and nonsentient, so also He has a celestial and unchanging form, which, besides being to His liking, conforms to His nature; He has likewise countless ornaments of wonderful and varied beauty in keeping with His form; He has also innumerable and wonderful weapons suited to His might; He has, besides, a Spouse of unsurpassed glory with a form pleasing to Him and conforming to His greatness and with beauty, greatness, sovereignty and goodness suited to His nature; He has, more over, a retinue of countless followers and attendants who possess boundless auspicious qualities like wisdom and the capacity for rendering service suited to Him; He has, further, countless objects and accompaniments of enjoyment suited to His nature, and to His greatness. So also He has a celestial abode which far transcends the power of speech and of mind to describe. There are thousands of passages in the Śrutis which state that all these are eternal and immaculate.'—Translated by M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar.

[26]*Vide* M. Yamunacharya, *Ramanuja's Teachings in His Own Words* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963), p. 128.

outcome of his passionate, spiritual heroism. In the *Śrīvaikuntha-stava*, the Lord is described as a 'radiance' pervading the universe which gives joy to the believers and strikes terror in the hearts of the wicked. *Atimānuṣa-stava* explores an *avatāra* of God as a superman on earth. The hymn brings out the devotee's bewilderment at the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa as Rāma and Laksmana. How does one reconcile the naivete of Rāma following the fake deer and Kṛṣṇa being bound for stealing butter, with the super-exploits attributed to them? The devotion in Kureśa's heart streams out in elegant poetry in the *Sundara-bāhu-stava* and *Varadarāja-stava*. The eleven verses of *Śrī-stava* describe Laksmī as guiding Nārāyaṇa in his role as creator, sustainer, and destroyer of the universe. Indeed, the Lord realizes His glory because of Lakṣmī's proximity. The world flowers in triumphal beauty when Lakṣmī glances at it.

Kureśa's son was Parāśara Bhaṭṭa who composed elevating Sanskrit hymns like *Śrīraṅgarāja-stava*, *Raṅganātha-stotra* and *Śrīguna-ratnakosa*. The last-mentioned is a soulful prayer to Laksmī and describes the Mother's kindness and affection towards her devotees. Parāśara's *Asta-śloki* explained the meaning of the three basic mantras of Vaiṣṇavism: *Aṣṭāksara*, *Dvaya* and *Carama-śloka*. His *Bhagavad-guṇa-darpaṇa* is a priceless commentary on the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*. Like Śaṅkara, Parāśara Bhaṭṭa too felt that the *Sahasranāma* was as vital to one's spiritual evolution as the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

Besides the hymns and dialectics enlarging the horizon of Vaiṣṇavism, there are also descriptive narratives on well-known Vaiṣṇavite shrines of South India. One such was Veṅkaṭādhvarin's *Viśva-guṇādarśa-campū* which introduces two *gandharvas*, Kṛśānu and Viśvavasu, as wandering all over India, visiting holy places dedicated to Viṣṇu and singing their glories.

Among other Ācāryas who wrote extensively on Vaiṣṇavism during the eleventh and twelfth centuries are: Nārāyaṇa Muni (*Bhagavad-Gītārtha-saṅgraha-vibhāga* and *Bhāva-prakāśikā*), Varadācārya (*Tattva-sāra* and *Sārārtha-catuṣṭaya*), Sudarśana Bhaṭṭāraka (*Śruta-prakāśikā* and *Śruta-pradīpikā*), Ātreya Rāmānuja (*Nyāya-kuliśa*) and Meghanādri Sūri (*Nyāya-prakāśikā* and *Bhāva-prabodha*). Naḍadoor Ammal's *Prapanna-pārijāta* is a thought-provoking thesis on self-surrender that concludes with a striking image, comparing the progress towards salvation to a voyage across the ocean of *saṁsāra* in the boat of *nyāsa* or self-surrender.[27]

One of the well-known disciples of Parāśara was Raṅganātha Muni who has remained popular all these centuries because of his commentaries in Tamil and Sanskrit. He was taught the importance of Lakṣmī in Vaiṣṇava theology by Pranatārtihara who was a disciple of Rāmānuja. *Śrīsūkta-bhāṣya* of Raṅganātha Muni contains a remarkable analysis of the Lakṣmī hymns found in the

[27] *Prapanna Pārijāta* (Visishtadvaita Pracharini Sabha, Madras, 1971), p 70.

Vedas, a detailed explanation of the term *jātavedāḥ*, and at the end a long discussion[28] on the concept of Lakṣmī.

Raṅganātha Muni also wrote the *Puruṣasūkta-bhāṣya*. Though he says at the outset, 'I am but reviewing the extant commentaries for the sake of easier approach', the *bhāṣya* has its individual approach to prove the spiritual symbolism behind the seemingly pantheistic description of the Puruṣa.

It is indeed unfortunate that a great deal of Sanskrit works of these centuries has been irretrievably lost in the course of time. Among the existing hymnal literature, mention may be made of Vedācārya Bhaṭṭa's *Kṣamāṣoḍaśī-stotra*, Annan's *Śrīveṅkaṭeśa-stotra*, Tirukkacci Nambi's *Devarājāṣṭaka*, Maṇavāla Mahāmuni's *Śrīdevarāja-maṅgala*, Vādikeśarī Jeeyar's *Narasiṁhāṣṭaka*, Jeeyar Nayanar's *Nakṣatra-mālikā* and Tirumalai Ananthāzhvan's *Śrīrāmānuja-catuḥ-śloki*.

LOKĀCĀRYA AND VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

About the close of the fourteenth century, the followers of Rāmānuja were sharply divided into two sects—the Teṅgalais, Southern, and the Vadagalais, Northern. Pillai Lokācārya represented the southern school. He wrote *Tattva-traya*, *Śrīvacana-bhūṣaṇa*, *Tattva-śekhara*, *Artha-pañcaka*, *Prameya-śekhara* etc. *Tattva-traya* is an aphoristic exposition by telling analogy of the relationship between man, nature and God. *Śrīvacana-bhūṣaṇa* is an account of the secret doctrine of the sect. The theme of *Tattva-śekhara* is that Nārāyaṇa is the supreme Lord and complete surrender to him is the only means to emancipation.

The northern school was represented by the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Vedānta Deśika or Veṅkaṭanātha (A.D. 1268-1369), one of the most eminent stalwarts of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. Fortunately, almost the entire corpus of Sanskrit writings by him has come down to us. If Yāmuna's *Catuḥ-ślokī* inaugurated the Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava literature, Deśika's writings provided the culminating glory. Though Deśika also wrote in *maṇipravāla* (a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil) and Tamil, his favourite language was Sanskrit. Numbering more than a hundred titles, his works contain didactic, lyric, epic and dramatic writings. Widely known as the 'lion of poets and logicians' (*kavi-tārkika-siṁha*), Deśika's exposition of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy is found in numerous works like *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* and *Sarvārtha-siddhi*. Among his better known commentaries are *Tattva-ṭīkā* (a commentary on Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*), *Tātparya-candrikā*

[28]In the course of the discussion he answers categorically some *prima facie* arguments raised by himself. Then he concludes that Śraddhā and Visnupatnī refer to Laksmī only. She is subordinate to none and is equal to her husband, Nārāyana, the Lord in all respects. In fact, in their cosmic role one cannot function without the other. He quotes the *Ahirbudhnya Samhitā* and *Laksmī Tantra* in support of his view.—*Vide* A. Srinivasa Raghavan, *Śrīsūkta Bhāṣya* Maharajah's College, Pudukottah, 1937, pp. xlii-xliii.

(on the *Gītā-bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja), *Śata-dūṣaṇī* (a refutation of Advaita), and *Nyāya-siddhāñjana*. *Pañcarātra-rakṣā*, *Saccarita-rakṣā* and *Nikṣepa-rakṣā* deal with the principles and practices of the Pāñcarātra school, and *Seśvara-mīmāṁsā* treats the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsās as parts of one whole. Blessed with phenomenal knowledge and prodigious memory, he has tellingly re-interpreted our classical heritage in striking Sanskrit prose and verse. Deśika's language is somewhat difficult for the common reader, but once we enter into the spirit of the work, we are deeply impressed by its spiritual significance. His *magnum opus* is *Śrīmad-rahasyatrayasāra* composed in a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil. It is a commentary on the three 'secrets' of self-surrender in Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, that is, the *Aṣṭākṣara*, the *Dvaya* and the *Carama-śloka*. But it is more than a mere commentary. It is a text of Viśiṣṭādvaitic Vaiṣṇavism. Deśika's masterly summary of the meaning of the *Carama-śloka* in the *Gītā* provides the grand finale to a work which overwhelms us by its intellectual brilliance, intuitive perception and devotional humility.[29]

Vedānta Deśika's devotional lyrics, about thirty-two in number, are a class by themselves. Each verse is a poetic capsule packed with Purāṇic lore. His first lyric, *Hayagrīva-stotra*, was dedicated to Viṣṇu as Hayagrīva whom Deśika revered as the Lord of knowledge. *Stotras* dedicated to the *daśāvatāras* of the Lord, to Śrī, Bhū and Godā, to Sudarśana, Dehaliśa, Garuḍa and Rāmānuja have gained popularity. There are lyrics on renunciation and self-surrender marked by unfamiliar images. 'My verses are scented like the jasmines that bloom in the evening. Would I use them to beg from kings?' says Deśika in the *Vairāgya Pañcaratna* and concludes: 'I have no property earned by my father or myself. But there is a priceless treasure my ancestor has earned and kept at the top of Hastigiri (the icon of Varadarāja at Kāñcipuram)'.

Deśika's *Dayā-śataka* stands out among his devotional lyrics. The hymn describes the *karuṇā* of Veṅkaṭeśvara and is replete with illustrations. The

[29]Your knowledge is limited; your ability is insignificant; your life is short and you are also impatient of delay. Therefore do not go about seeking other *upāyas* which you cannot (fully) understand, which you cannot easily adopt and which can bear fruit only after much delay. Realize that I who am easy of access to all, who am the saviour of all the worlds, and who am endowed with all the attributes essential for a Saviour, am the only *upāya* and perform the surrender of the responsibility of protecting yourself to me with its five *aṅgas*. When you have adopted the *upāya*, you will have done what you ought to do, you will become my ward and be extremely dear to me. Supremely compassionate and generous, independent and omnipotent, I will, myself, by my mere will and without any other aid, and for the fulfilment of my own purposes, free you from the manifold, endless, and insurmountable groups of obstacles without leaving any trace of them. I will enable you to have enjoyments similar to mine own, since you will enjoy myself and all that belongs to me. I will find delight in making you render all forms of service in all places, at all times and in all circumstances—service which will be of the nature of the overflow of the full and perfect enjoyment (of myself). You have absolutely no cause for grief.—*Vide* M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar (Tr.), *Śrīmad Rahasyatrayasāra* (Agnihotram Rāmānuja Thathachariar, Kumbakonam, 1956).

Lord's *karuṇā* is symbolized as Mother Grace who is like a generous fruit-bearing tree. Yet another famous long hymn of Deśika is known as *Pādukā-sahasra*. While Deśika's devotional verses are always full of mythology, philosophy and symbolism, his *Haṁsa-sandeśa* provides a contrast and is a simple, sensuous poem in the *mandākrāntā* metre made famous by Kālidāsa. The subject-matter of the poem is Rāma's sending a swan as his messenger to reassure Sītā languishing in captivity at Laṅkā. Though it is also meant as a symbol of God's reassurance to man for the soul's liberation through the *guru*, Deśika has taken care to see that the moving context of Rāma's separation from Sītā is not submerged by philosophy. The first part charts out the swan's route to Laṅkā, providing a chance to describe the grandeur of India's south dotted by holy temples, perennial rivers, and stately mountains. The second part contains instructions to the swan as to how to approach Sītā and deliver the message. The ten verses, beginning with the seventy-third, bring before our eyes the captive Sītā as imagined by an agonized Rāma.[30]

Passages of stirring imagination, brilliant, unusual similes (the swan compared to an arrow in the fifty-fourth verse, for example) and a certain spontaneity of expression mark this beautiful *sandeśa-kāvya*. Deśika's absorption in the Kṛṣṇāvatāra is seen in poems like *Gopāla-viṁśati* and *Yādavābhyudaya*. The latter has twenty-four cantos and was inspired by the *Bhāgavata*. It describes Kṛṣṇa's birth, childhood and youth, his marriage with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā, the destruction of Narakāsura, the marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the killing of Pouṇḍraka and other heroic exploits of Kṛṣṇa, and the *Gītopadeśa* on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. The *Yādavābhyudaya* has a remarkable commentary written in the sixteenth century by Appaya Dīkṣita, the author of the hymn, *Varadarāja-stava*.

Deśika's allegorical play preaching Vaiṣṇavism is *Saṅkalpa-sūryodaya* in ten acts. It is about king Viveka (discrimination) and queen Sumati (wisdom) who decide to free the Puruṣa (soul) from Karma (human bondage). They have to struggle against a host of evil forces led by Mahāmoha (dense ignorance). High philosophy, dialectics, humour, satire and poetic conceits mark the narrative by turns. When Darpa (pride) and Dambha (vanity) take the stage,

[30] 'Methinks I see my Sītā
With eyes dim and aimless,
She sighs often, her lotus face is shrunk.
The eyes send forth tears unending.
Her lamentations deal
With her plight, and my might.
Ah ! Fate has dealt harshly with her
And she sits emaciated,
Frustration filling her heart.'

—Translated by the author.

we get a feeling that the poet is pointing at us. At the end, king Viveka is successful and Puruṣa learns to surrender to Viṣṇu through *bhakti*, thereby breaking his fetters. The guardian angel Divine Grace is ever present with Puruṣa and all is well.

Though Vaiṣṇava literature during the times of the earlier Ācāryas came to be written mainly in Sanskrit, very soon *maṇipravāla* began to be used extensively to write commentaries on the *Divya Prabandham*, the Tamil Vaiṣṇava Veda, which exerted a profound influence on the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas. Of these, particular mention may be made of 'Six thousand' by Kureśa, 'Thirty-six thousand' by Vadakku Tiruvithi Pillai and 'Twenty-four thousand' by Periavacan Pillai.

NIMBĀRKA

Nimbārka was one of the principal commentators on the *Brahma-Sūtra*. To Nimbārka, Brahman is a personal God and not the impersonal Absolute. He calls Him Kṛṣṇa or Hari. While to Rāmānuja and Madhva, Brahman is Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, to Nimbārka and Vallabha, Brahman is Gopāla Kṛṣṇa accompanied by Rādhā. Nimbārka's commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra* is called *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha*. Śrīnivāsa, a pupil of Nimbārka, wrote an excellent commentary on it called *Vedānta-kaustubha*. The other works attributed to Nimbārka are as follows: *Daśa-ślokī* (also called *Siddhānta-ratna*), *Śrīkṛṣṇa-stava-rāja* and *Guru-paramparā*. There are yet a few other works ascribed to him, such as *Śrīkṛṣṇa-stava*, *Vedānta-tattva-bodha* and *Vedānta-siddhānta-pradīpa*. But these texts are still preserved in manuscripts. An important work of this school is *Siddhānta-jāhnavī*, a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, by Devācārya, on which Sundara Bhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called *Siddhānta-setukā*. *Vedānta-kaustubha-prabhā* by Keśava Bhaṭṭa is a commentary on *Vedānta-kaustubha*. A commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* called *Tattva-prakāśikā* is also attributed to him. Vanamālī Miśra's *Vedānta-siddhānta-saṅgraha* (also called *Śruti-siddhānta-saṅgraha*) gives some important tenets of the Nimbārka school. The work is written in the form of *kārikās* and is based on the commentaries on the *Brahma-Sūtra* by Nimbārka and others.

MADHVĀCĀRYA

Another great Ācārya who has left behind a large mass of Vaiṣṇava literature in Sanskrit (thirty-seven in all) is Madhva. Besides his commentaries on several important Upaniṣads, he wrote *Gītā-bhāṣya* and *Gītā-tātparya-nirṇaya*, a summary of the central teachings of the *Gītā*, to outline his *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva*; *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* which has an imposing array of choice quotations; *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, an epitome of the essential teachings of the *Mahābhārata*; *Bhāgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, a commentary bringing out the

Bhāgavata's theism; and *Ṛg-bhāṣya*, an intuitive interpretation of the first forty hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*, thus pioneering a new method, later used successfully by Sri Aurobindo and others. His *Viṣṇutattva-vinirṇaya* purposively tries to prove the superiority of Viṣṇu over all the other gods in Hinduism.[31] His other works are *Anubhāṣya*, *Anuvyākhyāna*, *Tattva-saṅkhyāna*, *Tattvoddyota*, *Sadācāra-smṛti*, etc. The last one is a manual on the duties and rituals of a *vaiṣṇava*.

Madhva has also composed some stirring devotional lyrics in Sanskrit, such as *Dvādaśa-stotra*, *Yamaka-bhārata*, and *Narasiṁha-nakha-stotra*. *Kṛṣṇāmṛta-mahārṇava* is another lyrical composition of 242 verses devoted to the glorification of Viṣṇu and his forms of worship. It declares that *bhakti* is the only means to attain salvation. These lyrics inspired the mystic singers like Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, thus popularizing Vaiṣṇavism through the Dāsa Kuṭa saints in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mention may be made of *Hari-bhakti-sāra* and *Mohana-taraṅgiṇī*, two of the fine compositions of Kanakadāsa besides the innumerable devotional songs he has written. Two great teachers belonging to the school of Madhva are Jayatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha. Jayatīrtha wrote *Nyāya-sudhā*, a commentary on *Anuvyākhyāna* of Madhva, *Nyāya-dīpikā*, a commentary on Madhva's *Gītā-tātparya-nirṇaya*, *Prameya-dīpikā*, a commentary on Madhva's *Gītā-bhāṣya*, and *Tattva-prakāśikā*, a commentary on *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* of Madhva. Vyāsatīrtha wrote *Tātparya-candrikā*, a commentary on *Tattva-prakāśikā* of Jayatīrtha. *Pada-ratnāvalī* is a standard commentary on the *Bhāgavata* by Vijayadhvaja of the Madhva school.

VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Vallabha, the founder of the Śuddhādvaita school, accepts the doctrine of Advaita, pure and simple, without any reference to Māyā of Śaṅkara. According to Vallabha, the Advaita of the Upaniṣads is *śuddha* (pure) unalloyed with Māyā. This system is also known as *puṣṭi-mārga* as it strongly emphasizes *puṣṭi* (divine grace) as the most powerful and unfailing means of enjoying the highest bliss.

Vallabha wrote as many as eighty-four books (including small tracts) all of which, however, are not available. To mention a few of the important texts: *Bhāgavata-tattva-dīpa* and its commentary, *Subodhinī*; *Anubhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*; *Tattvārtha-dīpa* and its commentary *Prakāśa*; *Bhagavad-*

[31]Visnu whom all names enter, is said to be supreme. All names refer to him who is different from all. He who is independent and eternally same, is the highest Visnu. In such texts, as all other names signify only him, it is pointed out that no other being can be the Lord of all. All this follows from the fact that in all the Vedas there is the assertion that Visnu is free from imperfections, that in all of them there is the non-existence of the statement that he was non-existent before creation, that in all the Vedas the defects and the non-existence before creation of all other entities are asserted and that they are not said to be the significance of all names.—Translation by S. S. Raghavachar.

Gītā-bhāṣya; *Kṛṣṇāśraya*; *Premāmṛta*; *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*; *Siddhānta-rahasya*; *Bhakti-vardhinī* and its commentary, *Bhakti-siddhānta*. *Tattvārtha-dīpa* together with its commentary *Prakāśa*, is a most important work of Vallabha. It is divided into three sections viz. *Śāstrārtha*, *Sarvanirṇaya* and *Bhāgavatārtha*. Of the three, the first and the last are devoted to summarize the essence of the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata* respectively. Among his other works, these may be mentioned: *Sevā-phala-stotra*, *Catuḥ-ślokī*, *Antaḥkaraṇa-prabodha*, *Navaratna*, *Puṣṭipravāha-maryādā*, *Madhurāṣṭaka*, *Bhāgavata-sāra-samuccaya* and *Puruṣottama-sahasranāma-stotra*. The following works are attributed to Viṭhṭhaleśa, Vallabha's son: *Kṛṣṇa-premāmṛta*, *Bhakti-haṁsa*, *Bhagavad-Gītā-tātparya*, *Bhāgavata-daśama-skandha-vivṛti*, *Bhakti-hetu-nirṇaya*, *Premāmṛta-bhāṣya*, etc. *Bhakti-taraṅgiṇī* and *Nāma-candrikā* of Raghunātha, *Subodhinī-prakāśa*, *Prārthanā-ratnākara* and *Bhakti-haṁsa-viveka* of Puruṣottama, *Bhakti-cintāmaṇi*, *Bhagavannāma-darpaṇa* and *Bhagavannāma-vaibhava* of Muralīdhara, *Bhakti-mārtaṇḍa* of Gopeśvara, *Bhakti-rasatva-vāda* and *Avatāra-vādāvalī* of Pītāmbara are some of the other notable works of the Vallabha Vaiṣṇava school.

TRANSLATIONS

The later history of Vaiṣṇava literature is a tale of notable translations and transcreations from Sanskrit. The great epics and significant exegetical works were translated into Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. Devotion to Viṣṇu was very strong in the later writers. The Tamil poet Viḷḷipputturar agreed to translate the *Mahābhārata* only because it gave him a chance to sing in detail the greatness of Kṛṣṇa. Rarely did the writers render texts in regional languages into Sanskrit. However, Śrī Raṅgarāmānuja Svāmī (*c.* sixteenth century) has written a commentary in Sanskrit prose on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvaimozhi*. He also wrote lucid commentaries on several principal Upaniṣads. His commentary on the *Śrībhāṣya* is called *Mūla-bhāva-prakāśikā*.

OTHER DEVOTIONAL COMPOSITIONS

Some of the most popular Sanskrit hymns have been written by Keralites. Śaṅkara's *Bhaja Govinda* has acquired world-wide currency. *Śrīhari-smaraṇa-śataka*, *Viṣṇuṣaṭpadī*, and *Harimīḍe-stotra* are also attributed to Śaṅkara. The *Mukundamālā* of Kulaśekhara is a garland of devotional songs. The weaving rhythm of the verses has a mesmeric effect when chanted. The thought-processes of the devotee lost in Kṛṣṇa-ecstasy are clearly visible through the luminous Sanskrit terms. Līlāśuka's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* is a favourite with devotees even today. Śakti Bhadra wrote *Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi*, a Sanskrit drama on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme. Narratives like *Anantapura-varṇana* and *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* and *campū-kāvyas* like *Kaṁsa-vadha* and *Kālīya-mardana* were written in a mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit. Finally, Vaiṣṇava literature of the South burst forth in the

glory and grandeur of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri's Sanskrit epic, *Nārāyaṇīya*. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri has written eighteen *prabhandhas* on themes chosen from Hindu epics as well as works like *Dhātu-kāvya* and *Śilpi-ratna*. But it is *Nārāyaṇīya* which assures him of his pre-eminent position as an epic poet. The poem is in one hundred *daśakas* and retells the story of Kṛṣṇa as found in the *Bhāgavata*. The devotional fervour of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri converts the legendary story into a spiritual adventure.

Passages relating to the *Narasiṁhāvatāra*, *Gajendra-mokṣa* and *Ajāmilopākhyāna* are couched in mellifluous diction. From the thirty-seventh *daśaka* onwards, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri deals with the captivating history of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation. Each verse here is a gem, each episode a drama in itself. And so we race towards the end, culminating in a vision of Hari's form vouchsafed to the poet:

To my front is a flame
    Brilliant as a *kalaya* bouquet;
Within that lustre
    A divine boy's form;
Nārada and other sages
    Along with the Upaniṣad-maids
Singing ecstatic praises;
    Ah ! Nectar flows on my being.
        (*Daśaka* 100, verse 1)

8

ŚĀKTA LITERATURE

THE term *śākta* is generally regarded synonymous with *tāntrika* but it is not correct. *Śākta* has a wider import than *tāntrika*. Also, while Śākta literature may be traced back to the Vedas,[1] Tāntric literature had a later[2] beginning. The Vedic seers felt the presence of a divine power or *śakti* behind all the phenomena of Nature. They invoked and worshipped this power under different names. There are also references to some female deities in the Vedic hymns. Not all of them, however, were regarded as manifestations of Śakti, the female principle in the world order.

The identification of *śakti* with the female principle is quite understandable. *Śakti* means energy and it is energy which is the productive principle. Energy moves, changes, transforms, produces and also sustains; ultimately, all the created things lapse again into the original energy. The evolution of the world is thus an unfoldment of the creative energy, variously termed as Prakṛti, Śakti or Māyā in Indian philosophy. No creation is possible without śakti. Even the great exponent of Advaita Vedānta,[3] Śaṅkara, has to own that the supreme Lord cannot create, and cannot even have an urge to create, without her.[4]

MOTHER GODDESS IN THE VEDIC PANTHEON

Any literature, if it is to be termed Śākta, must be concerned with the female divine principle. In the Vedas, the most fascinating female deity is Uṣas, Dawn, in whose lap rises the resplendent Sun every morning. She is sometimes conceived as the mother of the Sun, and sometimes as his spouse. This Uṣas is invoked and praised in nearly ten hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*.[5] She is represented as the eternal feminine, always pursued but never overtaken by the Sun, who starts his chase

[1]Some scholars opine that the worship of Śakti, the female principle, was prevalent even in the days of the Indus valley civilization. A large number of terracotta figures or figures on the seals, etc. found in the Harappan sites are thought to represent the Mother Goddess later associated with the Śākta cult.

[2]It is not very likely that the Tāntric literature originated further back than the fifth or sixth century. In the *Mahābhārata*, which seems to have taken its present shape by the fourth century, there is no mention of the Tantras. The *Amarakoṣa* (*c.* sixth century) and the other *koṣas* give various meanings of *tantra*, excepting that it is a particular class of Hindu sacred literature. There is also no mention of the Tantras in the writings of the Chinese pilgrims to India as yet. The earliest Nepalese manuscripts available today date only from the seventh to the ninth century.

[3]According to which there is one ultimate Reality, called Brahman, behind the phenomenal world.

[4]*Śankara-bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, I. 4.3.

[5]*Ṛ. V.* IV. 5.51-52, VII. 5.75-81.

after her every morning. Such is her elusive nature. The hymns to Uṣas are also the finest poetic specimens in the whole of Vedic literature. Another interesting female deity is Sarasvatī, who is at once a river and a goddess. She is not yet the goddess of learning as we find her in later times. In the *Ṛg-Veda*, she is the embodiment of the flowing stream of creation as would appear from the few hymns dedicated to her.[6] Almost at the end of the *Ṛg-Veda* we come across the famous hymn to Vāc,[7] also known as the *Devī-sūkta*. This is considered to be the first important evidence of the worship of Śakti or Devī or Vāc, later the main theme in the Tantras. We may also include in Vedic Śākta literature the hymn to Night, the *Rātri-sūkta*, who is conceived as a female deity like Dawn and invoked through this hymn.[8] There are also some stray verses in the *Ṛg-Veda* in which names of such female deities as Pṛthivī, Iḍā, Bhāratī or Sarasvatī occur. There is, however, no mention in the *Ṛg-Veda* either of Durgā or any of her different forms, such as Kauṣikī, Vindhyavāsinī, Caṇḍī, Umā, Ambikā, Kālī and others, so much glorified in the Purāṇas and Tantras. This perhaps indicates that the Śakti cult had not been clearly established in the Ṛg-Vedic period. It is only in the later Vedic pantheon that Śakti together with her different forms is found to have an access but the process of assimilation seems to have been rather slow. Thus, in the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of the *Yajur-Veda* there are references to Ambikā not yet associated with Rudra as his wife. She has been described there as Rudra's sister,[9] and in one place even as his mother.[10] Durgā and her cult seem to have been of non-Vedic origin, but when admitted in the Vedic religion, they gradually adopted characteristics of different Aryan deities.

Coming to the Upaniṣads, we find in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, which is one of the earlier Upaniṣads, a reference to a female deity, Umā Haimavatī who revealed to Indra the nature of Brahman, the supreme Spirit, when gods like Agni and Vāyu were absolutely baffled in their attempt to fathom Its nature.[11] This may be taken to indicate for the first time that the realization of the true nature of the ultimate Reality depends upon the favour of the divine Śakti and not on one's own effort. R. G. Bhandarkar[12] says, 'since it was Umā that disclosed the nature of the Spirit, it may be understood that the Brahman mentioned was Rudra-Śiva and Umā was his wife.'[13]

[6] *Ibid.*, VI. 5.61.

[7] *Ibid.*, X. 10.125.

[8] *Ibid.*, X. 10.127.

[9] *Tai. S*, I 8.6.1, *K.S*, IX 7, *Mai. S.*, I.10.4, *Vāj S.*, III. 57, *Tai. Br*, I. 6.10.4, *Śat. Br*, II. 6.2.9.

[10] *Mai. S.*, I. 10.20.

[11] *Ke. U.*, III. 3-12 and IV. 1.

[12] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 111.

[13] We, however, find no mention of the wife of Rudra or Śiva until we reach the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, which is assigned to the third century B.C., where Rudra is described for the first time as Ambikāpati,

There is also a passing reference in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* to seven female powers bearing names like Kālī, Karālī, etc. The tongues rising from a sacrificial fire are given these names.[14] Nowhere else in the earlier Upaniṣads is there any specific reference to a female divinity. The *Śvetāśvatara*, which is of a later date and theistic in character, refers to the innate power of the Lord, concealed by his own nature.[15] This supreme power is said to be of infinite variety, but knowledge and action are stated to be its natural forms.[16]

THE ŚĀKTA UPANIṢADS

There is a whole body of literature bearing the title of Upaniṣad, which is specifically Śākta in character. They are nearly as many as ten, all obviously of a later date. They are as follows: *Tripuropaniṣad*, *Tripurā-tāpinī Upaniṣad*, *Bahvṛcopaniṣad*, *Bhāvanopaniṣad*, *Sarasvatī-rahasyopaniṣad*, *Sītopaniṣad*, *Saubhāgyalakṣmī Upaniṣad*, *Sumukhī Upaniṣad*, *Guhyakālī Upaniṣad* and *Devī Upaniṣad*. These Upaniṣads are of a mystical nature, resembling the later Tantras, wherein the secret doctrines and esoteric methods of worship and meditation are unfolded. Some of them are manifestly of a theistic nature, dealing with the glory of a particular female deity, like Sītā or Sarasvatī. Others, like the *Tripurā-tāpinī*, go deeper into the methods of Śākta worship, and give a detailed account of things connected with the worship of Tripurāsundarī including *śrī-vidyā*, *śrī-cakra* and other allied things like *mantra* and *yantra* (diagram). It is also interesting to find the famous Vedic *mantra* of Gāyatrī interpreted here from the standpoint of Śakti. The root meaning of the word, *savitṛ* is that he is the progenitor of all beings. As *tripurā* also has the same implication, the two deities are considered identical. Here we find a fusion of the Vedic and the Tāntric ways of realization. Later, the distinction between the two completely disappeared. Thus, we find the use of many Vedic *mantras* in Tāntric rites. At the same time, the Vedic deities assume the roles and characters of Śakti as depicted in the Tantras.

EPICS, PURĀṆAS AND UPAPURĀṆAS

In the *Bālakāṇḍa* (chapters XXXV-VI) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there is the story of

the husband of Ambikā (X. 18). Here Rudra is also called Umāpati, the husband of Umā, and the Goddess, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, Durgā and so on (X. I). It is in this *Āraṇyaka* that we find for the first time Kanyākumārī, the virgin goddess of the South identified with Śakti. In the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (first century A.D.) also there is a reference to this goddess (*vide* the text edited by Schoff, p. 46).

[14] *Mu. U.*, I. 2.4. It is to be noted that these names were later associated with the wife of Agni. As Śiva practically emerged as a combination of the two Vedic gods, Rudra and Agni, so also his Śakti as a compound of the spouses attributed to both these deities. Thus Ambikā, Umā or Haimavatī known as the wife of Rudra, and Kālī, Karālī and others as that of Agni gradually came to be associated with the wife of Śiva. The *Mahābhārata* gives us hints about how this happened.

[15] *Śve. U.*, I. 3-4.

[16] *Ibid.*, VI. 8.

Umā, the youngest daughter of Mount Himavān, who was married to Rudra (Śiva), and who was highly respected by all the gods including Brahmā. The *Mahābhārata*[17] and the *Harivaṁśa*[18] are two important sources so far as the history of the cult and worship of Śakti is concerned.

There is a distinct class of Upapurāṇas known as Śākta because they deal exclusively with the female deity. But these are of a later date. Before these Upapurāṇas, devoted exclusively to the Devī or Śakti, were written, we find in some of the principal Purāṇas, like the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vāmana*, *Varāha*, *Kūrma* and so on,[19] chapters in praise of, and on the worship of, the different forms of Devī. Though the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is primarily devoted to the glorification of Kṛṣṇa, it contains plenty of information concerning the worship of Śakti. The Śākta Upapurāṇas of note, which have come down to us are the following: *Devī*, *Kālikā*, *Mahā-bhāgavata*, *Devī-bhāgavata*, *Bhagavatī*, *Caṇḍī* or *Caṇḍikā*, *Devī-rahasya*, and *Satī* (also called *Kālikā* or *Kālī*). Devī or Śakti is the central deity in these books though she is given names and forms such as Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Satī, etc. Accounts in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa* and the Purāṇas show that in early times female deities of different forms and names were worshipped in different parts of India by the followers of the Vedas as well as by the Śavaras, Varvaras, Pulindas, Kirātas and many other non-Aryan tribes.[20] Thus the Śakti cult was a great synthesizer of the Vedic and the non-Vedic, the Aryan and the non-Aryan, religious approaches.

There are also some other Śākta Upapurāṇas which are lost and are known only by names. They are: *Bṛhannandikeśvara*, *Kālikā*, *Nandikeśvara*, *Nandī*, and *Sāradā*[21].

[17]The accounts of the Mother Goddess occurring in the *Mahābhārata* may be dated in the third or fourth century A.D. There are two *Durgā-stotras* in the epic, one by Arjuna in the *Bhīṣmaparvan* (chapter XXIII) and the other by Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Virāṭaparvan* (chapter VI). They speak of many aspects of the Great Goddess to be found in the later Tāntric texts. The *Dakṣa-yajña* episode in the *Śāntiparvan* (chapter CCLXXXIV) of the *Mahābhārata* describes how Mahākālī or Bhadrakālī came to be associated with Umā, the wife of Śiva. In the epic, Durgā has also been described as an earth goddess or a vegetable deity, Śākambharī (VI. 23.9). On the basis of some seals, scholars infer that the concept of the *Śākambharī* aspect of the Mother Goddess may have been familiar even in the days of the Harappan civilization.

[18]II. 2-4 and 22. The *Harivaṁśa* (II. 2.48-52) states that Viṣṇu descended into the *pātāla* (the nether regions) and asked Sleep in the form of Time, the destroyer (*Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī*), to become the daughter of Yaśodā. She was told that she would become Kauṣikī and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhya mountain. She was also told that she would kill Śumbha and Niśumbha and would be worshipped by wine and animal sacrifices.

[19]*Mārk.*, LXXXI-XCIII.
Vām., XVII-XXI; LI-LVI.
Var., XXI-XXVIII; XC-XCVI.
Kūr., I. 11-12, *Liṅga.*, II. 11. *Nār.*, I.3.
Viṣṇu, V. 1; *Bhav.*, IV. 138.

[20]R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. II, p. 17.

[21]*Ibid.*, pp. 466-89.

There are also some works of the Sūtra type of which the dates and authorship are unknown. *Śakti-Sūtra* is one such work. There is another work, *Śrī-vidyā-ratna-sūtra*, which is attributed to the great Vedāntist, Gauḍapādācārya. Yet another work is *Pārānanda-Sūtra*. There is also a reference to *Agastya-Sūtra* supposed to belong to the Kādi-mata of the Śākta school.

KĀVYA LITERATURE

The story of Śiva's marriage with Umā and the birth of Kumāra dealt with in the *Kumāra-sambhava* of Kālidāsa occurs in several Purāṇas, the earlier ones of which came into being by the sixth or seventh century, i.e. during the Gupta period.[22] The *Raghuvaṁśa* refers to Kālī (XI. 15), and the *Kumāra-sambhava* describes her as the Divine Mother (VII.39). *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu (seventh century) contains the earliest literary reference to a worshipper of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. The Śākta Tārā, also called Ugratārā, Ekajaṭā and Nīla-sarasvatī might be an adaptation of the Mahāyāna Buddhist goddess of the same name.[23] Subandhu also mentions the goddess Kātyāyanī of Kusumapura. Bāṇa's (seventh century) *Harṣacarita* shows that the Tāntric rites were gradually encroaching upon the Brāhmaṇic religion. Bāṇa was an ardent devotee of Caṇḍī and his *Caṇḍī-śataka* shows that he was deeply influenced by the *Saptaśatī* or *Caṇḍī-māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In his *Kādambarī*, he refers to the worship of the mother goddess by the Śavaras. Vākpati (*c.* eighth century) in his *Gauḍavaho* describes the temple of Vindhyavāsinī and also refers to the killing of Mahiṣāsura as found in the *Caṇḍī*. Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* (*c.* eighth century) speaks of Aghoraghaṇṭa, a Kāpālika ascetic, who happened to be the priest of the Goddess Cāmuṇḍā in Śrī Śaila, who was worshipped with regular human sacrifices. Some fine hymns to Devī are attributed to Śaṅkarācārya (ninth century), and his *bhāṣya* on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* shows that he might have been influenced by the Śākta philosophy.[24]

TANTRAS AND ĀGAMAS

The literature classified as Tantra and Āgama, which relates to the

[22]Some old inscriptions show how the Śākta cult was gradually tending towards Tāntricism in the age of the Guptas. One such inscription refers to seven manifestations of Śakti, like Maheśvarī, Cāmuṇḍā and so on. (*Vide Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 47). Several terracotta figures, stone discs, seals and coins belonging to the Maurya and Kuṣāṇa periods have been unearthed during the modern times. They indicate that the mother worship was also a popular phenomenon in those days. The circular discs with various figures within a circle as found in Patna, Kosam and other places may be regarded as the forerunners of the mystical diagrams, *yantras* found in the later Tāntric cult. *Vide* J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 171.

[23]*Vide* Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya, *History of Śākta Religion*, p. 68.

[24]Cf. Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, *Evolution of Hindu Sects*, p. 170.

Śākta school, is very extensive and elaborate.[25] The Śākta school had infinite ramifications, such as the Kādi-mata, the Hādi-mata, the Kahādi-mata, the Kālī-mata, the Kaula-mata and so on. Similarly, their forms of worship, *ācāras*, were also numerous, such as the *Dakṣiṇācāra*, *Vāmācāra*, *Divyācāra*, *Vīrācāra*, *Paśvācāra*, *Kulācāra*, *Samayācāra*, *Cīnācāra* and so on. Books written by different schools expressing their views about forms of worship naturally increased the bulk of Śākta literature. The divergence of the Śākta deities contributed no less to the wealth of Śākta literature. The most famous division is on the basis of the ten *mahāvidyās*, each having a distinct literature of her own.

The first of the ten *mahāvidyās* is Kālī and the best book on her is supposed to be the *Mahākāla Saṁhitā*. It is a huge book but unfortunately no longer available in its entirety. Its major portion has been secured from Nepal and a project for its publication has been taken up. Among other books dealing with Kālī, the following may be mentioned: *Kāla-jñāna*, *Kālottara*, *Kālī-kula-kramārcanā*, *Bhadra-kālī-cintāmaṇi*, *Kālī Yāmala*, *Kālī-kalpa*, *Kālī-saparyā-krama-kalpavallī*, *Kālī-vilāsa Tantra*, *Kālī-kula-sarvasva*, *Kālī Tantra*, *Viśva-sāra Tantra*, and *Kāmeśvarī Tantra*. A section called *Kālī-khaṇḍa* of the *Śakti-saṅgama Tantra* is also important as is the *Kālī-māhātmya* of the *Bhairavī Tantra*. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the author of *Sāradā-tilaka*, wrote a book called *Kālī-tattva*, which was widely known in northern India. The *Śyāmā-saparyā-vidhi*, by Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkālaṁkāra, consisting of seven chapters and the *Śyāmā-rahasya* by Pūrṇānanda having eleven chapters are very important works on Kālī written by Bengali authors. They set the standard for Kālī worship in Bengal. Incidentally, Kālī has almost become a favourite deity with the Bengalees who worship her in numerous forms such as Siddhakālī, Guhyakālī, Bhadrakālī, Śmaśānakālī, Rakṣākālī or Mahākālī.[26] Kālī is, in fact, the most important Śakti deity in eastern India.

Next comes Tārā, whose worship is supposed to be of Buddhistic and Chinese origin and appears to have been taken from the country of Bhoṭa, i.e. Tibet. There is a vast literature pertaining to her worship. Some of the works about her are: *Tārā Tantra* or *Tāriṇī Tantra*, *Tārā-sūkta*, *Toḍala Tantra*, *Tārārṇava*, *Nīla Tantra*, *Mahā-nīla Tantra*, *Nīla-sarasvatī Tantra*, *Cīnācāra*, *Tantra-ratna*, *Tārā-śāvara Tantra*, *Tārā-Upaniṣad*, *Ekajaṭī Tantra*, *Ekajaṭā-kalpa*, *Brahma-yāmala Tantra*, *Mahā-cīnācāra-krama*, *Ekavīra Tantra*, *Tāriṇī-nirṇaya* and so on. Mention must also be made of many compendiums on Tārā, such as *Tārā-Pradīpa* by

[25]Though the traditional list enumerates sixty-four Tantras, the number of Tantras extant in manuscripts is far greater. (*Vide* Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Second series I, Calcutta, 1900, pp. xxiv-xxxvii; *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1905, pp. lvii-lxxxi). They seem to have originated in Bengal, wherefrom they spread throughout India, in Assam, Nepal, Kashmir and the South, and even beyond the limits of India in Tibet and China through Buddhism. *Vide HIL*, Vol. I, p. 592.

[26]Cf. Chintaharan Chakravarty, *Tantras: Studies in their Religion and Literature* (Chapter on *Kālī Worship in Bengal*).

Lakṣmana Bhaṭṭa, *Tārā-rahasya* by Āgamācārya Śaṅkara, *Tārā-bhakti-sudhārṇava* by Narasiṁha Ṭhākura, *Tārā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī* by Prakāśānanda, a book of the same name by Vimalānanda as well as another by Kāśīnātha, *Tārā-kalpa-latā-paddhati* by Nityānanda, *Tāriṇī-pārijāta* by Śrīvidvad Upādhyāya, *Mahogra-tārā-kalpa* and others. *Tārā-sahasra-nāma*, on which there is a commentary by Lakṣmīdhara, also deserves mention.

The third in the list, Ṣoḍaśī is another important Śākta deity who claims the worship of innumerable votaries all over the country, from Kashmir to Kerala. In her, the divine power is supposed to have reached its fullness. Her name, Ṣoḍaśī, is significant. Just as the moon is in its full form when it reaches the sixteenth phase, she is in the fullness of her power and beauty as Ṣoḍaśī. Because of her beauty and grandeur she is also known as Tripura-sundarī or simply Sundarī and Rājarājeśvarī. As she was first worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, she is known as Tripurā, though there are other interpretations also of this term.[27] She is also conceived as having three different aspects, viz. Bālā, Bhairavī and Sundarī. Sometimes fifty forms are attributed to her, which shows her wide popularity. She is supposed to have three main centres of worship: Kāmagiri in the east, Pūrṇagiri in the west and Jālandhara at the top of the Meru mountain. These three points are looked upon as a triangle with Oḍḍiyāna, the fourth, as the central point. In other words, these locations indicate that the cult of Tripurā was fairly widespread throughout India. She is worshipped in twelve different forms in different parts of India such as Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī, Kumārī in Kerala, Ambā in Gurjara, Kālikā in Mālava, Lalitā in Prayāga, Vindhyavāsinī in Vindhyācala, Viśālākṣī in Vārāṇasī, Maṅgalacaṇḍī in Gayā, Sundarī in Vaṅga, Mahālakṣmī in Karavīra and Guhyeśvarī in Nepāla as well as Bhrāmarī in the Malaya mountain.

The literature of Tripurā or Ṣoḍaśī, therefore, is vast and elaborate. The form of her worship, known as *śrī-vidyā*, has come down in two main currents known as Kādi-vidyā and Hādi-vidyā. The former is said to have been initiated by Kāma or Manmatha and the latter by Lopāmudrā. The Kādi school is also known as Madhumatī-mata and its main books are *Tantrarāja*, *Mātṛkārṇava*, *Yoginīhṛdaya* and *Tripurārṇava*. The *Tantrarāja* has many commentaries of which one named *Manoramā* by Subhagānandanātha is the most important. The other commentary, *Sudarśana*, by Premanidhi, is also sometimes attributed to his wife Prāṇamañjarī. Bhāskara Rāya is also supposed to have written a commentary, which, however, is not available now. *Paramānanda Tantra* or *Parānanda Tantra* is an important work on *śrī-vidyā*. Another important book on the subject

[27] *Brahmā-viṣṇu-maheśādyais-tridaśair-arcitā purā,*
Tripureti sadā nāma kathitaṁ daivatais tava. *Vārāhī Tantra* (quoted in the *Tantrasāra*, p. 337, Bangabasi Edition).

is *Saubhāgya-kalpa-druma*, written by Mādhavānandanātha. There are nearly forty other texts dealing with *śrī-vidyā*. To mention some of the important ones among them: *Vāmakeśvara Tantra*, *Śakti-saṅgama Tantra*, *Lakṣmī Tantra*, *Svacchanda Tantra*, *Tripurā-rahasya*, *Tripurā-sāra-samuccaya*, *Śrī-tattva-cintāmaṇi*, *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa*, *Varivasyā-rahasya*, *Varivasyā-prakāśa*, *Virūpākṣa-pañcāśikā*, and *Lalitārcana-candrikā*.[28]

The literature on *śrī-vidyā* became so extensive and popular that the names of many gods like Indra, Skanda, Śiva, Sūrya, Agni, etc. as well as the names of some famous sages like Durvāsas, Agastya and Viśvāmitra came to be associated with it as its founders. Even great names in the field of Indian philosophy like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara are mentioned as authors of a large number of works belonging to this group of literature. Gaudapāda is believed to have written a hymn, called *Subhagodaya-stuti*, of fifty-two verses. Śaṅkara is said to have written a commentary on it. We have already referred to another work attributed to Gauḍapāda, viz. *Śrī-vidyā-ratna-sūtra*. There are also some important hymns addressed to the deity which together with commentaries thereon, form an important part of Śākta literature and also throw a flood of light on this cult. The hymns, *Ānanda-laharī* and *Saundarya-laharī*, both attributed to Śaṅkara, and the commentaries thereon, especially the commentary by Lakṣmīdhara, deserve special mention. The hymn, *Lalitā-sahasranāma-stotra*, and the commentary on it by Bhāskara Rāya are both indispensable to all students of Tantra.

We have so far discussed the three manifestations of Śakti and the literature that grew round them. This triad of Kālī, Tārā and Ṣoḍaśī practically dominates the field, enjoying the homage and adoration of innumerable worshippers. The remaining seven occupy a minor position and have been overshadowed by the previous three. As to the fourth, Bhuvaneśvarī, the most important book dealing with her cult and worship is the *Bhuvaneśvarī-rahasya* by Pṛthvīdhara Ācārya who is claimed to be a direct disciple of Śaṅkara.There is also a *Bhuvaneśvarī-stotra* by Pṛthvīdhara. The *Bhuvaneśvarī Tantra*, *Bhuvaneśvarī-pārijāta* and the *Bhuvaneśvarī-kalpa-latā* are all important works on this deity.

With regard to the fifth, Bhairavī, we have two books which are quite well-known, viz. the *Bhairavī-rahasya* and the *Bhairavī-saparyā-vidhi*. The most important work, however, is *Bhairavī Yāmala*. This manifestation of Bhairavī has many sub-forms such as Siddha-bhairavī, Tripura-bhairavī, Caitanya-bhairavī, Bhuvaneśvarī-bhairavī, Kamaleśvarī-bhairavī, Kāmeśvarī-bhairavī and so on. A Bhairavī is always associated with a Bhairava, also known as a Vaṭuka. According to the *Muṇḍamālā Tantra*, Bhairava and the incarnation of Nṛsiṁha are identical.

There is not much of a separate literature dealing with the cult of the sixth

[28]For a detailed list see Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Sāhitya*, p. 49.

manifestation, viz. Chinnamastā. Only the *Śakti-saṅgama Tantra* has a section on it called *Chinnā*.

Similarly, the seventh manifestation named Dhūmāvatī, who is supposed to be a widow, has no literature of her own. Her manifestation, however, has been described in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī Tantra*. Some are of the opinion that Kāla-bhairava is associated with Dhūmāvatī. Others, however, think that she, being a widow, can have no Bhairava as her counterpart.

About Vagalā, the eighth manifestation, we have the *Sāṅkhāyana Tantra*, which is also known as *Ṣaḍvidyāgama*. The *Vagalā-krama-kalpa-vallī* is also a good book on the subject. In the *Sammohana Tantra* we have an account of the incarnation of Vagalā who manifested herself in Saurāṣṭra. Viṣṇu undertook severe penances to please and propitiate her. It is in response to his entreaties that she manifested herself.

The ninth *mahāvidyā*, Mātaṅgī, became manifest, according to the *Brahma Yāmala*, through the prolonged penances of the sage, Mataṅga. *Mātaṅgī-krama* by Kulamaṇi Gupta and *Mātaṅgī-Paddhati* by Rāmabhaṭṭa give details about the worship of this form of Śakti. Mātaṅgī is also known by the name Sumukhī. *Sumukhī-pūjā-paddhati* is a well-known manual on the forms and methodologies of her worship. Its author, Śaṅkara, who was a disciple of Sundarānanda, belongs to the line of the great Vedāntist, Vidyāraṇya.

The tenth and last of the *mahāvidyās* is Kamalā. She is represented as of exquisite beauty, of golden colour, adorned with precious jewels, wearing a red silk saree and so on. She is also the goddess of prosperity, i.e. Lakṣmī, with a red lotus as her seat. She is described in the *Tantrasāra*, *Sāradā-tilaka*, *Śākta-pramoda* and other such books.

We have so far dealt with the Tāntric literature which has grown around the ten well-known manifestations of Śakti. But there are other manifestations also. In fact, the list varies from Tantra to Tantra. In the *Mālinī-vijaya Tantra* we have other names like Mahādurgā, Annapūrṇā, Vāgvādinī, Pratyaṅgirā, Tvaritā, Nīlā and Bālā. The *Tantra-kaumudī* furnishes another list raising the number of manifestations of Śakti to twenty-seven. In this list, we come across more names like Mahiṣamardinī, Tripuṭā, Mahāmāyā, Bheraṇḍā, Cāmuṇḍā, Śūlinī, Kātyāyanī and others. The literature on each of these manifestations is not available separately. There are, however, sections in works like the *Māyā Tantra*, the *Kālī-vilāsa Tantra*, the *Rudra Yāmala*, the *Matsya-sūkta*, which deal with the worship of Durgā.[29] Some chapters of the *Māyā Tantra* also deal with Jagaddhātrī, another form of Durgā. Durgā is supposed to have nine different forms, called Nava-durgā.[30] In this way, from one particular manifestation of

[29] *Vide* C. Chakravarty, *Tantras: Studies in their Religion and Literature*, p. 94.

[30] Kālī, Kātyāyanī, Īśānī, Muṇḍamardinī, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhadrakālī, Bhadrā, Tvaritā, and Vaiṣṇavī.

Śakti, infinite, bewildering varieties sprang up in the course of time. In different parts of the country, the same deity Durgā is worshipped in different forms—two-handed, four-handed, eight-handed, ten-handed, twelve-handed, eighteen-handed and so on.

The *Tantra-samuccaya* (*c.* 1426) is a collection compiled from a number of Tantras. The *Prapañcasāra Tantra,* ascribed to Śaṅkara, is one of the most important Tāntric texts. It deals with the worship of the various manifestations of Śiva and Śakti. It, however, refers also to Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* (incarnations). Though a later[31] work, the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* represents 'the best aspect of Śāktism'.[32] It enjoys a wide popularity and some scholars are of the opinion that the text might have been written in Bengal.[33] It speaks of the Devī, the goddess, as the embodiment of all the gods and their 'energies' (*śaktis*). Thus she is Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the sustainer, and Mahākāla, the destroyer. *Muṇḍa-mālā Tantra,* already mentioned, enumerates hundred names of the goddess.

In addition to Tāntric and Āgamic works[34] discussed so far, there is a large number of manuals on various Tāntric rituals belonging to different schools of Śāktism. The *Jñānārṇava Tantra* is one such work which, along with various kinds of Tāntric forms of worship, discusses, and attaches the greatest importance to, *kumārīpūjā,* the worship of maiden as Devī herself. Texts dealing with *śrīvidyā* have already been mentioned.

A huge literature comprising glossaries and dictionaries has also grown up with a view to interpreting the symbolical and mysterious significance of the *akṣaras, bījas, mantras, mudrās, cakras* and *kuṇḍalinī.* For example, *Ekākṣara-koṣa, Bīja-nighaṇṭu, Mātṛkā-nighaṇṭu, Mantrāvidhāna, Mudrā-nighaṇṭu, Ṣatcakra-nirūpana,* and *Pādukā-pañcaka.*

No account of Śākta literature will be complete without a reference to what is known as Kaula literature. The Kaulas have been sometimes looked down upon by the Vaidikas as preaching something vulgar and un-Vedic, while others have extolled them as the exponents of the highest form of Tāntrika worship. One can have an idea of this much-derided as well as highly adored Śākta cult from books like *Kulārṇava, Kula-cūḍāmaṇi, Kula-gahvara, Kula-dīpinī, Kula-pañcāśikā, Kula-prakāśa, Kula-mata, Kula-kamala, Kula-tattva-sāra, Kulāmṛta, Kula-ratna-mālā, Kula-ratna-mātṛkā, Kula-pradīpa, Rudra Yāmala, Devī Yāmala* and a host of such other books.[35]

[31] J. N. Farquhar regards it as quite a modern work, not earlier than the eighteenth century *Vide Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (Oxford, 1920), p 354ff

[32] *Vide HIL,* Vol. I, p. 593.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 592n.

[34] The Tantras are usually in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī; when Pārvatī asks questions like a pupil and Śiva answers like a teacher, they are called Āgamas, and when the order reverses, i.e. Pārvatī as the teacher answers Śiva's questions, they are called Nigamas.

[35] For an exhaustive list see Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Sāhitya,* p. 49.

We have already mentioned some of the Yāmalas dealing with different forms of Śakti. In the *Jayadratha Yāmala*, a supplement of the *Brahma Yāmala*, we find plenty of information about various branches of Tāntric *sādhanā* and *sāhitya*, together with references to a large number of Śākta deities. It has been rightly observed that 'the supplementary literature of the Yāmala group indicates a new orientation of the Tāntric culture. The *sādhanās* of the Āgamas assume in them a more pronounced character of Śāktism. . . . The later literature of pure Śaivism ceases to be called Tantra. Tantra proper became more Śāktic in character. This character became definitely established by the tenth century.'[38] That is why perhaps Śākta literature becomes synonymous with Tāntric literature as the latter forms the major and most important part of it.

Barring a few, the Tantras do not appear to be a pleasing specimen as literary productions. But their real value lies in the philosophy they embody, and the spiritual nourishment they had been offering down the centuries to millions of Hindus. They still govern the Hindu religious ceremonies, sacrifices and observances, and are regarded as one of the most popular branches of Indian religious literature. They will, therefore, be found immensely useful to any literary historian and student of comparative religion and philosophy.

[38] P. C. Bagchi, *Evolution of the Tantras* in *CHI*, Vol. IV, p. 219.

9

GĀṆAPATYA, KAUMĀRA AND SAURA LITERATURE

NO survey of the Indian religious literature can be complete without at least a brief study of the works dealing with Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya (Kumāra), and Sūrya. The cults that have grown around them are minor but important. That is why Śaṅkarācārya includes them among the six cults, *ṣaṇmata*,[1] he has approved and propagated.

GĀṆAPATYA LITERATURE

Although admitted to the Brāhmaṇic pantheon comparatively late[2], Gaṇeśa is among the most adored Hindu gods and goddesses. The numerous names by which he is known testify to his popularity. Some of his names are: Siddhidātā (Bestower of success), Vināyaka (Remover of obstacles), Heramba (Protector), Gaṇeśvara (Lord of the Gaṇas[3]), Gaṇapati or Gaṇanāyaka (Leader of the Gaṇas) and so on. His popularity is not limited within India but has crossed her borders as well.[4]

We find no mention of Gaṇeśa in any early Vedic text.[5] But it is evident from the *Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra* (II. 14) that Vināyaka (or Vināyakas), the earliest form of Gaṇeśa, had emerged as a malignant deity (or deities) before the Christian era. The *Gṛhya-Sūtra* refers to four[6] Vināyakas, and gives an account of the rituals connected with their propitiation. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (*c.* sixth

[1]These are Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Gāṇapatya, Kaumāra and Saura.

[2]According to Bhandarkar, the cult of Gaṇapati-Vināyaka came into vogue between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century, *vide Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 148. *Vide* also *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 568.

[3]The attendants of Śiva.

[4]The popular names of Gaṇeśa outside India:

Mongolia:	Totkhar-oun Khaghan
Tibet :	Ts'ogs-bdag
	Bgegs med p'ai bdag po
China :	Kuan-shi t'ien
Japan :	Kangi-ten
	Vināyakśa
	Shō-ten
	Kwanzan-Shō
Burma :	Mahāpienne
Cambodia ·	Prāh Kenès.

[5]The epithet 'Ganapati' found in the *Ṛg-Veda* (II.23.1) refers not to him but to Bṛhaspati, the Vedic god of wisdom. Bhandarkar attributes Gaṇeśa's reputation for wisdom to the confusion resulting from this Ṛg-Vedic reference, *vide Vaiṣnavism*, p. 149. It may be mentioned here that Gopinath Rao has identified Ganeśa with Bṛhaspati, *vide* his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (The Law Printing House, Madras, 1914), Vol. I, pt. I. p. 45.

[6]They are, viz. Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita, and Devayajana.

century) also refers to such rituals (I. 271 ff), sometimes in identical language. But the rituals appear here in a 'somewhat developed or complicated form'.[7] In view of the time gap between the two works, this difference is understandable. But the difference between the works is significant in another respect. Though six names[8] are mentioned in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* against four in the *Gṛhya-Sūtra*, they all, unlike those in the *Gṛhya-Sūtra*, refer to 'one' Vināyaka who has further been described here as the son of Ambikā. It may be mentioned here that, according to tradition, Śiva and Pārvatī (also called Ambikā) are the parents of Gaṇeśa. The *Smṛti* also records the appointment of Vināyaka as Gaṇapati, the Leader of the Gaṇas by Rudra and Brahmā. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* also speaks of Gaṇapati. The *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* belonging to the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 1) contains the *Gaṇapati-gāyatrī* referring to the deity as Vakratuṇḍa and Dantin.[9] The *Gaṇapati-tāpanīya Upaniṣad*, a later work, is important from the theological point of view. It proclaims Gaṇeśa as the eternal Brahman. In the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*, another later work, Vināyaka has been identified with Rudra. According to Farquhar,[10] the *Gaṇapati Upaniṣad*, which forms a part of the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*, has behind it another *Upaniṣad* of the Gāṇapatya sect.

There is no mention of Gaṇeśa as a distinct deity in either of the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.[11] The epithet 'Gaṇeśa' or 'Gaṇeśvara', found both in North and South India recensions of the *Mahābhārata*, refers to Śiva. This perhaps leads Przyluski to think that Śiva and Gaṇeśa were originally one and the same god.[12] But Bhandarkar[13] has referred to the *Anuśāsana-parvan* (CLI. 26) where Gaṇeśvaras and Vināyakas are mentioned as gods bearing witness to the actions of man.

In the Purāṇas, Gaṇeśa is a most favourite deity and references to him and his legends are no occasional phenomena there. Chapters LXI-LXIII of the

[7]Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 148.

[8]Mita, Sammita, Śāla, Kaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍa, and Rājaputra.

[9]Since Gaṇeśa emerged as an elephant-headed deity in a much later period, the authenticity of this passage is not beyond doubt.

[10]*Vide* J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 206.

[11]The North India recension of the *Mahābhārata*, however, categorically mentions Gaṇeśa as a god and refers to the popular legend regarding the part he played in connection with the composition of the great epic. The legend is that Brahmā himself advised Vyāsa to approach Gaṇeśa to write down the epic (I.1.75-83). Here Gaṇeśa has been called Heramba, Vighneśa, Gaṇanāyaka and Sarvajña. *Bālabhārata*, a poem written in the ninth century, refers to this legend and this was narrated to Alberuni (eleventh century) when he visited India. *Vide* Edward C. Sachau, (Tr.), *Alberuni's India* Vol. I, p. 134. Winternitz believes that the legend was known long before the ninth century and was not inserted into the North India recension of the *Mahābhārata* until 150 years later (*vide* JRAS, April, 1898, p. 380).

[12]*Vide* Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971 (Reprint), pp. 2-3.

[13]*Vide* R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 147. The Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* does not contain this.

Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the *Padma Purāṇa*[14] are devoted to the cult of Gaṇeśa. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, which professes to glorify Kṛṣṇa, relates in its *Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa* to the legends of the elephant-headed deity. Curiously enough, Gaṇeśa has been represented here as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The *Garuḍa* (chapter XXIV) and *Agni* (chapters LXXI and CCCXIII) *Purāṇas* prescribe rules for the worship of Gaṇeśa. Among the other Purāṇas which refer to Gaṇeśa and his legends are the *Skanda*, *Matsya*, *Vāmana*, *Liṅga*, *Śiva*, and *Varāha*. A later *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* is devoted to the glorification of Gaṇeśa. It also deals with the theology and worship of the sect and enumerates the thousand names of the deity. The *Bhārgava Purāṇa*, an Upapurāṇa, also contains the story of Gaṇeśa, his devotees and the *vratas* sacred to him. In the *Mudgala Purāṇa*, an Upapurāṇa recently discovered, Gaṇeśa is worshipped as the highest deity. It is an important work for the Gāṇapatya cult. It is believed to have been revealed to sage Mudgala by Upamanyu.

Among the *kāvyas* containing references to Gaṇeśa, mention may be made of the *Gāthā-saptaśatī* of Hāla and the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti. In the opening stanza of the latter, Gaṇeśa is described as possessing an elephant's head.[15] Gaṇeśa figures also in various Tāntric texts, viz. the *Tantrasāra*, *Sāradā-tilaka Tantra*, *Rudra Yāmala*, and *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In the *Gāyatrī Tantra*, Gaṇeśa has been referred to as writing down the Tantras to the dictation of Śiva. The *Gaṇeśa Saṁhitā*, mentioned in the list of the Vaiṣṇava Saṁhitās,[16] is possibly a work belonging to the Gāṇapatya sect.[17]

That Gaṇeśa is a favourite deity of the Hindus is also evident from the large number of *stotras* written in praise of him. In fact, a considerable portion of the entire *stotra* literature in Sanskrit is dedicated to him. Mention may be made of the *Gaṇapati-mahimna-stotra* (attributed to Puṣpadanta), *Gaṇeśa-stavarāja* (in *Rudra Yāmala*), *Gaṇapati-stotra* (in *Sāradā-tilaka Tantra*), *Gaṇeśa-stotra* (in the *Matsya*, *Padma*, *Varāha* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas*), *Gaṇeśa-pañcaratna*, and *Gaṇeśa-bhujaṅga* (attributed to Śaṅkara).

Ānanda Giri (ninth century) in his *Śaṅkara-vijaya* has mentioned six[18] different sects of the Gāṇapatya cult, none of which, however, is believed to exist today. But the worship of Gaṇapati is the foremost item in nearly all Hindu religious ceremonies throughout India. In Maharashtra, moreover, he is the most

[14] Cf. the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series (Poona) edition.

[15] It is difficult to ascertain when and how the god came to be known as an elephant-headed one. According to some scholars Bhavabhūti's poem is perhaps the first work definitely referring to Ganeśa as an elephant-faced god. *Vide* Alice Getty, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

[16] Cf. F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, p. 7.

[17] *Vide* J. N. Farquhar, *op.cit*

[18] These are Mahā-Ganapati, Haridrā-Gaṇapati, Ucchiṣṭa-Ganapati, Navanīta-Ganapati, Svarna-Ganapati and Santāna-Gaṇapati. For further details *vide* R. G Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 149-50 and J. N. Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-71

popular deity and, during the annual *Gaṇeśa-caturthī* day, he is worshipped with great pomp and festivity.

KAUMĀRA LITERATURE

Skanda-Kārttikeya-Kumāra, the traditional god of war and valour, is an ancient deity whose worship is still practised in many parts of India. It seems that his worship was known in the later Vedic period, if not earlier. He appears to be a composite god in the sense that he comprises qualities normally attributed to the following Vedic deities, Agni, Indra, Soma, Rudra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati and Hiraṇyagarbha. In the Vedic pantheon, he is variously spoken of as Skanda, Kārttikeya and Kumāra. The name 'Kumāra' is found in the *Ṛg-Veda*[19] (X. 135). Some scholars[20] think this Kumāra is perhaps the prototype of Skanda-Kumāra. The *Skanda-yāga*, included in the *pariśiṣṭas* of the *Atharva-Veda*, refers to Skanda's parentage (VI. 4). It is interesting to note that it also refers to him as Ṣaḍānana, the six-headed, and mentions his association with *mayūra*, the peacock (II. 3). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes Kumāra as the ninth form of Agni or Rudra (V. 1.13.18). The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 1) refers to Mahāsena-Ṣaṇmukha (i.e. Kārttikeya). The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* mentions the most popular names by which the deity is known, Kumāra, Kārttikeya and Skanda (II. 9.1.11-12). In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Skanda is spoken of as the supreme Being. Here he has been identified with the Vedic sage Sanatkumāra (VII. 26.2). The conception of Skanda as a god of learning and wisdom is due probably to this association of his with sage Sanatkumāra. In the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*, Skanda has been identified with Rudra.

In the Vedāṅga period, Skanda-Kārttikeya is assigned a more prominent position in the hierarchy of Brāhmaṇic gods. Works like the *Baudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* and *Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya-Sūtra* testify to this. In the former, the deity is given the following names: Skanda, Sanatkumāra, Viśākha, Ṣaṇmukha, Mahāsena and Subrahmaṇya (II. 5.9.8). In the latter, Skanda appears to enjoy the same status as Viṣṇu, Rudra and others (II. 8.19).

Skanda's popularity in the epic period is proved by the repeated references to his birth and exploits one comes across in the great epics. In the epics and Purāṇas, Skanda has been represented as the son of Rudra or Agni. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, for example, refers to the legend of his birth in the *Bālakāṇḍa* (chapters

[19]Winternitz believes that the epithet 'Nejameṣa' found in one of the *khilas* of the *Ṛg-Veda* (occurring after X. 184) refers to Naigameya, an aspect of Skanda-Kārttikeya as a son-granting deity mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas. *Vide* JRAS, 1895, pp. 149-55. It may be mentioned here that the name occurs in some of the Gṛhya-Sūtras, viz. *Mānava* II.18. Naigameṣa (same as Nejameṣa or Naigameya) is invoked also in the *Uttara-tantra* (XXXVI. 9) of the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* (*c.* first century) as a protector of children.

[20]*Vide* Sukumar Sen, *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 27

XXXV-XXXVII). In the *Mahābhārata*[21], the story appears several times, for instance, in the *Vanaparvan* (CCXIII-CCXXI), *Śalyaparvan* (XLIII-XLV) and *Anuśāsanaparvan* (LXXXIII-LXXXVI). The *Sabhāparvan* of the epic refers to a place called Rohītaka (modern Rohtak in the Haryana State) which was dear to Kārttikeya (XXIX. 4-5). This is perhaps the earliest reference to a place sacred to this deity. 'Rohītaka', however, does not occur in any of the extant Purāṇas; but one Buddhist Sanskrit text belonging to the early Christian era, *Mahāmāyūrī* (verse 21), refers to it as associated with Kārttikeya-Kumāra. According to the epic, the rulers of Rohītaka were the valiant 'Mattamayūrakas' who are usually identified with the ancient Indian tribe, Yaudheyas. A large number of Yaudheya coins have been discovered by Sahani from Rohtak. These coins, classified and dated by Allan,[22] clearly show that Kārttikeya-Kumāra, the Lord of war and the celestial generalissimo, was the guardian-deity of the warlike Yaudheyas. The epithet *mattamayūraka* itself is also significant because of its connection with *mayūra*, the *vāhana* (vehicle) of Kārttikeya.

The Purāṇas[23] describe Skanda-Kārttikeya in greater detail. In the *Skanda Purāṇa*, named after him, he figures quite prominently. Accounts of his birth and exploits and references to the *tīrthas* sacred to him appear in various places of this Purāṇa.[24] Among the other Purāṇas that refer to Skanda, mention may be made of the *Brahma*[25] (chapter CXXVIII), *Vāyu* (LXXII), *Matsya* (CLVIII-CLX), *Vāmana* (LVII), *Kūrma* (II. 6; 36), and *Varāha* (XXV). Stories regarding Kārttikeya's birth are to be found in some other Purāṇas also, viz. the *Śiva* (*Jñāna-saṁhitā*, XIX), *Padma* (*Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*, XLIII-XLIV), *Bhaviṣya* (*Brāhma-parvan*, XXXIX) and *Brahmavaivarta* (*Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa*, XIV-XVII). The *Bhāgavata* (XI. 4.17) reckons Kārttikeya as a manifestation of Viṣṇu. Some of the Upapurāṇas like the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Saura* contain references to the birth of Skanda.

[21]For a detailed information of the references to Skanda-Kārttikeya in the epic, *vide Kārttikeya (Skanda) in the Mahābhārata* by V. M. Bedekar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. LVI (pts. I-IV), 1975, pp. 141-77. *Vide* also *A Study of the Kārttikeya Cult as reflected in the Epic and Purāṇas* by K. K. Kurukal, *University of Ceylon Review*, October, 1961.

[22]*Vide* J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 265-78.

[23]For a detailed information of the references to Skanda-Kārttikeya in the Purānas, *vide Skanda in the Purāṇas and Classical Literature* by P. K. Agarwala, *Purāna* VIII, No. 1 (January, 1966), pp. 135-58. *Vide* also K. K. Kurukal, *op.cit.*

[24]Cf. *Kedāra-khaṇḍa*, XXVII-XXXI; *Kumārikā-khaṇḍa*, XXIX-XXXIV; *Avantiksetra-māhātmya*, XXXIV; *Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, LXX-LXXI, CCXLVI.

[25]Strangely enough, in this Purāṇa (chapter LXXXI) Kārttikeya is pictured as an amorous and erotic deity dallying with the wives of other gods. This particular aspect of his character is nowhere found in the whole range of the epic and Purāṇic literature. The only exception, however, is the *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Prabhāsa-khanda*, CCXV. 2) where this aspect of his character is barely touched upon in a single line. This is why, perhaps, Kārttikeya is worshipped by *gaṇikās* (prostitutes) in northern India, particularly in Bengal. *Vide* Gopinath Rao, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 415 and Asim Kumar Chatterji, *The Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya in Ancient India*, p. 107.

Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.) in his *Arthaśāstra* (II. 4.19) refers to the gates of the city being presided over by gods including Senāpati (i.e. Kārttikeya). Patañjali (second century B.C.) in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions, while explaining Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (V. 3.99), the images of Skanda and Viśākha[26] as being worshipped during his time. On the reverse of some coins belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, there are figures with their names in Greek letters of Skando, Mahāseno, Kumāro and Bizāgo[27] representing respectively Skanda, Mahāsena, Kumāra and Viśākha. The *Lalitavistara* (first century B.C.) indirectly refers to the images of various gods including Skanda being worshipped during Buddha's time (chapter VIII). The *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* (*c.* fifth century) refers to Viśākha, Kārttikeya, Skanda and Mahāsena. A *Skānda* or *Kaumāra Sāṁhita* has been mentioned by Schrader.[28] The principal theme of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava* is the birth of Kumāra or Skanda. This well-known *kāvya* as well as a large number of inscriptions and seals belonging to the Gupta period demonstrate the popularity of Skanda as a deity and of his cult. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*[29] refers to a *tīrtha* sacred to Skanda. The *Mṛcchakaṭika*[30] of Śūdraka pictures Skanda as a patron-deity of thieves and burglars[31] (Act III). The *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (sixth century) describes the image of Skanda with *śakti* (his characteristic weapon) in one of his two hands. The Sanskrit lexicon *Amarakoṣa* (*c.* sixth century) mentions sixteen names of Skanda.[32] The *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa (seventh century) refers to the installation of a figure of Kārttikeya holding a spear and riding on a peacock. The *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara (tenth century) mentions one Kārttikeya-nagara (modern Baijnath in the Almora district), a medieval town named after Kārttikeya. The *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Book III) of Somadeva (eleventh century) gives the account of Skanda's birth. Here again Kārttikeya appears as a god of robbers (XVII. 1.115). The *Kathāsarit-sāgara* also depicts

[26]This passage is rather interesting. The separate mention of Skanda and Viśākha show that at that time they were regarded as distinct divinities. But there are passages in the Sūtras, Epics and Purāṇas representing Viśākha as another aspect of Skanda. For example, the *Mahābhārata* (III. 216. 12-13) states that Viśākha sprang from the right side of Skanda when the latter was struck by Indra's thunderbolt. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, 'this is indicative of the tendency to make the two as one person'. *Vide Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 151.

[27]See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 150-51. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 22-23. J. N. Banerjea has, however, pointed out that there are really three figures and not four, *vide Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 145-46.

[28]Cf. F. O. Schrader, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

[29]*Pūrvamegha*, 47.

[30]The drama is assigned by different scholars to different dates ranging from the second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.

[31]This depiction of the *dhūrta* aspect of Skanda is nothing novel. In the *Skanda-yāga* (also called *Dhūrta-kalpa*) Skanda has been represented as a *dhūrta*. Goodwin who edited and translated the text for the first time takes the term *dhūrta* in the sense of 'master-thief' and compares him with Hermes, the Greek god of Knavery.

[32]*Svargavarga* (I. 39-40).

him as a god imparting all branches of knowledge (I. 2.44-61). The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 423) of Kalhaṇa (twelfth century) mentions the temple of Kārttikeya in Puṇḍravardhana, a well-known centre of Kārttikeya worship as referred to in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (I. 81.16). Several *vratas* sacred to Kārttikeya and Kumāra are mentioned in the *Vrata-khaṇḍa* of Hemādri (thirteenth century).

The rituals connected with the worship of Skanda occur in several Tāntric or Āgamic texts such as *Kāmika*, *Kāraṇa*, *Suprabheda*, *Aṁśumat*, and *Kumāra*. But it is the *Kumāra Tantra* which is exclusively devoted to the cult and worship of the deity. It depicts rules and rituals regarding construction of temples, installation of images and icons, ceremonies, festivals, processions, fasts, and initiatory rites in minute detail. The *yantra* (mystic) and the *mantra* (secret) cults and the different forms and aspects of the deity are also elucidated. Here Kumāra, the Divine Child, has been invested with some of the attributes usually associated with Śiva,[33] such as the great Teacher, the great Healer and the Lord of the Bhūtas. Śiva, though sharing his form with Umā, is still the ideal of asceticism. Subrahmaṇya, the Lord of Vallī and Devasenā, is likewise the great Ascetic.[34]

Skanda is specially popular in South India. There his favourite names are Muruga and Subrahmaṇya. According to the South Indian tradition, Skanda is the embodiment of everlasting fragrance of life, the symbol of Beauty, Truth and Love. The earliest Tamil works viz. *Paripāḍal*, *Tolkāppıyam*, *Śilappadikāram*, *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Eṭṭutogai*, *Ahanānūru*, *Puranānūrū*, and *Kuruñci* depict the birth and exploits of Muruga in enthralling poetry. The beautiful poem *Tirumurugārrupaḍai* of Nakkīrar is devoted to the glorification of the deity. The *Tiru-murais*, the Tamil Śaiva Vedas, contain numerous allusions to Muruga as the 'dynamic' son of Śiva. It may be mentioned here that the *Tırumurugārrupaḍai* is included in the eleventh book of the *Tiru-murais*. The Tamil epic poem *Kanda Purāṇam* is said to be based on some of the sections of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. Aruṇagirināthar's 'mellifluous' poems on Muruga like the *Tiruppugazh*, *Kandar Alaṅkāram* and *Kandar Anubhūti* 'mark an important landmark in the revival of the cult of Muruga in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries'.[35] The *Kumāra Tantra*, already mentioned, is a South Indian Sanskrit text. The *Śrītattva-nidhi* is another important Sanskrit text so far as the cult of Skanda-Subrahmaṇya is concerned. Like the *Kumāra*

[33] *Vıde CHI*, Vol. IV, p. 311.

[34] Skanda-Kārttikeya is often depicted as one who religiously avoids the company of women. For example, the *Matsya Purāṇa* (CLXXXV. 3) describes him as Brahmacārın. Kālidāsa's *Vıkramorvaśī* (Act IV) says that Skanda's place is forbidden to women. *Kathāsarıt-sāgara* (IX. 5. 174) is another work where similar statement occurs. That is why, perhaps, women are not allowed to visit the temples of the deity in some places ın the South. For example the Kumārasvāmin temple near Sandur, in Mysore. The *Śıvalīlāmrta*, a Marathi work, says that a woman gets widowhood for seven successıve births if she looks at the ımage of Skanda. *Vıde* Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *op cit.*, p. 103.

[35] *Vıde* Ratna Navaratnam, *Kārttikeya the Divine Child*, (Bharatiya Vıdya Bhavan, Bombay, 1973), p. 246.

Tantra, it also describes the images of various aspects of the deity. But its description usually differs from that of the *Kumāra Tantra* and it has also added a few more names to the list of sixteen[36] images referred to in the *Kumāra Tantra*. Śaṅkara's *Subrahmaṇya-bhujaṅga*, in *bhujaṅga* metre, is full of devotional fervour and exaltation. This Sanskrit poem 'reveals the efficacy of meditation, praise and prayer to Lord Subrahmaṇya and is considered as a hymn of imperishable value'.[37] *Subrahmaṇya-aṣṭottara-śata-nāmāvalī*, believed to have been revealed by Nandikeśvara to sage Agastya, enumerates one hundred and eight names of Subrahmaṇya. That Subrahmanya is an extremely popular deity is proved by the numerous temples dedicated to him in various parts of South India, and the six sacred seats on the hillocks in Tamilnadu. Gopinath Rao rightly observes that 'Subrahmanya is almost exclusively a South Indian deity'.[38]

SAURA LITERATURE

Sūrya, the Sun-god, is an object of profound adoration since the Vedic times. He is believed to deliver man from sin and shame, dishonour and disease, and bestow on him all blessings including wealth and health, fame and food. In the *Ṛg-Veda* there are at least ten hymns addressed to him. He has been described in the *Ṛg-Veda* as seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses.[39] Ūṣā has been depicted as his bride (VII. 75.5), as his mother (VII. 78.3) and as a frivolous damsel trying to tempt him (VII. 80.2). The Vedas describe him as the cause of the world, 'the soul of movable and immovable things' (*Ṛg-Veda* I. 115.1). The *Sūrya Upaniṣad*, a much later work, is an important Saura document. It is devoted to the glorification of Sūrya, elaborating the *Sāvitrī-mantra* (the *Gāyatrī*) of the *Ṛg-Veda*. It is a book of *Brahma-tattva-jñāna* to the worshippers of the Sun. The Gṛhya-Sūtras prescribe the worship of Sūrya for the attainment of riches, fame, and long life.

The epics and Purāṇas also refer to Sūrya as a great god. In the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* (Chapter CV) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, sage Agastya teaches Śrī Rāma the *Āditya-hṛdaya-stotra* to help him win the battle with Rāvaṇa. In this hymn Sūrya has been described as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in one, nay, the Lord of all the three. The epic also refers to the *ūrdhvabāhu* ascetics praying to the Sun (II. 95.7). The *Mahābhārata* refers to a large number of Sun worshippers, the Sauras (VII. 58.15). This is perhaps the first literary reference to a distinct sect of the

[36] Śaktidhara, Skanda, Senāpati, Subrahmanya, Gajavāhana, Śaravanabhava, Kārttikeya, Kumāra, Ṣanmukha, Tārakāri, Senānī, Brahma-śāstā, Vallī-Kalyānasundaramūrti, Bālasvāmin, Krauñcabhettā, Śikhivāhana. For a detailed description of the different aspects of Subrahmanya images, see Gopinath Rao, *op cit*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 433 ff; for the original Sanskrit passages, see pp. 203 ff.

[37] *Vide* Ratna Navaratnam, *op cit*, p. 223.

[38] Gopinath Rao, *op.cit*, p. 415. *Vide* also Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *op.cit*, pp. 66-76.

[39] *Ṛ.V.* I. 50. 8-9, IV. 13 3.

Sun worshippers.[40] There are two *Sūrya-stotras* in the epic (III. 3), one by Dhaumya and the other by Yuddhiṣṭhira.[41] Yuddhiṣṭhira calls Sūrya, Brahman eternal, *Brahma śāśvatam*. The depiction of the Sun-god in both the epics is more or less the same in essence and character: Sūrya is the supreme Spirit, the Lord of all the gods, the Soul of all creatures, the Cause of all things, the Substratum of the manifested world, the Self-existent and the Unborn. Quite a few chapters of the *Brahma* (XXVIII-XXXIII) and *Mārkaṇḍeya* (CII-CX) *Purāṇas* are devoted to the glorification of the Sun. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V. 21-22) glorifies Sūrya as a manifestation of Lord Viṣṇu, who stimulates all objects both living and non-living. Mention may also be made of the other Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu* (II. 10), *Agni* (LI, LXXIII, XCIX), *Kūrma* (XL-XLII), *Garuda* (VII, XVI, XVII, XXXIX), *Bhaviṣya* (*Brāhmaparvan*, CXXXIX-CXLI), *Matsya* (LXXIV-LXXX), and *Skanda* (*Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*) which refer to Sūrya, his worship, observances, cults, etc. Of the Saura Upapurāṇas, mention may be made of the *Śāmba*, *Sauradharma*, *Sauradharmottara* and *Sūrya*. The first one deals principally with the cult of the Sun. It tells the story of Śāmba's constructing the temple of the Sun in Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) and importing some Magi priests from Śākadvīpa (modern Iran) for his worship. The last three Upapurāṇas are, however, lost.

Sūrya figures also in the Tantras. The *Sammohana Tantra* mentions quite a large number of Tāntric texts belonging to the Saura cult.[42] The account may be fictitious, but it certainly indicates the importance of the deity in the Tāntric pantheon. The *Tantrasāra* describes the rituals connected with the worship of Sūrya.

From the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (seventh century) it is clear that Prabhākaravardhana, Harṣa's father, and Harṣa himself were ardent devotees of the Sun-god. The copper-plate grant[43] of Harṣavardhana is also a pointer to this. The *Sūrya-śataka* of Mayūra (seventh century) is a beautiful work consisting of one hundred hymns in praise of Sūrya. The *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti refers to the Sun as remover of all sins and dispenser of holy blessings. The *Saura Saṁhitā*, mentioned by Schrader[44] and preserved in manuscript in Nepal,[45] is devoted to the worship of Sūrya. It is an important document of the Saura cult. Though dated A.D. 941, some scholars[46] think that it belongs to a much earlier

[40] Cf. J. N Farquhar, *op cit*, p. 151.

[41] The *stotra* by Yudhisthira is not included in the Critical Edition.

[42] Cf P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 100; *vide* also *CHI*, Vol IV, p. 222.

[43] *Vide Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 72-73. In the epigraphic records Prabhākaravardhana's father and grandfather, Ādityavardhana and Rājyavardhana, are also described as great devotees of the Sun, *parama-āditya-bhaktas*.

[44] *Op.cit.*, p. 11.

[45] J. N. Farquhar, *op cit.*, p. 205.

[46] *Ibid.*

date. In the *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra (eleventh century) the Sauras have been given an honourable position.

With the spread of Vaiṣṇavism, the cult of the Sun gradually began to lose its popularity, as Viṣṇu, originally a solar deity, assimilated in himself much of the elements attributed to Sūrya in the earlier days.[47] The opposition of the Śaivas, particularly the Pāśupatas, also largely contributed to the gradual decline of the Solar cult. At present the Sauras represent a very small sect mainly to be found in Madhya Pradesh and some of the southern States.

It is clear from the Vedic, epic and other early Sanskrit works that the worship of the 'atmospheric' Sun as a god was in practice in ancient times. But the conception of the Sun as 'an imaginary god of light' and the practice of his worship in images and temples is a comparatively late phenomenon.[48] Purāṇic works like the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhaviṣya*, and *Śāmba*, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (chapters LVIII and LX), and many early coins, seals and inscriptions[49] indicate that the later phase of the Sun worship was due to the influence of another cult of the Sun introduced in north-western India from Persia in the early centuries of the Christian era. Magian Sun-god Mihr (Sanskrit Mihira), a corruption of Mithra, the Avestan form of the Vedic Mitra, and his cult took roots in Indian soil and gradually made its way into the Indian pantheon. But this new sect was mainly confined to the north-western region extending in the east as far as Mathurā and there is ample evidence to show that this progress was due to the royal patronage of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas. In other parts of North India, the Sun worship became 'somehow associated with Buddhism'.[50] The figures of the Sun at Bodhgaya and Bhaja, for instance, are represented in 'an allegorical capacity, with reference to Buddha's solar character'.[51] Some scholars observe, 'Certainly even in primitive Buddhism, Śākyamuni had come to be identified with the Sun-god, and his nativity likened to the rising of another Sun'.[52] The Saura sects in the South, however, still followed the Vedic cult. Some old Sūrya images are very helpful in tracing the difference between North

[47]The Purāṇic legend regarding Śāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, and the installation by him of an image of Sūrya in the Multan temple is interesting. It indirectly indicates the gradual association of the Sun cult with Vaiṣṇavism by which it was subsequently absorbed. The *Mahābhārata* reference to the Pāñcarātras, a sub-sect of Vaiṣṇavism, as having imbibed their doctrinal elements from the Sun himself is also of much significance. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* there are hints about the identification of Visnu and Sūrya (XIV. 1.1. 7-10).

[48]*Vide* R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 29-32.

[49]P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, pp. 131, 134, 141-43, 155; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 188-89, 198; J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 198-99.

[50]Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, *Evolution of Hindu Sects*, p. 176.

[51]*Vide* Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 54.

[52]*Ibid.*, p. 53.

Indian and South Indian traditions.[53] The South Indian cult was gradually tending towards Tāntricism as is evident from Ānanda Giri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya.* There were, according to Ānanda Giri, six classes of Sun worshippers[54] during the days of Śaṅkara. They all wore marks of red sandal paste, garlands of red flowers, and repeated the *mantra* of eight syllables. They identified Sūrya with Viṣṇu and Śiva. There was, however, some common ground between the Magian Sun cult and the Vedic one which helped them to be completely merged in the later period. This fusion can be traced in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.*

That the Sun-cult was very popular in India is proved by the hundreds of sculptural representations of the deity and numerous temples[55] dedicated to him. We have already mentioned the historic temple at Multan which was visited by Hiuen Tsang, Alberuni and others.[56] It existed till the seventeenth century, when it was demolished by Aurangzeb. The famous temple at Konārak (Orissa) was perhaps built at a time when the deity was gradually sliding into oblivion in popular esteem and worship.*

[53]Gopinath Rao has summarized the contrast of the North Indian and the South Indian images as follows: 'It may be seen that there are two varieties among these images, namely, the North Indian and the South Indian. Each of these possesses very marked peculiarities which are easy of recognition. The South Indian figures of Sūrya have, as a rule, their hands lifted up as high as the shoulders, and are made to hold lotus flowers which are only half-blossomed; the images have invariably the *udarabandha*, and their legs and feet are always left bare. The North Indian images, on the other hand, have generally their hands at the natural level of the hips or the elbows, and are made to carry full-blown lotuses which rise up to the level of the shoulders, and their forelegs have coverings resembling modern socks more or less in appearance and the feet are protected with a pair of footwear resembling boots. The *udarabandha* is not found in the Northern variety of the images of the Sun-god, but there is a thin cloth or a sort of coat of mail shown as being worn on the body. The South Indian images are as often with the seven horses ... The common features of both Southern and Northern varieties of Sūrya are that the head is in all cases adorned with a *kirīta* surrounded by a circular halo or *prabhāmandala*, and that in several instances the characteristic seven horses and their driver Aruna are not missing.'—*Op.cit.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 311-12.

[54]*Vide*, R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 152-53.

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 154.

[56]*Ibid.*

*This article has been prepared by the Editorial Board of *CHI*, Vol. V—Editor.

10

LITERATURE OF JAINISM

JAINA literature begins with the last of the Tīrthaṅkaras[1], Mahāvīra (c. 599-527 B.C.), who reorganized the old Nirgrantha sect and revitalized its moral and religious zeal and activities. He preached his faith of *ahiṁsā* (non-violence or harmlessness) and self-purification to the people in their own language which was not Sanskrit, but Prakrit. The form of Prakrit which he is said to have used was Ardha-Māgadhī, by which was meant a language that was not pure Māgadhī but partook of its nature.

TWELVE AṄGAS

Mahāvīra's teachings were arranged in twelve Aṅgas (parts) by his disciples. These Aṅgas formed the earliest literature on Jainism, and were as follows:

1. *Ācārāṅga* laid down rules of discipline for the monks.
2. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* contained further injunctions for the monks regarding what was suitable or unsuitable for them and how they should safeguard their vows. It also gave an exposition of the tenets and dogmas of other faiths.
3. *Sthānāṅga* listed in numerical order, categories of knowledge pertaining to the realities of nature.
4. *Samavāyāṅga* classified objects in accordance with similarities of time, place, number, and so on.
5. *Vyākhyā-prajñapti* or *Bhagavat* explained the realities of life and nature in the form of a catechism.
6. *Jñātṛdharmakathā* contained hints regarding religious preaching as well as stories and anecdotes calculated to carry moral conviction.
7. *Upāsakādhyayana* or *Upāsaka-daśāka* was meant to serve as a religious code for householders.
8. *Antakṛddaśāka* gave accounts of ten saints who attained salvation after immense suffering.
9. *Anuttaraupapātika* contained accounts of ten saints who had gone to the highest heaven after enduring intense persecution.
10. *Praśna-vyākaraṇa* contained accounts and episodes for the refutation of opposite views, establishment of one's own faith, promotion of holy deeds, and prevention of evil.

[1] Jainism admits twenty-four Tīrthankaras who were responsible from period to period for the promulgation of religion or *dharma*. The twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara was Pārśvanātha whose historicity is now accepted. Mahāvīra, whom Buddhist texts mention as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, was a senior contemporary of Buddha (c. 535-486 B.C.). He came from a ruling clan and was related to the royal families of Magadha.

11. *Vipāka-Sūtra* explained how virtue was rewarded and evil punished.
12. *Dṛṣṭivāda* included the following five sections:
    (*a*) *Parikarmāṇi* contained tracts describing the moon, the sun, Jambudvīpa, other islands and seas, as well as living beings and non-living matter.
    (*b*) *Sūtra* gave an account of various tenets and philosophies numbering no less than 363.
    (*c*) *Prathamānuyoga* recounted ancient history and narrated the lives of great kings and saints.
    (*d*) *Pūrvagata* dealt with the problems of birth, death, and continuity, and consisted of the following fourteen sub-sections:
        (*i*) *Utpāda* described how substances such as living beings are produced and maintained and decayed.
        (*ii*) *Āgrāyaṇī* gave philosophical exposition of nature.
        (*iii*) *Vīryānupravāda* explained the powers and potentialities of the soul and other substances.
        (*iv*) *Asti-nāsti-pravāda* studied the substances of nature from various points of view pertaining to their infinite qualities and forms.
        (*v*) *Jñāna-pravāda* was a study in epistemology, giving an exposition of how knowledge was acquired in its five forms, namely: *mati* (desire), *śruti* (hearing), *avadhi* (attention), *manaḥ-paryāya* (the state of mental perception which precedes the attainment of perfect knowledge), and *kevala* (the highest possible knowledge).
        (*vi*) *Satya-pravāda* studied the nature of truth and reality and forms of untruth.
        (*vii*) *Ātma-pravāda* was the study of the self or the principle of life.
        (*viii*) *Karma-pravāda* gave an exposition of the eight forms of *karma*, bondage, namely: *jñānāvaraṇa* (knowledge-cover or error), *darśanāvaraṇa* (obstruction of one's philosophical views), *vedanīya* (expression of feelings), *mohanīya* (producing delusion), *āyu* (duration of life as governed by *karma*), *nāma* (attachment to name), *gotra* (attachment to race), and *antarāya* (any obstacle to realization) as well as their subdivisions.
        (*ix*) *Pratyākhyānavāda* contained expiatory rites, and rules for the observance of fasts and vows.
        (*x*) *Vidyānuvāda* was an exposition of various sciences and arts, including prognostication.
        (*xi*) *Kalyāṇavāda* was devoted to astrology and a description of the five auspicious events, that is, conception, birth, renuncia-

tion, enlightenment, and salvation, in the lives of the sixty-three great men, namely, the Tīrthaṅkaras, the Cakravartins, the Baladevas, the Nārāyaṇas, and the Prati-Nārāyaṇas.

(xii) *Prāṇavāda* was the science of physical culture and longevity, and expounded the eight forms of medical treatment.

(xiii) *Kriyāviśāla* gave an exposition of the seventy-two fine arts, including writing and poetry.

(xiv) *Loka-bindu-sāra* treated of worldly professions as well as ways and means to secure salvation.

(e) *Cūlikā* was the fifth section, of *Dṛṣṭivāda*, dealing with charms and magic, including methods of walking on water, flying in air, and assuming different physical forms.

THE DIGAMBARA TRADITION

This comprehensive collection of practically the whole knowledge of the imes, secular as well as religious, could not survive long in its original form. According to the Digambara Jains[2], the whole canon was preserved for only 62 years after Mahāvīra, that is up to the eighth successor, Bhadrabāhu. After hat, portions gradually began to be lost.[3] So, after 683 years from the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, what was known to the *ācāryas* (teachers) was only fragmentary. It was only the knowledge of a few portions of the *Pūrvagata* or *Pūrvas* that was mparted at Girinagara in Kathiawar by Dharasena to his pupils Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali who, on the basis of it, wrote the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* in the *sūtra* (aphorism) form during the first or second century A.D. The *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* s, therefore, the earliest available religious literature amongst the Digambaras. It is for them the supreme authority for the teachings of Mahāvīra. Another most esteemed work, written about the same time as the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, was the *Kaṣāya-pāhuḍa* of Guṇadharācārya. *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the twelfth Aṅga, was also the basis of this text. The Digambaras, who thus have their pro-canon, refused to acknowledge the canon compiled at the Pāṭaliputra Council in the fourth century B.C.

[2] As early as in the first century A.D. the followers of the Jaina religion were divided into two main sects or schools known as the Digambara or 'sky-clad' (i.e. naked) and Śvetāmbara or 'white-clad' (i.e. wearing white robes). There are some slight differences between them in finer matters of doctrine and cult practices, and each of these two sects claims precedence over the other. The Digambaras speak of a legend about the origin of the division, which differs from the legend prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras. Cf. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 347 ff. Some scholars, however, look upon the famine (fourth century B.C.), on the advent of which a body of Jaina monks migrated from Magadha to Karnāṭaka under Bhadrabāhu, as the possible seed of the great schism. Because, after the famine when the followers of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadha, they found a great gulf between the practices of their own and those of others who stayed in Magadha.

[3] See the next article, *Prakrit Language and Literature*, of this volume, p. 170.

THE ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITION

The literary tradition of the Śvetāmbara Jains is, however, different. They agree with the Digambara view so far as the continuity of the whole canon up to Bhadrabāhu is concerned. The Śvetāmbaras say that after Bhadrabāhu had migrated with a host of his adherents to the South on account of a famine, the monks who remained in Magadha met in a Council at Pāṭaliputra, already referred to, under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra. There a compilation was made of the eleven Aṅgas together with the remnants of the twelfth. This was the first attempt to systematize the Jaina Āgama.[4] But in the course of time, the canon became disorderly. Therefore, the monks met once again at Valabhī in Gujarat under the presidentship of Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa in the middle of the fifth century A.D. All the sacred texts available today were collected, systematized, redacted and committed to writing by this Council. They are as follows:

1. The eleven Aṅgas named above, the twelfth being totally lost.
2. Twelve Upāṅgas (sub-parts): *Aupapātika*, *Rāyapasenaijja*, *Jīvābhigama*, *Prajñāpanā*, *Sūrya-prajñapti*, *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, *Candra-prajñapti*, *Nirayāvalī*, *Kalpāvataṁśikā*, *Puṣpikā*, *Puṣpacūlikā*, and *Vṛṣṇidaśā*.
3. Ten Prakīrṇas (scattered pieces): *Catuḥ-śaraṇa*, *Ātura-pratyākhyāna*, *Bhakta-parijñā*, *Saṁstāraka*, *Taṇḍula-vaitālika*, *Caṁdāvījjhaya*, *Devendra-stava*, *Gaṇi-vidyā*, *Mahā-pratyākhyāna*, and *Vīra-stava*.
4. Six Cheda-Sūtras: *Niśītha*, *Mahā-niśītha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Ācāradaśā*, *Kalpa*, and *Pañca-kalpa*.
5. Two Cūlikā-Sūtras: *Nandī-Sūtra* and *Aṇuyogadvāra*.
6. Four Mūla-Sūtras[5]: *Uttarādhyayana*, *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśa-vaikālika*, and *Piṇḍa-niryukti*.

There are, however, variations in this classification. Sometimes *Nandī*, *Aṇuyogadvāra*, and *Pañca-kalpa* are put at the head of the Prakīrṇas. Instead of *Pañca-kalpa*, *Jita-kalpa* by Jinabhadra is sometimes mentioned amongst the Cheda-Sūtras. Traditionally, the number of texts fixed at Valabhī is forty-five; the names, however, vary up to fifty.

In a few cases the names of authors are also mentioned. For example, the fourth Upāṅga, *Prajñāpanā*, is ascribed to Śyāmācārya; the first of the ten Prakīrṇas, *Catuḥ-śaraṇa*, to Vīrabhadra; the fifth Cheda-Sūtra, *Kalpa*, to Bhadrabāhu; and the sixth, *Jita-kalpa*, to Jinabhadra; the first Cūlikā-Sūtra, *Nandī-Sūtra*, to Devarddhi; and the third Mūla-Sūtra, *Daśa-vaikālika*, to Svayambhava.

[4] The collective term given by the Jains to their canonical texts is Āgama or Siddhānta.

[5] W. Schubring thinks that the Mūla-Sūtras are 'intended for those who are still at the beginning (*mūla*) of their spiritual career.' Cf. *Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 1. But it is now generally believed that as they are very old and important texts of Jainism they are probably termed 'Mūla-texts'. Charpentier thinks that they contain 'Mahāvīra's own words' and therefore, they are called Mūla-Sūtras. (*Vide Uttarādhyana-Sūtra*, Introduction, p. 32). This explanation, however, is not accepted by Winternitz. (*Vide HIL*, Vol. II, p. 466 n. 1).

It is therefore evident that books written up to the time of the Valabhī Conference were included in the canon. Perhaps some later works were also included in the Āgama as is shown by the enlargement of the list up to fifty. But there is no doubt about a good deal of the material in the Āgama texts being genuinely old as is proved by the absence of any reference to Greek astronomy and the presence of statements which are not altogether favourable to the Śvetāmbara creed, such as Mahāvīra's emphasis on nakedness.

THE JAINA CANON: AN ESTIMATE

The language of these texts is called *ārṣa* by which is meant Ardha-Māgadhī. But it is not uniform in all the texts. The language of the Aṅgas and a few other texts, such as the *Uttarādhyayana*, is evidently older and amongst them the *Ācārāṅga* shows still more archaic forms. The language of the verses generally shows tendencies of an earlier age also. On the whole, the language of this Āgama does not conform fully to the characteristics of any of the Prakrits described by the grammarians; but it shares something with each of them. Therefore Dr Jacobi called this language Old Māhārāṣṭrī or Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. But this designation has not been accepted and it is simpler and better to call it by its traditional name Ardha-Māgadhī.

Though the contents are quite varied and cover a wide range of human knowledge conceived in those days, the subject-matter of this canonical literature is mainly the ascetic practices of the followers of Mahāvīra. As such, it is essentially didactic, dominated by the supreme ethical principle of *ahiṁsā*. But, subject to that, there is a good deal of poetry and philosophy as well as valuable information about contemporary thought and social history including biographical details of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, and their contemporaries. Many narrative pieces, such as those found in the *Uttarādhyayana*, are interesting and instructive and remind one of the personalities and events in the Upaniṣads and the Pali texts. From the historical point of view, the life of Mahāvīra in the *Ācārāṅga*, information about his predecessors and contemporaries in the *Vyākhyā-prajñapti* or *Bhagavatī* and the *Upāsaka-daśāka*, about his successors in the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, and about monachism practised in the days of Mahāvīra in eastern India in *Daśa-vaikālika* are all very valuable.

THE COMMENTARIES ON THE JAINA CANON

A vast literature of commentaries has grown round the Āgamas themselves. The earliest of these works are the *niryuktis*, attributed to Bhadrabāhu. They explain the topics systematically in Prakrit verse, and elaborate them by narrating legends and episodes. Ten of these works are available.

Then, there are the *bhāṣyas* similarly composed in Prakrit verse. These, in some cases, have been so intermingled with the *niryuktis* that it is now difficult to separate them. The *bhāṣyas* carry the systematization and elaboration further.

These texts, of which there are eleven available, are mostly anonymous. The elaborate *bhāṣya* on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* is, however, attributed to Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa and that on the *Kalpa-Sūtra* to Saṅghadāsagaṇi.

The *cūrṇis*, of which twenty texts are available, are prose glosses with a curious admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Some of them contain valuable historical information as well. The *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, for example, makes mention of a flood in Śrāvasti, thirteen years after Mahāvīra's enlightenment. The *Niśītha-cūrṇi* contains a reference to Kalakācārya who invited a foreigner to invade Ujjain. All the *cūrṇis* are indiscriminately ascribed to Jinadāsagaṇi.

The last strata of the commentary literature consist of *ṭīkās* which carry the expository and illustrative process to its logical conclusion. They are written in Sanskrit retaining, in many cases, the Prakrit narratives in their original form. The well-known *ṭīkā* writers are Haribhadra, Śīlāṅka, Śānti Sūri, Devendra alias Nemicandra, Abhayadeva, Droṇācārya, Maladhārin Hemacandra, Malayagiri, Kṣemakīrti, Vijayavimala, Śānticandra, and Samayasundara. Their activities were spread over a period of 1,100 years between the sixth and seventeenth centuries. A number of other forms of commentaries called *dīpikās*, *vṛttis*, and *avacūrṇis* are also extant.

JAINA PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS ON THE KARMA DOCTRINE

The *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, as already mentioned, is the earliest and most authoritative work on Jaina philosophy. Its six sections are *Jīvasthāna*, *Kṣudrakabandha*, *Bandhasvāmitva*, *Vedanā*, *Vargaṇā* and *Mahābandha*. The last of these is almost an independent work and is popularly known as *Mahādhavalā*. It is composed in *sūtras*, the language of which is Śaurasenī Prakrit strongly influenced on the one hand by Ardha-Māgadhī, particularly in its technical phraseology, and on the other by Māhārāṣṭrī. It gives a very systematic and thorough exposition of the doctrine of Karma (results of action) which forms the most essential part of Jaina philosophy. The *Kaṣāya-pāhuḍa* of Guṇadharācārya is also devoted to particular aspects of the Karma doctrine. It is composed in 233 *gāthā-sūtras* which have been elaborated by the *cūrṇi-sūtras* of Yativṛṣabha. Many commentaries are said to have been written on these works but the only one now available to us is the *Dhavalā* of Vīrasena on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* and the *Jayadhavalā* of Vīrasena and Jinasena on the *Kaṣāya-pāhuḍa* written during the ninth century in Śaurasenī Prakrit. They are very voluminous and masterly. During the tenth century, their subject-matter was compressed by Nemicandra Siddhāntacakravartin in his *Gommaṭasāra* (*Jīva-kāṇḍa* and *Karmakāṇḍa*), the *Labdhisāra*, and the *Kṣapaṇasāra* in about 2,400 *gāthā* verses. These works now form the basis of studies in Jaina philosophy, particularly amongst the Digambaras.

The Śvetāmbara literature on the Karma doctrine, besides the canonical

works, consists of the six *karmagranthas*, separately called *Karmavipāka*, *Karmastava*, *Bandhasvāmitva*, *Ṣaḍaśīti*, *Śataka*, and *Saptatikā* of uncertain authorship and date, and also the *Kamma-payaḍi* of Śivaśarman and the *Pañcasaṅgraha* of Candrarṣi, all composed in *gāthā-sūtras* and covering the same ground in subject-matter as the works of Nemicandra.

OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

Next to the Karma doctrine in religious importance are the duties and practices of monks and householders. The earliest work on this subject amongst the Digambaras is the *Mūlārādhanā* of Śivārya which contains 2,166 Prakrit verses giving an exposition of the four devotions, namely, faith, knowledge, conduct, and austerities, but at the same time dealing with practically all aspects of Jainism. Narrative and descriptive elements are also not wanting in the work. At places the poet in the author gets the better of the religious teacher, and he flashes forth in beautiful fancies and figures of speech. The *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera prescribes, in a thoroughly systematic manner, in about 1,250 Prakrit verses, the duties, practices, and observances of ascetics. The work has close affinities with the *Mūlārādhanā* of Śivārya as well as with the Āgama texts of the Śvetāmbaras dealing with similar topics. The *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā* of Kumāra contains, in 500 Prakrit verses, a beautiful exposition of the twelve reflections recommended for the promotion of the feeling of renunciation.

But the author who exercised the greatest and the most dominant influence on Jaina literature and gave form and shape to the Digambara creed as it exists today is Kundakundācārya. Tradition ascribes to him a large number of works of which more than a dozen texts called *pāhuḍas* (*prābhṛtas*) are now available. They are on the subjects of *Darśana* (36 verses), *Cāritra* (44), *Sūtra* (27), *Bodha* (62), *Bhāva* (163), *Mokṣa* (106), *Liṅga* (22), *Śīla* (40), *Ratna* (162), *Dvādaśānuprekṣā* (91), *Niyamasāra* (187), *Pañcāstikāya* (180), *Pravacanasāra*, and *Samayasāra* (415). The last three works are particularly popular and the *Samayasāra* is regarded as the author's best and most sacred production on spiritual topics. The works of Kundakundācārya may be regarded as the earliest models of that ascetic poetry and philosophy which became so popular through a long line of Jaina, Buddhist, and Hindu saints, cutting across all communal barriers.

The dates of these saintly compositions are uncertain, and all that may be said about them is that they belong to the early centuries. To the tenth century belongs Devasena whose works, the *Bhāvanāsaṅgraha*, the *Ārādhanāsāra*, the *Tattvasāra*, and the *Darśanasāra*, besides their religious and moral exposition, contain important and interesting information about the origin and development of various *saṅghas* in the Jaina community. The *Śrāvaka-prajñapti* among the Śvetāmbaras and the *Śrāvakācāra* among the Digambaras are the two Prakrit manuals of duties for lay adherents.

The religio-moral instructions found in these works form the subject-matter of a few very interesting anthologies. *Vajjālaggā* of Jayavallabha contains about 700 verses grouped in topics such as poetry, friendship, fate, and poverty. It is a beautiful example of lyrical poetry in Prakrit and is almost non-sectarian. The *Upadeśamālā* of Dharmadāsa contains 540 verses devoted to moral preaching, particularly for monks. The author is claimed to be a contemporary of Mahāvīra. Tradition, at any rate, shows the great reverence and high esteem that the work commands. It is certainly earlier than the ninth century when its commentary was written. *Jīvasamāsa* and *Bhavabhāvanā* of Maladhārin Hemacandra (twelfth century) contain more than 500 Prakrit stanzas of a didactic nature.

The essence of Jaina dialectics is found in its Nayavāda theory of view-points, and in Prakrit the *Sammatitarka* of Siddhasena and the *Nayacakra* of Devasena are the most important contributions on the subject. Jaina cosmology is very thoroughly described in the *Triloka-prajñapti* of Yativṛṣabha, the *Triloka-sāra* of Nemicandra, and the *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti* of Padmanandin, all in Prakrit verse.

JAINA LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

The language of Jaina literature was primarily the Prakrits which were prevalent amongst the people at one time or the other in different parts of the country. But Sanskrit was not altogether shunned. Amongst the Jains, the earliest work in Sanskrit devoted to religious writing is the *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* of Umāsvāmin which epitomizes the whole Jaina creed in about 375 *sūtras* arranged in ten chapters. The work occupies a unique position in Jaina literature as it is recognized as authoritative equally by the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras with a few variations in the readings, and is very widely studied by both. It has been commented upon by the most eminent authors of both the sects. There is an old *bhāṣya* on it which the Śvetāmbaras claim to be by the author of the *sūtras* himself. But this claim is not admitted by the Digambaras who regard the *Sarvārtha-siddhi-vṛtti* of Pūjyapāda (sixth century) as the earliest commentary. Pūjyapāda has made full use of the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama-Sūtra* in explaining some *sūtras* of this work.

The next commentary on it is *Tattvārtha-rāja-vārttika* of Akalaṅka (eighth century) which offers more detailed explanations of the *sūtras*, as well as of the important statements of Pūjyapāda. The *Tattvārtha-śloka-vārttika* of Vidyānandin (ninth century) gives expositions in verse and makes valuable clarifications. For yogic practices, the *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra and the *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra are valuable guides, while the *Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra* is more popular amongst the laity. Jaina Sanskrit literature is considerably enriched by a series of works on Nyāya (logic) begun by Samantabhadra

and Siddhasena Divākara and followed up by Akalanka, Vidyānandin, Prabhācandra, Māṇikyanandin, Hemacandra, and many others.

JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT

The narrative literature of Jainism has mostly as its subject-matter the life of one or more of its sixty-three great men, called *triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣāḥ*. These are the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, twelve Cakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Nārāyaṇas, and nine Prati-Nārāyaṇas. In the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras the five auspicious events (*kalyāṇaka*) namely, conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, and salvation, receive special attention from the poets. The conquest of the six sub-divisions of Bhārata-khaṇḍa is the main achievement of the Cakravartins. The Baladevas are charged with the special responsibility of getting rid of the tyrants of their times, the Prati-Nārāyaṇas, with the assistance of the Nārāyaṇas. They form triples. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa form one triple while Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Jarāsandha form another, these two triples being the last of these nine triples; it is they who, next to the Tīrthaṅkaras, have inspired most of the narrative poetry. Descriptions of the universe and of the past lives of the persons under discussion, the introduction of numerous subsidiary stories to illustrate one point or another, and occasional discourses on religious topics are some of the other features of this Purāṇic literature. The narration as a rule begins in the saintly assembly of Lord Mahāvīra with a query from Śreṇika, the king of Magadha, and the reply is given by the chief disciple of the Tīrthaṅkara, namely, Gautama. A rich literature of this kind is found, written in Prakrit and Sanskrit as well as in Apabhraṁśa.

The earliest epic available is the *Paumacariya* of Vimala Sūri, in 118 chapters, which gives the Jaina version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It has marked differences from the work of Vālmīki which was, no doubt, known to the author. The language is chaste Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and the style is fluent and occasionally ornate. Just as Vālmīki is the *ādikavi* of Sanskrit, Vimala Sūri may be called the pioneer of Prakrit *kāvya* (poetry). According to the author's own statement, the work was produced 530 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (that is, at the beginning of the first century A.D.).

The *Padma-carita* of Ravisena (seventh century) in Sanskrit follows closely Vimala Sūri's work, and the same epic is beautifully rendered in Apabhraṁśa by Svayambhū (eighth century), and later on by Raidhu. The linguistic interest and poetic charm of the Apabhraṁśa works are remarkable as they set the model for the earliest epics of Jayasi and Tulasīdāsa in Hindi.

Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* (eighth century) is the earliest Jaina epic on the subject of the *Mahābhārata*, the chief heroes being the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha and his cousin Kṛṣṇa Nārāyaṇa. The Apabhraṁśa version of it is

beautified by the genius of Svayambhū and his later followers, Dhavalā and Yaśaḥkīrti.

The most comprehensive work, and again the earliest of its kind, is the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (ninth century). The first part of it, called the *Ādipurāṇa*, ends with the *nirvāṇa* of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhadeva, while the second part, called *Uttarapurāṇa*, narrates the lives of the rest of the Tīrthaṅkaras, and the remaining *śalākā-puruṣas*. The work of Jinasena may be called the Jaina encyclopaedia. It enlightens its readers on almost every topic regarding religion, philosophy, morals, and rituals. The philosophical knowledge of the author is demonstrated by his commentary, the *Jayadhavalā*, and his poetic ability is evinced by his *Pārśvābhyudaya-kāvya* in which he has transformed the lyrical poem *Meghadūta* by Kālidāsa into an equally charming epic on the life of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara. This whole *Mahāpurāṇa* has been rendered into Apabhraṁśa with commensurate skill and in charming style by Puṣpadanta in his *Tisatthi-mahāpuriṣa-guṇālaṅkāra* (tenth century). Another Sanskrit version of it is found in the *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-carita* of Hemacandra which again has a charm of its own. Its historical value is enhanced by the additional section called the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* or *Sthavirāvalī-carita* which gives valuable information about the Jaina community after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.

BIOGRAPHIES OF SAGES AND SAINTS IN SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT

A large number of works have been written on the lives of individual Tīrthaṅkaras, and other personages of the hierarchy, in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa. The more important of these are:

In Sanskrit: Life of the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara, Vāsupūjya, by Vardhamāna Sūri; life of the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Vimala, by Kṛṣṇadeva; life of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Dharmanātha, by Haricandra; lives of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Śāntinātha, by Deva Sūri, Māṇikyanandin, and Sakalakīrti; lives of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha, by Vāgbhaṭṭa and Surācārya; and lives of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha, by Jinasena, Vādirāja (eleventh century), Bhāvadeva, and Māṇikyacandra.

In Prakrit: *Ādināthacaria* of Vardhamāna (eleventh century), *Sumatināthacaria* of Somaprabha (twelfth century), *Supāsanāhacaria* of Lakṣmanagaṇi, and *Mahāvīracaria* of Guṇacandra and also of Devendra.

In Apabhraṁśa: The *Mehesaracariu* of Raidhu (fifteenth century) on the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara; the *Candappahacariu* of Yaśaḥkīrti (fifteenth century); the *Sāntināhacariu* of Mahīcandra (sixteenth century); the *Nemināhacariu* of Haribhadra (eighth century), of Dāmodara (thirteenth century), and of Lakhmadeva (sixteenth century), the *Pasanāhacariu* of Padmakīrti (tenth century), of Śrīdhara (twelfth century), of Asavāla (fifteenth century), and of Raidhu; and the *Vaddhamānacariu* of Śrīdhara and of Jayamitra.

There is also a very vast literature in all the three languages concerning the lives of persons who attained fame for their religious zeal and sacrifice. The *Yaśastilaka-campū* of Somadeva (tenth century), the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla (tenth century), the *Jīvandhara-campū* of Vādibhasiṁha and of Haricandra are some of the Sanskrit works which belong to this category. The foregoing works are also noteworthy for their style which admits of an admixture of prose and verse, as well as for their diction which vies with the best prose style of the Sanskrit *kathās* and *ākhyāyikās*.

In Prakrit, the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsagaṇi is remarkable for its style, and content, as are the *Samarāicca-kahā* of Haribhadra and the *Kuvalaya-mālā* of Udyotana Sūri which are also valuable for their mature literary style. The *Surasundarīcaria* of Dhaneśvara (eleventh century) and the *Pañcamī-kahā* of Maheśvara (eleventh century) are other poems in Prakrit which are interesting for their story, flowing narrative, and poetic embellishment.

In Apabhraṁśa, some beautiful poems of this kind are the *Nāyakumāra-cariu* and the *Jasaharacariu* of Puṣpadanta; the *Bhavisatta-kahā* of Dhanapāla, and *Karakaṇḍacariu* of Kanakāmara.

JAINA SHORT STORIES

Jaina literature abounds in short stories written primarily for religious instruction, but which also serve for amusement. The best and oldest examples of these are found in the Sanskrit *Kathā-koṣa* of Hariṣeṇa (tenth century) and the Apabhraṁśa *Kathā-koṣa* of Śrīcandra (eleventh century). Some unique examples of satire intended for religious edification are found in the Prakrit *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Haribhadra, in the Apabhraṁśa *Dharma-parīkṣā* of Hariṣeṇa, and in the Sanskrit *Dharma-parīkṣā* of Amitagati (eleventh century).

STOTRAS AND LYRICS

Lyrical poetry in Jaina literature found expression in hymns addressed to the Tīrthaṅkaras and holy saints. The *Bhaktāmbara-stotra* of Mānatuṅga and the *Kalyāṇa-mandira-stotra* of Vādirāja, the *Viṣāpahāra-stotra* of Dhanañjaya and the *Jina-caturviṁśatikā* of Bhūpāla are charming examples of these devotional songs.

A very large number of Jaina works are still lying in store in various places, and new works of considerable antiquity are coming to light every day. This literature has a beauty and grandeur of its own in form, matter, and spirit. The Jains never showed partiality for one language, like the Brāhmaṇas for Sanskrit and the Buddhists for Pali. Instead, they cultivated all the languages of their time and place, devoting almost equal attention to each. Even the Dravidian languages of the South were not neglected, and the earliest literature in Tamil and Kannada is found to have been developed and enriched

by Jaina contributions. This literature was not meant as a pastime or as mere pedantry, but for the cultivation of those virtues without which man, through his so-called progress, may be led to his doom. Signs of this danger are not wanting in the present set-up of world forces and the trend of events. If humanity is to fulfil its role of establishing peace on earth and goodwill amongst mankind, it must extricate itself from greed and selfishness. In the task of realizing human destiny, Jaina literature, with its lessons of nobility and the virtue of tolerance, and with its message of non-violence, love for humanity, and supremacy of the spiritual over the material gain, has much to offer to mankind.

11

PRAKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE: ITS GROWTH, USAGE, AND DIALECTS

BROADLY speaking, Indo-Aryan speech has flowed in two streams: Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta (which will be spelt hereafter as Sanskrit and Prakrit) and, at various stages, these two streams have constantly influenced each other. Prakrit, which means 'natural' or 'common', primarily indicates the uncultivated popular dialects which existed side by side with Sanskrit, the 'accurately made', 'polished', and 'refined' speech.

The Prakrits, then, are the dialects of the unlettered masses, which they used for secular communication in their day-to-day life, while Sanskrit is the language of the intellectual aristocrat, the priest, pundit, or prince, who used it for religious and learned purposes. Yet the language of every-day conversation even of these people must have been nearer to the popular Prakrits than to literary Sanskrit. The former was a natural acquisition; while the latter, the principal literary form of speech, required training in grammatical and phonetic niceties.

Side by side with the Vedic language, which was an artistic speech employed by the priest in religious songs, there existed popular dialects which probably owed their origin to tribal groups, and developed through use of the Aryan speech by indigenous people. Vedic literature gives some glimpses of popular speeches, the primary Prakrits; but no literature in them has come down to us.

Classical Sanskrit, as standardized by Pāṇini and his commentators, respectfully shelved all that was obsolete in the Vedic speech and studiously eschewed all that belonged to the popular tongue; the use of such a rigorously standardized language was a task for a selective group. Whenever a preacher or a prince wanted to address the wider public, not from the monopolized temple or sacrificial enclosure but from the popular pulpit, the tendency to employ a popular dialect of the day was but natural. Thus, in the sixth century B.C., Mahāvīra and Buddha preferred to preach in the local Prakrits of eastern India; and the great emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.) and, a century later, King Khāravela addressed their subjects in Prakrit.

Practically all over India, Prakrits were freely used for inscriptions almost up to the Gupta age, and the earlier inscriptions, up to about the first century A.D., were all in Prakrit. Dialectal distinctions are fairly clear, though the problems of localization are not so easily solved. The Aśokan inscriptions do show, to a certain extent, dialectal differences according to regions; and

they are not altogether without some correspondence with the known literary dialects.

It is held by some scholars that the early secular literature comprising drama, epics, lyrical poetry, and so on, was originally in Prakrit; and that some time in the second century A.D., through the initiative of the Śaka Satraps of western India, Sanskrit gradually entered the field of secular composition. The epic idiom shows contamination with Prakritism which the bards must have contracted from the Prakrits they used in day-to-day conversation, in fine, from their vernaculars. The so-called *gāthā* literature of the Buddhists is a good specimen of queer admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. In drama, different characters spoke different languages in the same play; the earliest known plays of Aśvaghoṣa (*c.* A.D. 100) bear evidence to the antiquity of this practice. There can hardly be any doubt that when these dialects were first employed in drama they were contemporary local vernaculars; but later on they became stereotyped, and their usage was a matter of conventional fixing. Kings and courtiers spoke Sanskrit; ladies of rank spoke Śaurasenī; and the lower characters spoke Māgadhī.

The Prakrit grammarians give a sketchy description of various Prakrit dialects: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, and Apabhraṁśa. Pali and Ardha-Māgadhī are also Prakrits and are used in the Buddhist and Jaina canons. From the point of view of the evolution of language, the inscriptional Prakrits, Pali and Paiśācī, form an earlier group; Śaurasenī and Māgadhī come next, one a central and the other an eastern dialect. Ardha-Māgadhī is close to Pali with regard to its vocabulary, syntax, and style, but is phonologically later in age. Māhārāṣṭrī has proved to be an elastic medium for learned epics and lyrical poetry on popular subjects. Some of these were raised to literary status from a regional footing; but they gradually became stereotyped, with scant deference to their local colour from the grammarians. By that time the popular dialects had already advanced, and the gap between the literary Prakrits and contemporary popular speech went on increasing. Popular elements, stray forms from a popular vernacular, even percolated now and then into some of the earlier Prakrit works.

By about the fifth century A.D., Sanskrit and Prakrit were equally stereotyped as literary forms of expression. Their cleavage from the current vernaculars was felt more and more; and once again an effort was made to raise the then popular speech to a literary stage, an effort represented by Apabhraṁśa which, as a literary language, is to be distinguished from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Like Sanskrit and Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa no longer remained local. The standard literary Apabhraṁśa looks very much like a forerunner of Old Rajasthani and Old Gujarati, but it appears to have been used on a wider scale even outside the expected area. It is heavily indebted to literary Prakrits for its vocabulary,

while its other elements, such as nominal and verbal terminations, pronouns, adverbs, and particles, are drawn from the popular speech-stratum, in a few cases, possibly, with some foreign influence. The metrical dressing was peculiarly popular and novel, and to a certain extent this influenced its phonetic shaping In its turn, Apabhraṁśa also reached a fixed form like Sanskrit and the Prakrits; and side by side came into being what we call today the 'modern' Indian languages. The Prakrits, and Apabhraṁśa represent the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṁśa appear to have been developed first by the common people for their songs and couplets; and it was through these channels that they obtained recognition from the learned as well and were admitted into literature. Śūdraka admitted Māhārāṣṭrī verses in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*; Kālidāsa (*c.* A.D. 400) employed Apabhraṁśa songs in his *Vikramorvaśīya*; and Vidyāpati (*c.* A.D. 1400) used Maithili verses in his Sanskrit-Prakrit dramas. As literary languages to be written after a close study of grammar and literature, Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Apabhraṁśa were cultivated simultaneously for a considerable length of time, even after the Modern Indo-Aryan stage was actually reached in the popular language of day-to-day conversation.

A full view of the literary heritage of ancient and medieval India must include a broad survey of the literature in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit (Apabhraṁśa). Here is an effort to present a survey of the salient landmarks of Prakrit literature.

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS AND DRAMAS

The imperial Mauryan State was diplomatically, militarily, and culturally quite on a par with, if not superior to, the contemporary Hellenic States. Its Prakrit inscriptions have linguistic and historical importance; but some of them deserve to be classed as literature on account of their form and style as well as for the noble instructions of abiding value which they carry. The Aśokan inscriptions, more than thirty in number, are the earliest dated documents among Indian literary records. They were incised on rocks, boulders, pillars, and on the walls of caves. The fourteen rock edicts, in seven recensions, form a remarkable unit as a piece of literature. Their style is simple, concise, and forceful; and the appeal, full of personal feeling, is so direct that one feels that the mighty monarch himself is earnestly speaking to his subjects. The edicts not only give a fine picture of the State, but also reveal the personality of the ruler in touching colours. In pathos and sincerity, expressed by an emperor, they can hardly be surpassed. He is fully aware of his responsibility to his vast empire; and he is constantly striving for the physical and moral welfare of his subjects, and also for the safety of the entire living world. His leanings towards Buddhism are explicit; but the principles preached by him

are cosmopolitan, humanitarian, and universal. The thirteenth rock edict is a document remarkable in the annals of human history. Aśoka had won a decisive victory in the Kaliṅga war; but the misery of the people brought such remorse to the mighty monarch that he expressed his anguish frankly and vividly.

The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (first or second century B.C.) of the Cedi dynasty gives a record of the first thirteen years of Khāravela's reign. The inscription surpasses Aśoka's records in fluency of expression; and apart from the personal details of this mighty king who consolidated and increased the prestige of Kaliṅga, the record gives a good glimpse of the early life and training of Indian princes at that time. Among the manifold inscriptions of western India, the Nasik cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi of the second century A.D. expresses the spirit of a royal panegyrist steeped in epico-Purāṇic mythology and religion, and anticipates the later embellished style so common in *kāvyas* and *campūs*.

In the early drama, as we have seen, some characters are made to speak in Sanskrit and others in Prakrit. The playwrights have used Prakrits according to the conventions of dramatic theory; but the composition in most cases has very little of popular life in it. The Prakrit passages in drama after Kālidāsa, if not before him, were, on the whole, specimens of artificial and prosaic composition. These look like Sanskrit sentences mechanically converted into Prakrit. The convention of using such passages had so great a grip on the orthodox mind for centuries together that only very recently did Prakrit lose its hold on Indian drama. The author of the *Hanumannāṭaka* (after A.D. 1200) plainly says that it is not Prakrit but Sanskrit alone that is worthy of an audience of devotees of Viṣṇu. The number of plays with Prakrit passages is quite large, and some of the characters speaking Prakrit dialects are of particular interest.

The Prakrit lyric song is quite popular with Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Viśākhadatta, and others; and some of their *gāthās* are genuine pieces of poetry delineating gentle sentiments. As used by Śūdraka and others, Prakrit served wonderfully as the medium of homely conversation. Innocent, intriguing light jokes and toothless humour are seen in the speeches in Śaurasenī made by Vidūṣaka, the jester, who figures in various plays. His description of Vasantasenā's palace in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is more pedantic than natural. Śūdraka's Śakāra is a unique character, quite unsurpassed. His songs and speeches in Māgadhī are well known for their fun and humour. Rākṣasa and his wife in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* give us a description of a battle-field in Māgadhī. But the stylistic basis of dramatic Prakrits is essentially Sanskritic, and the *deśī* elements are not freely admitted.

In the opinion of some scholars, Indian drama comprising popular dance with conversations and songs, was originally in Prakrit, and it was only later

that Sanskrit came to be introduced. Thus these plays admit Sanskrit and Prakrit simultaneously. However, there is one type of drama, the *saṭṭaka*, which is composed entirely in Prakrit, and which in many respects resembles the *nāṭikā*. The term *saṭṭaka*, or *sāḍika*, is quite old; but the extant specimens of *saṭṭaka* are comparatively late and few in number. The *Karpūramañjarī* by Rājaśekhara (about A.D. 900) is a love intrigue, ending happily in the marriage of Gaṇḍapāla and Karpūramañjarī. Karpūramañjarī is the cousin of the elderly queen and is brought to the palace miraculously by the magician, Bhairavānanda. This play was enacted at the behest of the author's wife Avantisundarī, a cultured lady of the Cāhamāna family.

The *Karpūramañjarī* has been a constant source of inspiration down the centuries, and a model for all subsequent *saṭṭakas*. Though accepted as one of the best comedies in Indian literature, it is more remarkable for its style and language than for its plot and characters, which are of the time-honoured mould. Rājaśekhara was a consummate master of literary expression and metrical forms. His verses rise to the occasion; they have a rhythmic ring and a liquid flow. His descriptions of nature are inlaid with vivid colour and grace; and his use of proverbs and vernacular expressions, and allusions to customs are of special interest. He enjoyed the patronage of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj and his successor.

Rudradāsa (seventeenth century), who was patronized by the Zamorin of Calicut, wrote the *Candralekhā*, a *saṭṭaka*, which celebrates the marriage of Mānaveda and Candralekhā. His style is forceful, but is often burdened with unwieldy compounds. Ghanaśyāma, a court poet at the time of King Tulajājī of Tanjore (middle of the eighteenth century), wrote the *Ānandasundarī*, another *saṭṭaka*. The *Rambhāmañjarī* by Nayacandra (*c.* fifteenth century) is also a *saṭṭaka* in which Prakrit is used along with Sanskrit. It deals with the story of King Jaitrasiṁha of Vārāṇasī and Rambhā, the daughter of Madanavarman of Gujarat.

THE JAINA CANON, PRO-CANON, AND POST-CANONICAL WORKS

The Jaina canonical works constitute an important section of Prakrit literature. Jainism admits, in this era, twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras who are responsible from period to period for the promulgation of religion or *dharma*. The twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara was Neminātha, the cousin of Kṛṣṇa; the twenty-third was Pārśvanātha whose historicity is now accepted; and the last was Mahāvīra, whom Buddhist texts mention as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. He was a senior contemporary of Buddha. He was related to the royal families of Magadha. The preachings of Mahāvīra and his disciples have come down to us in the Jaina Āgama, the canon, in Ardha-Māgadhī, which has suffered many a vicissitude in the course of its transmission. The exigencies of time,

especially a famine, required its first systematization. This was done by the Pāṭaliputra Council some time in the fourth century B.C., and was followed by subsequent attempts from time to time, attributed to such eminent teachers as Skandila, Nāgārjuna, and Devarddhi. There are also a few texts of individual authorship. The canon, as available today, was systematized, rearranged, redacted, and committed to writing by the Valabhī Council under Devarddhi in the middle of the fifth century A.D. The earlier lists of canonical texts, possibly as classified at the time of earlier compilations, are preserved to us in the canon itself. The most recognized classification, possibly done by the Valabhī Council itself, is that the Āgama contains the following sections[1]:

(1) eleven Aṅgas (parts), (2) twelve Upāṅgas, (3) ten Prakīrṇas, (4) six Cheda-Sūtras, (5) two Cūlikā-Sūtras (individual texts), (6) four Mūla-Sūtras.

The twelfth Aṅga, the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, which included the fourteen *Pūrvas*, is lost. The contents of the canon are quite varied and cover almost every branch of human knowledge as it was conceived in those days. Texts like *Ācārāṅga* and *Daśa-vaikālika* give a detailed account of monachism as practised in eastern India in the days of Mahāvīra; *Jīvābhigama* and others fully discuss the Jaina ideas about living beings; *Upāsakādhyayana* and *Praśna-vyākaraṇa* set forth the ideals and regulations of a householder's life; *Jñātṛdharmakathā*, *Vipāka-Sūtra*, and *Nirayāvalī* give many holy legends, moral in all their aspects and didactic in purpose; *Sūrya-prajñapti* discusses Jaina cosmology; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and *Uttarādhyayana* contain brilliant moral exhortations, philosophical discourses, and amusing legends, while some of their sections are fine specimens of ancient ascetic poetry; the *Nandī-Sūtra* gives the details of Jaina epistemology; and texts like the *Bhagavatī* are encyclopaedic in content. Some of the stories are laid in the age of Ariṣṭa Nemi, while in some places we find Pārśva and Mahāvīra holding discussions. In fact, in most of the lessons the preachings are attributed to Mahāvīra and his disciples.

Devarddhi arranged and redacted the already existing texts of the canon to make them a consistent whole. He did so, probably, by standardizing descriptions, passages, and the use of synonyms in a certain text, and by merely referring to them in others by terms like *vaṇṇo*, *jāva*, or by numerals. The cross references show the working of a single hand. Although the matter of the present Upāṅgas is as old as that of the Aṅgas, the division of the Upāṅgas to correspond to the Aṅgas is an innovation made perhaps after the Pāṭaliputra Council. It is not known to earlier lists preserved in the original contents of works like the *Praśna-vyākaraṇa*. Up to the final redaction, reshuffling and transposition of parts took place, and can be detected even now. Some of the *niryuktis* (commentaries) clearly show that they have in view a slightly

[1] See for reference *Literature of Jainism* (previous article), pp. 155-56.

different arrangement of matter in some places. W. Schubring has shown how, for a consistent interpretation, some lines in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* would need to be rearranged. Further, we have a large number of Prakīrṇas, but only some of them are admitted to the canon.

Though the Ardha-Māgadhī canon was redacted in the fifth century A.D., the major and substantial portion of it is as old as the Pāṭaliputra Council in the fourth century B.C. This is proved by traditional accounts, and also by the absence of any reference in the canon to Greek astronomy, and, further, by the nature of the metre and language in its older portions. The first parts of the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* are considered to belong to the oldest stratum of the canon. With them may be ranked some of the lessons in the Cheda-Sūtras and a few sermons in the *Uttarādhyayana* and the *Bhagavatī*.

The canon described above is authoritative only for the Śvetāmbaras. Also, it is not admitted as genuine by those Digambaras who have their pro-canon.[3] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, knowledge of the fourteen *Pūrvas* continued to decrease, and by the time of Devarddhi the twelfth Aṅga, which included the *Pūrvas*, had disappeared. Now and then, *gāthās* from the *Pūrvas* are quoted even by the later commentaries, possibly from traditional memory.

The Digambaras have a similar tradition about the gradual loss of Aṅga knowledge. This loss of scriptural knowledge needs to be explained. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that the sacred texts were studied in monastic seminaries and handed down from teacher to pupil, often in isolation or together in distant parts of the country. Due to lapse of memory, lack of continuity in study, the obscurity of technical details, and the passing away of outstanding custodians of scriptural knowledge, some branches of study must have fallen into oblivion in some seminary or other. It is quite likely that any specialized branch of study elaborately preserved in one seminary gradually came to be disowned by the others on account of certain differences in dogma which had perhaps grown up in the meantime. This is how, in all probability, the Digambaras came to disown the Aṅgas. The texts of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*, it has been shown by Dr H. L. Jain, are the basis of the Prakrit *sūtras* of the *Ṣaṭkarma-prābhṛta* and the *Kaṣāya-prābhṛta* which have lately been brought to light, together with huge Prakrit-Sanskrit commentaries. The limited studies that have been carried out indicate that the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras once had a common literature. Even today, common matter, expressed in almost identical terms, can be detected in the early literature of both. A full estimate of early Jaina literature and the ideology embodied in it is possible only by comparatively studying the older works preserved by both sections of the Jains.

The canon comprises works of different origin and age, and naturally,

[3] See for reference *ibid.*, pp. 152-54.

therefore, it is difficult to estimate its literary character. The redaction brought together distinctly disparate parts of works, some in prose, some in verse, and some in prose and verse. The prose of the *Ācārāṅga* contains metrical pieces interwoven in it, and consequently presents manifold difficulties in interpretation. The old prose works are diffused in style with endless, mechanical repetitions, but some works contain pithy remarks pregnant with meaning. The didactic sections present vigorous exposition in a fluent style, while the standardized descriptions, obviously aiming at literary effect, are heavy in construction with irregular compound expressions. The rules for monastic life are full of details, and the dogmatic lessons show a good deal of systematic exposition. There are narratives which contain parables and similes of symbolic significance; and there are exemplary stories of ascetic heroes, and also debates on dogmatic topics. When studied along with Pali texts, the canon yields valuable information about contemporary life and thought, including biographical details about Pārśva, Mahāvīra, and their contemporaries.

Mahāvīra is said to have preached in Ardha-Māgadhī, which is therefore the name of the canonical language. The older portions preserve the archaic forms of language and style. These gradually disappear in the later works, and there is seen the influence of linguistic tendencies well known in Māhārāṣṭrī which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, was evolving as a literary language. Such a process of modernization was inevitable in the course of oral transmission, especially as the Śvetāmbara monks were already using Prakrit not only as a language for scriptures, but also as a vehicle of literary expression. In the verses common to both sects, the Digambara texts soften the intervocalic consonants; while those of the Śvetāmbaras lose them, leaving behind the vowel.

Prior to the Pāṭaliputra Council at the time of Candragupta Maurya, a body of Jaina monks, on the advent of a famine, migrated to the South under Bhadrabāhu. After the famine, a Council of monks was called at Pāṭaliputra to compile the canon, lest the scriptural knowledge fall into oblivion. The canon so compiled was, however, not acceptable to those who had migrated South. Possibly, the conditions of famine had created a gulf between the practices of the monks who remained in Magadha and of those who had gone South. Differences in dogmas and practices might also have been there even earlier; but scholars look upon this as the possible seed of the division of the Jaina Church into Śvetāmbara and Digambara.

This explains, to a certain extent, why the Digambaras disown the Ardha-Māgadhī canon of Pāṭaliputra. To satisfy the religious needs of the community, they began jotting down from memory notes which have come to us in the form of many Prakrit texts that deserve to be called the pro-canon of the Jains. The earliest of these are the *Ṣaṭkarma-prābhṛta* and the *Kaṣāya-prābhṛta*,

which are the remnants of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. The Vīrasena-Jinasena commentaries (A.D. 816) incorporate earlier commentaries in Prakrit; and they indicate what an amount of traditional detail was associated with the original *sūtras*. They deal with the highly technical and elaborate doctrine of Karma which is a unique feature, a speciality in Jainism among the Indian religions. Among the works of the pro-canon, the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera and the *Ārādhanā* of Śivārya have close kinship with the canon, giving elaborate details about the monastic life, its rules and regulations. The Prakrit *bhaktis* are a sort of devotional composition for daily recitation.

A large number of works are attributed to Kundakundācārya, but only a few of them have come down to us. His *Pañcāstikāya* and *Pravacanasāra* are systematic expositions of Jaina ontology and epistemology. His *Samayasāra* is full of spiritual fervour. Yativṛṣabha's *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* covers a wide range of topics and has served the purpose of a source-book. The compilation or composition of all these works, based on traditional material, might be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

A good deal of Prakrit literature has grown round the canon itself by way of explanation, detailed exposition, illustration through tales, and topical systematization. On some canonical texts there are *niryuktis*. A *niryukti* is a kind of metrical commentary which explains the topics by instituting various inquiries. The *niryuktis* are attributed to Bhadrabāhu and are undoubtedly anterior to Devarddhi's Council. Some of them, in turn, on account of their systematic exposition, accuracy of detail, and solidity of argument, became the object of the learned labours of great scholars. For instance, Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa (A.D. 609) wrote a highly elaborate *bhāṣya* (commentary) in Prakrit on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* round which has grown a little world of literature. On some works both *bhāṣya* and *cūrṇi* commentaries are found. A *bhāṣya* is an elaborate exposition of the text in Prakrit, at times incorporating and supplementing the *niryukti* verses; while *cūrṇi* is a prose gloss written in a bewildering admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Jinadāsa Mahattara wrote his *Nandī-cūrṇi* in A.D. 676.

LYRICAL ANTHOLOGIES, DIDACTIC WORKS, AND HYMNS

The popular *gāthā* (song) had already found its way not only into the Pali canon but also into that unconventional drama, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka. With its melodious ring and sentimental setting, it is successfully handled by Kālidāsa, especially in the mouth of his heroines. A large body of popular lyric songs in Prakrit, especially in Māhārāṣṭrī, appears to have grown up a couple of centuries or so earlier than Kālidāsa. A collection of some 700 *gāthās*, the *Gāhā-sattasai*, attributed to Hāla, has survived. The text is preserved in different recensions, and commentators even attribute some of the stanzas

to different poets, a few of whom are known from literary records. The *Sattasaī* is undoubtedly an anthology; the editor, who is a literary artist of some eminence, has collected these verses, together with a few of his own composition, from a large mass of popular songs, and presented them in a literary style with special attention to the choice of setting, themes, and sentiment. Hāla's collection is not only important for its artistic grace and poetic flourish; it also testifies to the fact that there was already a large mass of secular Prakrit literature, in the composition of which women, too, took an active part.

The themes of the *Sattasaī* are drawn primarily from rural life, but the presentation is more or less satisfying to refined taste. The seasonal settings, the countryside, the village folk, the flora and fauna—all contribute remarkably to the realistic sketches which the poets draw with a few strokes of the pen in one or two stanzas. The chief sentiment is erotic, at times too openly expressed, but the foibles of love and the peculiar Indian ceremonies and conventions involved, are depicted in a vivid and touching manner. Some of the scenes are full of pathos and flavour. For example, a lovely maiden is pouring water for a thirsty traveller; he lets the water trickle through his fingers. She, in turn, lessens the stream of water from the pot in her hands, and thus they both extend the moments of feasting their eyes on each other. Within a verse or two an effective sketch is projected such as is possible only for a mature poet.

The Sanskrit rhetoricians have paid their respects, more, perhaps, than were due, to Hāla's genius by extensively quoting his verses by way of illustration. There is very little of religious setting in the poems, though Īśvara and Pārvatī, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, and others are casually mentioned. The name Hāla stands for Śātavāhana who figures as one of the Āndhra-bhṛtya kings whose partiality for Prakrits is well known. In all probability the compilation is to be assigned to the second or third century A.D. It is quite natural that a work of this type should contain old material and, at the same time, easily admit later interpolations. It has been imitated in Sanskrit and Hindi, but the Prakrit original stands unrivalled.

Another Prakrit anthology, close in spirit to Hāla's work, but planned topically, is the *Vajjālaggā* of Jayavallabha. Its date is uncertain. There are different recensions, the number of *gāthās* averaging about 700. The major portion of it was composed perhaps by Jayavallabha who, of course, included verses from Hāla and others. The subjects under which the verses are grouped embrace the three human ends, *dharma* (righteousness), *artha* (wealth), and *kāma* (love); almost half the verses are devoted to the last. The range of topics dealt with is quite wide and includes poetry, friendship, fate, poverty, service, hunting, elephants, the swan, the bee, etc. A good man is likened to a mirror, while a wicked man, like soda, only adds a little polish to his virtues. The

author reproves the camel for yearning for the desert which cannot be had when fate is adverse. The erotic sentiment often has a touch of righteousness and heroism about it. The author is a Jain, but there is nothing of sectarianism in his collection. His *gāthās* in Māhārāṣṭrī contain many Apabhraṁśa elements; and the spirit of some of the stanzas is similar to that of the quotations in Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar.

Strange as it may seem, it is a fact that writers on poetics and rhetoric quoted many Prakrit verses the sources of which have not been traced. This would presuppose the existence of a good many earlier compositions or compilations like the *Vajjālaggā*. Lately, another anthology, *Chappaṇṇaya-gāhāo*, has come to light. It is also a compilation of *gāthās* from various gifted poets, and is allied to the works of Hāla and Jayavallabha.

Similar to the anthologies in form, but with more religious leanings and bearing individual authorship, are some of the Jaina didactic poems in Prakrit. The spirit of religious instruction and moral exhortation is a patent trait of Jaina authors. The *niryuktis*, besides their explanatory and expositional remarks, contain a great deal of didactic instruction and illustration, as well as the gnomic poetry so common in anthologies. Wealth and love are mentioned with indifference, if not disparagement; and the religious tone rules supreme.

The *Uvaesamālā* or *Upadeśamālā* is a didactic poem containing instruction on the duties of monks and laymen; it is in 540 stanzas and is by Dharmadāsa. It is no doubt an old work of considerable popularity as indicated by the fact that commentaries were written upon it as early as the ninth century, and also by its influence on later authors. In addition to moral instruction, it contains Jaina dogmatic details and references to illustrative stories of great men of yore. Another work of this kind is the *Upadeśapada*. Equally religious and didactic in outlook but more conventional in the treatment of topics, it is mnemonic and mechanical in presentation but unintelligible without an exhaustive commentary. It can be grasped only by the well-read. Containing more than 1,000 *gāthās*, it was written by Haribhadra, an outstanding author of the eighth century. It is a learned source-book rather than a literary composition meting out moral instruction.

The *Upadeśamālā* by Hemacandra, author of the *Maladhārigaccha*, contains more than 500 *gāthās* and gives instruction on some twenty religious topics such as compassion to living beings etc. The author is not only a preacher but a poet commanding an ornate style with poetic embellishments. He was a contemporary of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of Gujarat (1094-1143) whom he persuaded to extend greater patronage to Jainism in that area.

The *Vivekamañjarī* by Āsaḍa was written in 1191. Containing 140 stanzas, it is a discourse on religious awakening, but the major part of it is moulded in a mechanical manner, quoting examples of holy persons. According to the

commentator, Bālacandra, who belonged to two generations later than Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, Āsaḍa was of royal descent, being the son of King Kaṭukarāja of Bhīnmāl in Rajasthan. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, many other authors followed earlier models and produced religio-didactic works in Prakrit. One is struck, however, more by the earnestness with which they have reflected on their themes and preached them to posterity than by the literary qualities of their works.

There are a number of hymns in Prakrit, addressed as prayers to the Divinity as an ideal. Laudatory in spirit, these hymns may be assigned to the class of religious poetry. Some of them were composed by eminent authors like Bhadrabāhu, Mānatuṅga, Dhanapāla (A.D. 972), and Abhayadeva. The *Ṛṣimaṇḍala-stotra* is a chronicle of monks, and the *Dvādaśāṅga-pramāṇa* is a short description of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon. Somasundara (fifteenth century) wrote a few prayers almost as exercises in different Prakrit dialects.

NARRATIVE LITERATURE IN JAINA MĀHĀRĀSTRĪ AND APABHRAṀŚA

There is an extensive and varied narrative literature in Prakrit, especially in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṁśa; only a few of the most important works are being reviewed here. Broadly speaking, this literature includes the lives of the *triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣas*, the sixty-three great men who are the celebrities of Jainism, and also lives of ascetic heroes and other holy men of eminence; it includes legendary tales with didactic motifs, illustrative fables, semi-historical narrations, and popular romances. Traces of all these elements are found in the Jaina canon, while the commentators provide bulky narratives in Prakrit and Sanskrit from earlier sources and also from some of their own composition.

The *Bṛhatkathā*, the most important work, was composed by Guṇāḍhya in Paiśācī, but it is lost beyond recovery. We possess, however, three Sanskrit epitomes of it belonging to the Middle Ages. They indicate that the original work was of great dignity and magnitude, worthy to be ranked with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Bṛhatkathā* supplied themes and motifs to many authors, and it has been referred to respectfully by Daṇḍin, Subandhu, Bāṇa, and others. Guṇāḍhya's personality is shrouded in myths, and this, possibly, attests to his antiquity. Perhaps he is earlier than Bhāsa, and may be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Vimala Sūri composed his Purāṇic epic the *Paumacariya* in A.D. 4, according to his own statement, but some scholars assign it to the fourth or fifth century. It gives the Jaina version of the Rāma legend. It shows acquaintance with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, but contains particular details which have nothing to do with the Jaina outlook and which, consequently, are of great value in studying the basic Rāma legend that has been worked out by various authors in different

ways. Here, Rāvaṇa is not a monster, nor Māruti a monkey; they are both Vidyādharas, a class of semi-divine persons. Vimala Sūri's religious sermons have a lofty didactic tone, and he also tells many an episode of romantic and legendary interest. His *gāthās* and elegant metres testify to his poetic ability, and his style is almost uniformly fluent and forceful. The dialect he uses is also interesting because of the age of the work and of the Apabhraṁśa traces seen in it.

Pādalipta, of the early centuries of the Christian era, wrote in Prakrit a now-lost religious novel called *Taraṅgavaī*. The legends surrounding Pādalipta and the praise bestowed on his work bear evidence to its eminence. The subject-matter was a love story, concluding with a religious sermon. We possess only a later epitome of it written in Prakrit, called *Taraṅgalatā*, which testifies to its engrossing literary qualities.

The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsa and Dharmadāsa (before 600) is a voluminous prose tale which elaborately records the wanderings of Vasudeva of the *Harivaṁśa*, and includes a good deal of extraneous matter in the form of sub-stories, legends, and fables. This work was definitely written earlier than 600. Bhadrabāhu's work being lost, it is not possible to detect its indebtedness to his *Vasudevacaria* of the fourth century B.C.; but there are indications that it closely corresponds in form to the *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya.

In A.D. 868, Śīlācārya wrote his *Mahāpuruṣa-carita* which deals with the lives of the *śalākā-puruṣas*. The *Kālakācārya-kathānaka*, written in about the tenth century, narrates the story of how the saint, Kālaka, went to the Śaka Satraps, called *sāhis*, and with their help overthrew Gardabhilla, a king of Ujjayinī, who had kidnapped his sister Sarasvatī. In narrating this historical incident, the author shows considerable poetic skill and observation.

Dhaneśvara's *Surasundarīcaria* (1038) is a lengthy romance. In sixteen cantos it narrates the love story of a Vidyādhara chief as he passes through hope and despair. The technique of telling a story within a story is handled successfully and the narration of events is quite smooth; the descriptions are worthy of a trained poet. The *Pañcamī-kahā* by Maheśvara Sūri (earlier than the middle of the eleventh century) celebrates *Śrutapañcamī* and, through illustrative stories, explains the importance of its observances. The life of Vijayacandra-kevalin in 1,063 *gāthās* composed in A.D. 1070 was written in simple, narrative style. It illustrates the merits resulting from eightfold worship. At the close of the eleventh century, Vardhamāna, the pupil of Abhayadeva, wrote two works, the *Manoramā-carita* in 1083, a romance with religious leanings, and the *Ādinātha-carita* in 1103, a regular Purāṇic epic dealing with the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara.

The *Supāsanāhacaria* (1143) is a bulky work which gives the life of the seventh Tīrthaṅkara from his earlier births up to his liberation. It is full of

religious preachings, all conveyed with suitable stories, as is so common in Jaina works. The author has poetic skill and a remarkable command over language.

Just eleven years after the death of King Kumārapāla, Somaprabha wrote the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* (*c.* 1195). It is a lengthy text giving many stories to illustrate the principles of Jainism. Some of the sections are written in Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa as well. After a description of Gujarat and its capital, the Cālukya kings are mentioned in quick succession. We are then told how Kumārapāla met Hemacandra. This is followed by a conversation between the two. After hearing various stories, Kumārapāla not only accepted the vows of Jainism but gave orders for their observance throughout his kingdom. These narrative works are extremely interesting as types of composition; and being of definite date and locality, they throw very useful light on the contemporary society.

Coming to the narrative works in Apabhraṁśa, we enter an altogether new world. The language shows remarkable traits; the metres are different; and the presentation has a melodious air about it. Apabhraṁśa forms were gradually admitted into Prakrit compositions from about the early centuries of the Christian era; and it is not surprising that Kālidāsa introduced Apabhraṁśa songs in his *Vikramorvaśīya*. Every language has its favourite metres: Sanskrit has the *śloka*; Prakrit has the *gāthā*, and Apabhraṁśa the *dohā*, couplet. Like the large body of *gāthās* prior to Hāla's collection, there must have grown up in later centuries a floating mass of *dohās*, many of which are quoted by Hemacandra in his grammar. The Apabhraṁśa metres with their rhymes and *ghaṭṭā*, have such a fascinating ring about them that many authors went out of their way to use these metres in Prakrit and Sanskrit also.

One of the early Apabhraṁśa poets is Caturmukha, but none of his works has come down to us. He has been praised for his choice of words; and perhaps he was responsible for popularizing the *paddhaḍiyā* metre. Of Svayambhū (eighth century) we know a good deal through his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū who brought to completion his father's *Paümacariu* and *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* which are huge epics covering the subject-matter of the Rāma legend and the Bhārata episode. As a rule, Apabhraṁśa poets give us a good picture of their own selves in addition to some biographical details. Thus Svayambhū tells us that he was very slender in body and had irregular teeth. His son's remarks about him may be translated thus: The mad elephant of Apabhraṁśa wanders about at will only so long as the restraining hook of Svayambhū's grammar does not fall on him. Victorious be the lion Svayambhū with his sharp teeth of good words, terrible to look at on account of his nails in the form of metres and figures of speech, and with a full mane in the form of grammar. Tribhuvana was a capable son of a worthy father; they remind us of Bāṇa and his son.

The most important Apabhraṁśa poet, and one about whom we know a great deal, is Puṣpadanta who lived in the middle of the tenth century. He was the son of Keśava and Mughādevī, who, before they accepted Jainism, were devotees of Śiva. Life had been cruel to Keśava, and it was almost unbearable to Puṣpadanta, a man of outstanding talent and touchy self-respect. He wandered forlorn and came to Mānyakheṭa where Kṛṣṇarāja III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was ruling; and there, once more, under the patronage of the minister, Bharata, his poetic genius fruitfully flowered. His three works *Mahāpurāṇu*, *Jasaharacariu*, and *Nāyakumāracariu* have been well edited. All that was best in Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry has been well expressed by him in Apabhraṁśa. His language is brisk and fluid; his metres are varied and descriptions elegant. With the flow of sentiments well regulated, the poetic embellishments are remarkable.

Another poet who describes himself is Kanakāmara. He lived sometime in the eleventh century, but his place and date are still to be finally settled. His *Karakaṇḍacariu*, written in ten cantos in a comparatively lucid style, gives the life of Karakaṇḍa, one of the *pratyeka-buddhas*. His reference to the Tera caves is of great interest.

Dhanapāla of the Dhakkaḍa family (*c.* tenth century) wrote *Bhavissayatta-kahā* in which the hero is depicted as suffering great miseries but finally achieving his aim through his outstanding virtues. The *Neminähacariu* (*c.* 1159) of Haribhadra contains beautiful descriptions; and it is composed in *raḍḍā* metre. The *Kīrtilatā* by Vidyāpati (fifteenth century), though a late work, is of manifold interest. It is a specimen of the post-Apabhraṁśa language of eastern India; the subject-matter is historical. It is in both prose and verse, and presented in a conversational style.

A large body of Apabhraṁśa literature is still lying in manuscript form, and every year we come across new finds. Dhavala's *Harivaṁśa* (*c.* ninth century) is a lengthy text, and it gives a good deal of information about earlier authors. Hariṣeṇa's *Dharma-parīkṣā* (988) is earlier than Amitagati's Sanskrit work, and it records a still earlier work written by Jayarāma in *gāthās*. The *Kathā-koṣa* by Śrīcandra (around the end of the eleventh century) gives the stories referred to in the *gāthās* of *Ārādhanā* by Śivārya. Many Apabhraṁśa works which are still in manuscript form indicate that this literary Apabhraṁśa was being cultivated almost up to the close of the Mogul period. The linguistic material preserved in these works is of superlative importance in reconstructing the early history of Modern Indo-Aryan languages, especially Gujarati, Hindi, and Rajasthani.

CLASSICAL KĀVYA AND CAMPŪ

Since Prakrit literature grew side by side with Sanskrit literature, the

ornate and stylistic *kāvyas* and prose romances had a corresponding field in Prakrit. The *Setubandha* or *Dahamuhavaha* by Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty deals with the incident in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which the monkeys build a *setu* (bridge) across the ocean. The author is well equipped in metrics and poetics, and his poem possesses all the traits of a *mahākāvya*. He displays much skill in poetic description and metrical accomplishment. Despite its pompous style, the work as a whole has a poetic flavour flowing through its fine expression, charming imagery, attractive thought, and melodious alliteration. It is but natural that Bāṇa and Daṇḍin referred to this outstanding work with compliments.

Gaüḍavaho by Vākpatirāja, a poet at the court of King Yaśovarman (*c.* 733), celebrates the slaying of the Gauḍa king, and is thus built on a historical incident. The story element in the poem is, however, scanty and its structure rather loose. The major portion of the extant work is filled with highly ornate descriptions, full of imagination and learned allusions; the descriptions of the countryside are remarkably realistic. Vākpati invests every topic he touches with fresh life and beauty. Kālidāsa and Vākpati are two remarkable facets of Indian poetic genius: if one is unsurpassed in his *upamā* (simile), the other is unrivalled in his *utprekṣā* (hypothetical metaphor).

Haribhadra (eighth century), was an eminent logician and a famous author. He called himself *Yākinī-mahattara-sūnu*, and the word *viraha* occurs at the close of his works. To explain these appellations, a good many legends are associated with his personality. His *Samarāicca-kahā* is a Prakrit *campū* which delineates the inimical behaviour of two souls through nine births. He was a close student of human life and of people's behaviour under varying conditions. He was a master of artistic style in describing towns, lakes, jungles, and temples, and often interwoven in these descriptions are dogmatic teachings and didactic episodes with a religious flavour. At times his style is simple and conversational. Another Prakrit work of his is the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, a satire unique in Indian literature. Five rogues, four men and a woman narrate their personal experiences. The fantastic and absurd personal story of each one is confirmed by the others who bring forward parallel stories from the epics and the Purāṇas; thus the Purāṇic legends are satirized. This composition has a good literary form; its conception and construction are exemplary; and as a literary product it is far ahead of its time.

The *Kuvalayamālā* (779) by Uddyotana, a pupil of Haribhadra, resembles *Samarāicca-kahā* in its aim, but it uses Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa in addition to the normal Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī in which the whole work is composed. When the author passes from the high-flown Prakrit to conversational prose in Apabhraṁśa, one feels that he is imitating popular speech. A religio-didactic tone is apparent throughout the work, and the background of Jaina ideology

is not concealed. On the whole, however, it is a literary piece actuated by the same spirit which permeates the works of Daṇḍin and Bāṇa. The author was a learned *litterateur*, and his glowing references to earlier authors and works and to the Yavana king, Toramana, have documentary value for they supply much fresh material for the literary and political history of that period.

The *Līlāvatī* by Kutūhala, earlier than Bhoja, is a stylistic, romantic *kāvya* composed without divisions, like *Gaüḍavaho*. However, it contains more racy narration than the latter, and is less pedantic. It deals with the love story of King Śātavāhana and Līlāvatī, a princess from Siṁhaladvīpa, but the threads of the story are rather complicated. It was the author's own beloved who requested him to compose the poem, and he undertook to discharge this responsibility with modesty. Some of the scenes are attractively sketched, and the sentiments are presented with freshness and an attractive flavour. In all probability Hemacandra had knowledge of this poem. He used it for his grammar.

It was in ornamental Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī prose and verse (with a few passages in Apabhraṁśa) that Guṇacandra composed his *Mahāvīra-carita* (1082) which gives a traditional account of Mahāvīra's life, half the work being devoted to his earlier births. The language shows remarkable regularity of grammar, and is quite chaste, almost like classical Sanskrit by the model of which Guṇacandra's expressions and ideas were much influenced. It is a studied performance, a scholar's achievement, full of long compounds and poetic devices. But it is a charming *kāvya*, a dish for the learned.

Some of the poems described above indicate how the popular Prakrit could be dressed by learned artists, an experiment already started by Śūdraka and successfully continued by Pravarasena, Vākpati, Uddyotana, Rājaśekhara, and others. Hemacandra (1089-1172) was a dominant literary figure of medieval India. He not only made Jainism great in Gujarat by winning the kings into its fold, but also bestowed on Gujarat a greatness in literature. It was he who opened almost a new era in literature through his manifold contributions to different branches of learning, and these were vigorously cultivated almost up to modern times. Tradition says that he brought the goddess of learning from Kashmir to Gujarat. Later history fully bears out the truth of this remark, both factually and figuratively. Though, by his grammar and lexicon, he laid a sound foundation for Prakrit philology, he has not given us any independent *kāvya* in Prakrit. His *Kumārapāla-carita* deals with the life of Kumārapāla; its purpose, however, is neither historical nor poetical, but purely grammatical. As a concluding portion of his *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, it illustrates, as does *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, the rules of Prakrit grammar. Though his hands were thus tied, now and then the work reveals a poetic flash and a capable handling of language.

It is interesting to note that this stylistic Prakrit was cultivated in the extreme South as late as the eighteenth century; this was done, of course, through the study of the grammars of Vararuci and others. Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka (thirteenth century) wrote the *Siricimdhakavvaṁ*, which is in twelve cantos and deals with the life of Kṛṣṇa, to illustrate the rules of the Prakrit grammars of Vararuci and Trivikrama. The *Soricaritta* by Śrīkaṇṭha (fifteenth or seventeenth century) is a *yamaka kāvya*, the eight *mātrās* (beats) in two metrical feet having identical sound but different sense. By about the middle of the eighteenth century Rāma Pāṇivāda wrote two tiny poems, *Kaṁsavaho* and *Uṣāniruddha*, charming in conception and scholarly in execution; the first deals with the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa, and the second with the love and marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha. They belong actually to the closing period of Prakrit literature; but due to their poetic merits and stylistic flourish, they deserve to be ranked with medieval poems.

DOCTRINAL TREATISES

Jainism possesses a highly elaborate and technical Karma doctrine, and for the elucidation of this doctrine a good many works have been written in Prakrit. This subject-matter, it is said, was originally included in the lost *Pūrvas*, the remnants of which form the basis of the *sūtras* of the *Dhavalā*, *Jayadhavalā*, and *Mahādhavalā* commentaries. There are other works, more or less compiling the traditional matter, such as *Kamma-payaḍi* by Śivaśarman, *Pañcasaṅgraha* by Candrarṣi, and *Gommaṭasāra* by Nemicandra. Huge and learned commentaries in Sanskrit have been written on these works. The dry details of the doctrine have been worked on with the utmost scruple and scrutiny. The *Sāvayapaṇṇatti* by Haribhadra, written in some four hundred *gāthās*, is a succinct compendium of the Jaina code of morals with its metaphysical background.

Many legends are current about Siddhasena Divākara (*c.* sixth or seventh century) in whom we have a first-rate poet and an outstanding logician. His hymns in Sanskrit testify to his poetic genius. His *Sanmatitarka* in Prakrit is a brilliant treatise elucidating the Jaina epistemology and the doctrines of *nayas* (standpoints) and *anekāntavāda*. The *Dharma-saṅgrahaṇī* by Haribhadra is an exhaustive treatise on different aspects of Jaina dogmatics; while *Kattigeyāṇuppekkhā* by Kumāra deals mainly with the twelvefold reflection, but incidentally forms a good exposition of the fundamental Jaina dogmas. Devasena deals with various dogmatical topics of Jainism in his *Bhāvasaṅgraha*, *Ārādhanāsāra*, and *Tattvasāra*; and his *Darśanasāra* (933), which records the traditional account of the different *saṅghas*, is of some historical importance. There are also certain Apabhraṁśa texts dealing with mysticism worked out against the background of Jaina and Buddhistic dogmatics. Among these may be mentioned the *Paramappapayāsu* and *Yogasāra* by Joindu (*c.* sixth century) and the *Dohākośas* of Kānha and Saraha.

GRAMMARS

Though certain quotations indicate the existence of Prakrit grammars written in Prakrit, all that are available today are written in Sanskrit and modelled on Sanskrit grammars. Naturally, they inherit the merits and demerits of their models as a systematic analysis of language. They are of no use in understanding inscriptional Prakrits; and even for the Ardha-Māgadhī of the canon they afford very little aid. Most of them are but partial, even perfunctory, attempts.

The grammar written by Vararuci, which is subjected to various commentaries by Bhāmaha (*c.* 700) and others, and the one written by Canda, though used by subsequent authors, stand somewhat apart; while the remaining grammars fall into two clear-cut groups. The works of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Siṁharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, and others form one group; those of Puruṣottama, Rāmatarkavāgīśa, Mārkaṇḍeya, and others belong to the other. The two groups show differences in the number of dialects and in the details of their descriptions. It is only Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya who show close touch with earlier literary works; and in his treatment of Apabhraṁśa, Hemacandra has worthily discharged his responsibility as a grammarian. Thus most of these grammars fall short of our needs and standards; but, however imperfect, the treatises of Vararuci, Canda, Hemacandra, and Mārkaṇḍeya are of great value not only in the understanding of Prakrit language and literature, but also in the study of the entire range of Middle Indo-Aryan.

LEXICONS

Turning next to lexicography, *Pāiya-lacchī-nāma-mālā*, written by Dhanapāla in 972-73, presents a list of Prakrit synonymous words. It was written for his younger sister Sundarī. *Deśī-nāma-mālā* by Hemacandra has the specialized aim of giving *deśī* words, that is, those words which cannot be directly or indirectly traced to Sanskrit, together with quotations to illustrate their usage. He refers by name to more than a dozen of his predecessors in the field, but their works have not come down to us. This *Nāma-mālā* is of unique value to a linguist interested in Middle Indian and Modern Indian vocabulary.

WORKS ON POETICS AND METRICS

A work of poetics attributed to Hari is perhaps lost; but we have *Alaṅkāra-dappaṇa* by an unknown author. Prakrit has its special metre in the *gāthā*, but most of the classical writers have used the longer syllabic metres current in Sanskrit. The Apabhraṁśa works, however, disclose altogether new paths in metrics. Nanditāṁśa, in his *Gāthālakṣaṇa*, fully discusses the varieties of *gāthā*. In *Svayambhūchandas*, Svayambhū discusses various metres and also gives many quotations mentioning the names of their authors, who number more than

fifty. The *Vṛttajāti-samuccaya* is also an exhaustive treatise. Further, the *Kavidarpaṇa* and the *Chandaḥkośa* by Ratnaśekhara, and the *Prākṛta Paiṅgala* give abundant details regarding Prakrit metres. Some Sanskrit texts, like the *Vṛttaratnākara*, include Prakrit metres as well, but the *Chando'nuśāsana* by Hemacandra is of special value for Prakrit metres. Professor H. D. Velankar has provided quite a systematic exposition of Apabhraṁśa metres.

ASTRONOMICAL AND MEDICAL TEXTS

The *Jambuddīva-paṇṇatti-saṅgaho* by Paümaṇaṁdi deals with cosmological and astronomical subjects. The *Joṇī-pāhuḍa*, an old medico-tāntric text, has not come down to us, but its contents appear to have been included in the *Jagatsundarī-yoga-mālā*, with which two authors Hariṣeṇa and Yaśaḥkīrti (*c.* twelfth century) are associated. *Haramekhalā* (*c.* 830) by Mahuka is a medical treatise which covers a wide range of topics, a talisman for all living beings. The *Rittha-samuccaya* by Durgadeva (eleventh century) deals with omens and the like.

CONCLUSION

Judging from its abiding values, especially the thoughts it contains and the way in which they are expressed against a background of human experience and natural and social environments, Prakrit literature is many-sided and remarkable. It records the noble thoughts of one of the greatest kings of the world; and it embodies the ideology of a religion which is realistic in philosophy, ascetic in morals, and humanitarian in outlook. It presents a valuable, though complicated, picture of linguistic and metrical evolution in the last two thousand years or more.

The society depicted in Prakrit literature is more popular than aristocratic. Eminent monks and outstanding poets have earnestly contributed to its treasures. Some of these authors are quite frank about personal details, and the chronological data afforded by them have special significance in reconstructing the history of Indian literature. Indian linguistics would certainly be poorer in the absence of Prakrit literature, for on its lap have grown the modern Indian languages. Prakrit literature goes a long way in helping to add important and significant details to our picture of Indian culture and civilization.

12

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

GAUTAMA Buddha's speeches, sayings, discourses, and conversations were handed down orally through a succession of teachers (*ācariyaparamparā*). Proper attention was not, therefore, paid for preserving Buddha's actual words. Recitation and memorization were then the means for the preservation of records. Such practice had been in vogue in India since the earliest Vedic period. From the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*[1] we learn that Buddha anticipated that his sayings might be misrepresented and so he advised his disciples to verify his words in four ways (*cattāro mahāpadesā*). His prophesy came true after his *mahāparinibbāna*. Subhadda who entered the Order (Saṅgha) in his old age felt happy at Buddha's *mahāparinibbāna*. He thought that there would be none to take the monks to task for non-observance of the Vinaya rules thenceforth. They would be able to do what they would like.[2] The elder monks (*theras*) were highly annoyed at this and felt it necessary to avoid the dangerous effects of his disparaging utterances in the Saṅgha. They convened a Council headed by Mahākassapa Thera to settle all controversial points in regard to Subhadda's sayings. This Council was known as the First Buddhist Council in the history of Buddhism. It was at this Council that a full collection of Buddha's teachings was made and that the Dhamma (Doctrine) and Vinaya (Discipline) were settled. The Abhidhamma had no separate existence then. It formed part of the Dhamma. In other words, Dhamma and Vinaya were the two principal divisions under which the traditional teachings of Buddha were collected. A hundred years later another Council called the Second Buddhist Council was held in which the rules of morality were discussed. The violation of the Vinaya rules enjoined on the monks was the subject of discussion at this Council. We, however, find no mention of the Abhidhamma as having been discussed at this Council. There was another Buddhist Council known as the Third Buddhist Council held more than two hundred years after the *mahāparinibbāna* of Buddha. The texts of the Sutta and Vinaya were rehearsed and settled and the Abhidhamma was recognized as a part of the canon. Dhamma and Vinaya which were then two divisions of the Buddhist scriptures were divided into three parts in the Council—Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma. Dhamma was thus divided into two parts—the Sutta Piṭaka and the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This Council

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, Nalanda Devanagari edition, pp 96-98.

[2] Cf. *Atha kho subhaddo buddha-pabbajito te bhikkhū etad-avoca: 'Alam, āvuso, mā socittha, mā paridevittha. Sumuttā mayaṁ ten mahāsamaṇena' Upaddutā ca homa: 'Idaṁ vo kappati, idam vo na kappatī'ti. Idāni pana mayaṁ yaṁ icchissāma taṁ karissāma, yaṁ na icchissāma taṁ na karissāmā'ti'—ibid*, p. 125.

thus witnessed the appearance of the whole of the Buddhist canonical literature in three divisions, viz. Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka.[3] This is technically called Tipiṭaka. It should be mentioned here that the term *piṭaka* literally means basket. But here it is used in the sense of tradition, i.e. 'a long line of teachers and pupils handing on, in these three sacred Piṭakas or Baskets, from ancient times down to today, the treasures of the Dhamma (of the Norm)'.[4]

The Buddhist literature, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, is preserved mainly in Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit, and Pure Sanskrit. The originals of some of these texts are lost. But fortunately they are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Buddhist texts were also rendered into the language of the countries to which Buddhism spread. Of all the languages, Pali is the earliest. In other words, Pali Tipiṭaka represents the earliest and most complete collection of the Buddhist literature.

PALI AND ITS ORIGIN

Pali means 'row' (*paṅkti*), 'text', 'sacred text' (*pāṭho iti pi pāli*), 'reading' (*ayaṁ pi pāṭho*), i.e. the text of the canon as distinct from the *aṭṭhakathā* (commentaries). *Pali* always signifies the text of the Buddhist scriptures. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* we find that 'only the text has been brought here not the commentaries'.[5] It also means that which preserves the import of words (*Saddattaṁ pāletīti pāli*).

Pali belongs to the early Middle Indo-Aryan period. Opinions as to its origin, however, differ among the Indologists, both oriental and occidental. According to some scholars, Pali was Māgadhī Prakrit or Māgadhī-bhāṣā which was held out to be the *mūlabhāṣā*, 'the primary speech of all men'.[6] Buddha spent most of his time in Magadha and preached his doctrine there in the dialect of that region. It is but natural that the early Buddhist scriptures were composed in Māgadhī in which Buddha himself spoke. According to others, Pali has a close relationship with Paiśācī Prakrit spoken at that time in the Vindhya region. Some scholars further hold that Pali was the language of Kaliṅga (South Orissa and East Telugu country) whence Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka). There are again others who think that Pali was an old form of Śaurasenī Prakrit as the phonetics and morphology of Pali are mostly identical with it.

It is said that Emperor Aśoka sent his son Mahinda to preach the Saddhamma

[3] This is the usual order of the Tipitaka We also sometimes come across alternation of this arrangement—Vinaya taking the place of Sutta. The Vinaya Piṭaka has been placed at the head of the canon by the Buddhists themselves See also M. Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. II, p 21.

[4] T. W. Rhys Davids, *The History and Literature of Buddhism* (Susil Gupta Ltd, Calcutta, 1952), p.37.

[5] *Pālimattam idānītam, n'atthi atthakathā idha—Mahāvamsa*, ch. XXXVII, v. 227.

[6] Cf. *Sā māgadhī mūlabhāsā, narā yāy'ādikappikā*
Brahmāno ca'ssutālāpā sambuddhā cāpi bhāsare. Kaccāyanavyākarana, Introduction.

(Buddhism) in Ceylon. Some scholars maintain that he carried with him the text of the Tipiṭaka, while according to others, he went to Ceylon after memorizing the whole of the Tipiṭaka. Through the patronage of the king, Buddhism was, however, well established there. The Tipiṭaka was committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya in the first century B.C. According to Ceylonese monks, this Tipiṭaka and the Tipiṭaka which was compiled in the Third Buddhist Council, however, was the one and the same. Some scholars do not subscribe to this view. They hold that this Tipiṭaka was not the same as that compiled in the Third Council—it is but a revised edition. The Tipiṭaka composed in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit was derived from the old Tipiṭaka which was written in Māgadhī. This view is also corroborated by the manuscript fragments of the Tripiṭaka composed in Buddhist Sanskrit discovered so far.

It is striking to note here that before the compilation of the Tipiṭaka, the Buddhist literature was divided into nine *aṅgas* or parts. This is technically known as *Navāṅga-satthusāsana.*[7] This ninefold division is not the ninefold classification of the literature. It points out but specimens of nine types of composition in the literature. For instance, they are extant in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya.* It is said that these diverse forms existed in the Buddhist literature even at the time of the compilation of the Buddhist scriptures.[8] Let us now turn to the Pali Tipiṭaka and give a brief survey of the texts constituting it.

THE VINAYA PITAKA

The Vinaya Piṭaka contains rules of discipline. It deals with the rules and regulations for the guidance of the Buddhist Saṅgha and precepts for the daily life of the *bhikkhus* (monks) and *bhikkhuṇīs* (nuns). These rules and regulations were promulgated by Buddha himself during the early period as the occasion arose. The Vinaya Piṭaka thus contains mainly moral instructions. It relates all that belongs to moral practices. *Śīla* (code of morality) is the principal subject-matter. The Buddhist tradition records that Vinaya is the life of Buddha's teachings. And as long as Vinaya lasts, his teachings also last.[9] It is the main gateway to *nibbāna.*[10] The Vinaya Piṭaka comprises the following texts: (*i*) the *Suttavibhaṅga,* (*ii*) the *Khandhakas,* and (*iii*) the *Parivāra* or the *Parivārapāṭha.*

(*i*) The *Suttavibhaṅga,* i.e. the explanation of the *suttas,* tells in a sort of historical introduction how, when, and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. The words of the rule are given in full, followed by a very ancient word-for-word commentary, which in its turn is succeeded by further

[7] These are: *Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākarana, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhutadhamma* and *Vedalla.*

[8] M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

[9] *Vinayo nāma buddhasāsanassā āyu, Vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṁ thitam hoti. Samantapāsādika*, p. 289.

[10] *Vinayo anuppādaparinibbānatthāya. Ibid.*

explanation and discussion on doubtful points. It comprises (*a*) *Mahāvibhaṅga* which has eight chapters dealing with eight classes of transgressions against discipline, and (*b*) *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*, a shorter work, a commentary on the code for the nuns. The *Mahāvibhaṅga* and the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* are also known as the *Pārājika* and *Pācittiya* respectively. They are also called *Ubhatovibhaṅga*.

It should be noted that *Pātimokkha*, the oldest text, which is included in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, is the nucleus of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It deals with the ecclesiastical offences requiring confession and expiation. In other words, it contains a set of rules to be observed by the members of the Saṅgha in their daily life. In the Buddhist texts, the life of a good monk is described as 'restrained by the restraints of the *Pātimokkha*'.[11] There are two codes—one for the *bhikkhus* called the *Bhikkhu-pātimokkha-sutta* and the other for the *bhikkhunīs* known as *Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha-sutta*. The former consists of eight sections containing 227 offences while the latter only seven sections comprising 311.

(*ii*) The *Khandhakas* contain various rules and regulations for the guidance of the Saṅgha and the entire code of conduct for the daily life of the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*. They give us a coherent picture of the life in the Saṅgha. They form a sort of continuation and supplement to the *Suttavibhaṅga*. They are divided into two parts—the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*.

(*a*) The *Mahāvagga* contains ten chapters (*khandhakas*) furnishing the story of the formation of the Saṅgha and the rules for admission into the Order, the observance of the *uposatha* ceremony, the mode of life during the rains, observance of the *pavāraṇa* and the *kaṭhina* ceremonies, food, clothing, seats, conveyances, medicaments, dress, and the like. It also furnishes us with many moral tales as also the everyday life of India. It further contains ample information on the social and urban life of the then India. In short, the *Mahāvagga* is replete with various kinds of invaluable materials for reconstructing the ancient history of India.

(*b*) The *Cullavagga* contains twelve *khandhakas*. It deals with the rules of conduct of the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* and with atonement and penances. It also deals with the dwellings, furniture, and lodgings as also the duties of monks and the exclusion from the *pātimokkha* ceremony. It furnishes us with an account of the formation of the *Bhikkhunī Saṅgha* (Order of nuns). It further gives us an account of the first two Councils held at Sattapaṇṇiguhā of Rājagaha and Vālukārāma of Vesāli.

(*iii*) The *Parivāra* or the *Parivārapāṭha* is the concluding text of the Vinaya Piṭaka and was composed much later than the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas*. It was probably composed in Ceylon, and not in India, by a monk named Dīpa. It is an appendix to the Vinaya and contains nineteen chapters. It is the only key which unlocks the subjects of the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khan-*

[11] *Pātimokkhasaṁvarasaṁvuta. Dīgha Nikāya*, II. 42; XIII. 42; XXVI. 28.

dhakas. Its first chapter gives us a list of *vinayadharas* (masters of discipline). The list is indeed invaluable in the history of the Buddhist Saṅghas of India and Ceylon.

THE SUTTA PITAKA

The Sutta Piṭaka is a collection of the doctrinal expositions, large and small. The *suttas* are usually in prose, occasionally interspersed with verses. They are the most important literary products of the Buddhist literature. The Sutta Piṭaka is thus the primary source for the doctrine of Buddha and his earliest disciples. It consists of five *Nikāyas* or collections, viz. *Dīgha Nikāya*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, and *Khuddaka Nikāya* which, however, comprises fifteen independent treatises. Here is given a brief survey of the *Nikāyas*:

(*i*) The *Dīgha Nikāya* is the collection of longer discourses on various points of Buddhism. It contains thirty-four *suttas*. These *suttas* are mostly longer in extent than the general *suttas*. There is no connection between the *suttas*. Each is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent one. The *Dīgha Nikāya* is divided into three parts—*Sīlakkhandha*, *Mahāvagga* and *Pāṭikavagga*. They are diverse in contents and character, and contain earlier and later strata of tradition. The first part contains the earliest stratum while the third the later one. The second which comprises the largest *suttas* has grown in bulk due to interpolations. The *Brahmajāla-Sutta* provides us with sixty-two doctrinal and philosophical speculations current in the then India. The *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*, which is by far the best *sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, contains a realistic account of Buddha's last days, peregrination and his last speeches and sayings. It throws much light on the extent of the spread of Buddhism as also on our geographical knowledge of ancient India. The *Mahāgovinda-Sutta* is particularly important from the points of view of the ancient Indian history and geography. This *sutta* gives us a conception of the shape of India. It records that India is broad on the north and on the south it has the shape of the front part of a cart.[12] The *Janavasabha*, *Mahāsamaya*, *Sakkapañha*, and other *suttas* mention different types of deities which are of special importance from the point of view of the history of religion. A comparative study of these deities with those mentioned in the Vedic literature and Purāṇas is a necessity for a proper understanding of these mythological deities. Lastly, the *Siṅgālovāda-Suttanta* 'is an exposition of the whole domestic and social duty of a layman, according to the Buddhist point of view, and, as such, it is famous under the name of *Gihivinaya*'.[13] Some scholars believe that it is the basis of Aśoka's *dhamma*.

[12] *Imaṁ mahāpaṭhaviṁ uttarena āyataṁ dakkhinena sakatamukhaṁ*—*Dīgha Nikāya*, II, ed. by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, Nalanda Devanagari Pali Series, 1958, p. 175; Pali Text Society, II, p. 235.

[13] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Indian Text Series, London, 1938, Vol. II, p. 1,134.

(*ii*) The *Majjhima Nikāya* is a collection of one hundred and fifty-two *suttas* of medium length. Most of these *suttas* are devoted to the refutation of the views of others (*paravādamathana*). All the *suttas* have been arranged in fifteen *vaggas*. The *vaggas* have roughly been classified according to subjects. Some of them have, however, been named from the first *sutta*. Like the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Majjhima Nikāya* also throws ample light on the *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *paññā*, the three corner-stones of Buddhism. The most famous is the *Mūlapariyāya-Sutta* which strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddha (*sabbadhammamūlapariyāya*). A few *suttas*, however, enumerate different kinds of offences—burglary, robbery, adultery and the like and the consequent punishment thereof. It thus reveals the penal laws of the country. The *Papañcasūdanī*, a commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*, tells us that the *Majjhima Nikāya* was also called the *Majjhimasaṅgīti*.

(*iii*) The *Saṁyutta Nikāya* contains fifty-six groups (*saṁyutta*). They are divided into five *vaggas*. The *vaggas* have usually been named after the name of the first in the group, or the name of the interlocutor. The *Māra* and the *Bhikkhuṇī saṁyuttas* which are ballads in mixed prose and verse, are of great poetical merit. They are regarded as sacred ballads, counterparts of the *ākhyānas* with which the epic poetry of India began. The *suttas* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* have been arranged according to three principles:

(*a*) those that refer to the Buddhist doctrines, (*b*) those that refer to gods, men and demons, and (*c*) those that refer to prominent persons. In short, the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* contains subjects dealing with ethical, moral and philosophical matters.

(*iv*) The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is a collection of *suttas*[14] arranged serially in an ascending order. The *suttas* are arranged in eleven groups. Each group is called a *nipāta* (section). There are eleven *nipātas* in it. Some of the *suttas* deal with women. There are others which acquaint us with the methods of punishment and the criminal law of the then India. This *Nikāya* contains a variety of subjects which may be regarded as its distinguishing features. It, however, gives much emphasis on the doctrinal points. Lastly, as Winternitz observes, 'the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is only a forerunner of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, for the text of which it probably formed the foundation'.[15]

(*v*) The *Khuddaka Nikāya*, as already observed, consists of fifteen independent treatises. It is also called 'collection of miscellanies'. There is not yet a consensus of opinion among the scholars as to its canonical dignity. Some scholars believe that the texts constituting the *Khuddaka Nikāya* were composed a few years after the appearance of the four *Nikāyas*. Judged from the standpoints of the subject-

[14] According to Winternitz the *suttas* are at least 2,308 in number, *op cit*, pp. 60 ff, while G. P. Malalasekera points out that the total number is 9,557.—*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 21.

[15] *Loc. cit*, p. 66.

matter, there is no resemblance among the different texts—they are all independent texts. Most of the texts are composed in verse. They are of great value for the *kāvya* literature. Let us give here a brief survey of the texts from which a fair idea about them can be formed:

The *Khuddakapāṭha* consists of nine short texts. These are but a collection made out of the canon. According to the *Paramatthajotikā*, a commentary on the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the book derives its name from the first four texts, which are shorter in comparison with the remaining five. A young novice is enjoined to commit them to memory when he joins the Saṅgha. These *suttas* are also used as a kind of *mantra* prayers in the Buddhist cult. It is to be mentioned here that seven of these texts are used at the Buddhist *paritta* ceremony which is held on possible occasions even at the present day in the Buddhist world, particularly in Ceylon. The beautiful *Maṅgala* and *Metta suttas* illustrate how lofty ideals may be preached in the simplest words. In short, the *Khuddakapāṭha* is a manual of the Buddhist life.

The *Dhammapada* is an anthology containing four hundred and twenty-three verses divided into twenty-six *vaggas* (chapters). The *gāthās* (stanzas) of the *Dhammapada* have been collected together from various treatises of the Pali canon. The Buddhists believe that they are the very words of the Great Teacher. They were recited on various occasions and purposes. The title of the text indicates its subject-matter. It is a collection of religious sayings. The moral teachings embedded in the *Dhammapada* are to be found in the texts such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gītā*, etc. The *Dhammapada* is popular in Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist countries as it contains ideas of universal appeal besides being a manual of Buddhist teachings. It has been translated into various languages in Asia and Europe. It is the most popular book in the whole of the Tipiṭaka. It contains ethical teachings which are acceptable to all human beings—monks, novices and householders. The main objective of the *Dhammapada* is to impart moral teachings to the common man. The *Dhammapada* is now extant in Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. There is, further, a Chinese translation of the text available to us now.

The *Udāna* is a collection of eighty stories, in eight *vaggas*, comprising solemn utterances of Buddha on special occasions. The *Udāna* is mostly in verse and hardly in prose. Each *Udāna* is accompanied with a prose account of the circumstances in which it was spoken. Most of the *Udānas* throw much light on the Buddhist ideal of life and *nibbāna*, the perfect state of bliss.

The *Itivuttaka* is a book of quotations of the authentic sayings of Buddha in prose and verse. It contains one hundred and twelve short *suttas* divided into four *nipātas*. Each of the *suttas* begins with the words—'This has been said by the Blessed One—thus have I heard'[16] and closes with 'This meaning

[16] *Vuttaṁ h'etaṁ bhagavatā vuttaṁ arahatā ti me sutaṁ.*

was told by the Blessed One—thus have I heard'. It contains mostly the ethical teachings of Buddha on a wide range of subjects. It is probable that 'the *Itivuttaka* was compiled as a result of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha, considered in a certain light and made for a specific purpose'.[17]

The *Suttanipāta* is a collection of seventy *suttas* composed in verse. They are divided into five *vaggas*. The *Suttanipāta* is second only to the *Dhammapada* in its noble ideals and its pleasant language. It refers to the Brāhmaṇical ideas which are akin to those of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Its study is a necessity for a proper understanding of the ethical teachings of Buddha. It throws much light on the social, economic and religious conditions of India during the time of Buddha. It contains the earliest phases of Buddhist poetry and its language and subject-matter point to the beginning of Buddhism.

The *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu* are two short treatises which are believed to belong to the latest stratum of literature collected in the Pali canon. The *Vimānavatthu* contains eighty-five stories in verse, which are divided into seven *vaggas*. It gives us a graphic description of the various celestial abodes enjoyed by the different *devas* (gods) as reward for some meritorious acts performed in their previous lives. The *Petavatthu* contains fifty-one stories in verse, which are divided into four *vaggas*. It deals with stories of *petas* (ghosts) who are born in the *peta* world (hell) owing to their various misdeeds. The main objective of these two texts is to preach the profound doctrine of Karma. Rhys Davids writes, 'the whole set of beliefs exemplified in these books (*Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu*) is historically interesting as being in all probability the source of a good deal of mediaeval Christian belief in heaven and hell'.[18]

The *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* are the two collections of poems ascribed to the *theras* and the *therīs* respectively. The *Theragāthā* contains one thousand three hundred and sixty *gāthās* attributed to two hundred sixty-four distinguished monks, while the *Therīgāthā* bears five hundred and twenty-two *gāthās* ascribed to seventy-three eminent nuns. On the first reading of the *gāthās*, one is inclined to believe that these were composed either by the *theras* or the *therīs*. This supposition cannot hold good on a careful scrutiny of the verses. We find sometimes in a single verse the utterances of more than one monk or one nun. There is no doubt that some of the *gāthās* were the composition of either the *theras* or the *therīs*. Some *gāthās* point to the poetic excellence and religious sentiments of the monks and nuns. The main purpose of these two texts is to expound the subtle points of the Buddhist philosophy of life, the principal characteristics as well as the fundamentals of Buddhism. Both of them are of considerable value from the point of view of the *kāvya* literature. The pictures of real life are far more numerous in the *Therīgāthā* than

[17] G. P. Malalasekera, *op cit*, Vol. I, p. 306.
[18] *Op cit.*, p. 54.

in the *Theragāthā*. They furnish us with the information regarding the social conditions, especially the social position of women in ancient India. These two texts may be regarded as 'the best productions of Indian lyric poetry, from the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru'.[19]

The *Jātaka* contains the tales of the previous existences of Buddha. The word *jātaka* (derived from *jan*) means birth, but it is employed in a technical sense in Buddhism. It means the previous existences of Buddha. Thus the *jātakas* are briefly the 'stories of former births (of Buddha)' or 'Bodhisatta stories'. According to the traditional accounts, there are five hundred and fifty *jātaka* stories which describe Buddha's past career. Most of the *jātakas* are composed in prose and verse. Some scholars believe that the original *jātakas* contained the *gāthās* only and a commentary on them containing the tales was added later on. The main objective of the *Jātaka* is to inspire in the minds of the people, a faith in Buddhism and thus popularize the religion. The *jātakas* are of immense value from the point of view of literature and have inspired Buddhist art, from the caves of Ajantā to frescoes of the present day. The *jātakas* throw considerable light on the economic and religious life, and social customs during Buddha's time. The *jātakas* are thus replete with various kinds of information which help us greatly in rewriting the history of ancient India.

The *Niddesa* is a commentarial work ascribed to Sāriputta. It contains comments on the thirty-two *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyanavaggas* of the *Suttanipāta*. It is divided into two parts—the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa*. The *Niddesa* is the oldest of the Pali commentaries and that is why it was included in the canon. It gives us a fair idea of how the sacred texts were explained in ancient days. Many important technical terms have also been explained herein. It provides us with a long list of synonyms to interpret a word. It seems that it laid the foundation for dictionaries in later times.

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* contains a systematic exposition of various topics in the form of questions and answers after the manner of the Abhidhamma treatises. It has been included into the Sutta Piṭaka owing to its form being that of the *suttas* and further the traditional opening '*evaṁ me sutaṁ*' (thus have I heard) and the address 'oh monk' are often to be found. It consists of three *vaggas*. The knotty problems of Buddhism have been discussed in these *vaggas*. The first *vagga* refers to *jñāna* (knowledge), *sati* (recollection), *kamma* (action) and the like, the second to *cattāri ariyasaccāni* (fourfold noble truth), *mettā* (friendliness) and the third to *cariyā* (conduct), *pāṭihāriya* (miracle) and the like.

The *Apadāna* contains stories in verse which describe the pious deeds of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Unlike the *Jātaka*, the *Apadāna* contains noble deeds of not only Gautama Buddha and *pacceka-buddhas* but also other distinguished

[19] Cf. *HIL*, Vol II, p. 100.

monks and nuns. The major portion of the *Apadāna* is the *Thera-apadāna* followed by the *Therī-apadāna*. It contains biographies of five hundred and fifty monks and forty nuns, all mentioned as having lived in Buddha's time. There are besides two other introductory chapters, the *Buddha-apadāna* and the *Pacceka-buddha-apadāna*, dealing with Buddhas and the *pacceka-buddhas* respectively. It is regarded as one of the latest books of the canon.

The *Buddhavaṁsa* gives us in verse an account of the twenty-four previous Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha during the last twelve ages of the world (*kalpas*). It contains twenty-six chapters. It narrates how all other Buddhas set 'the wheel of the Religion' in motion. The last chapter provides us with a list of Buddhas down to Metteyya, the successor of Gautama Buddha, along with an account of the distribution of Buddha's relics.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is a collection of thirty-five stories in verse from the *Jātaka*. It is a work of the post-Aśokan period. It narrates how the Bodhisatta attained perfection in the *pāramitās* in his various previous existences. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* refers to seven *pāramitās* only instead of ten *pāramitās* as mentioned in the Buddhist texts.

ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA

The Abhidhamma Piṭaka is the third division of the Tipiṭaka. According to the Pali tradition,[20] it is said that Buddha first preached the Abhidhamma to the *tāvatiṁsa* gods, while living among them on the Paṇḍukambala rock at the foot of the Paricchattaka tree in the *tāvatiṁsa* heaven during his visit to his mother there. Subsequently, he preached it to Sāriputta who used to meet Buddha when he came down to the Mānasasarovara for meals. Then Sāriputta handed it down to Bhaddaji and through a succession of disciples it reached Revata and others, and took its final form in the Third Council held during the reign of King Aśoka. The Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas, however, maintain that Buddha delivered sermons to different persons at different places, and at different times. They were later on collected by the Arhats and the Śrāvakas and were worked into Abhidhamma treatises by them.[21] In the *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* by the eminent commentator Buddhaghoṣa as also in Asaṅga's *Sūtrālaṅkāra* is given a lucid explanation of the term *abhidhamma*. 'As far as the contents of the Abhidhamma are concerned', writes Prof. Malalasekera, 'they do not form a systematic philosophy, but are a special treatment of the Dhamma as found in the Sutta Piṭaka. Most of the matter is psychological and logical; the fundamental doctrines mentioned or

[20] *Atthasālinī*, pp. 28-32, *Sammohavinodinī*, p. 1, *Manorathapūranī*, I, 77 and also Oldenberg's Introduction to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, p. XXXIV.

[21] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, Bibliotheca Buddhica*, p. 7.

discussed are those already propounded in the *suttas* and therefore, taken for granted'.[22]

The Abhidhamma Piṭaka consists of seven books, usually known as the *Sattapakaraṇas*, which are *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (the title of the text indicates its subject-matter) literally means the enumeration of the Dhamma, i.e. the psychical conditions and phenomena belonging both to *laukika* (mundane) and *lokottara* (supramundane) realms. All phenomena belonging to the internal and external worlds have been classified and examined carefully. They are *citta* (consciousness), *cetasika* (mental properties), *rūpa* (material qualities), and *nibbāna* (the highest bliss). The work contains three principal divisions in which a minute and critical analysis as also divisions of these four ultimate categories are given. It is a learned work and has been held in great esteem in Ceylon.

The *Vibhaṅga* deals generally with the different categories and formulae given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. Different methods of treatment have, however, been employed therein. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* analyses the psychical conditions and phenomena while the *Vibhaṅga* synthesizes them. Thus the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* lays much emphasis on their analysis while the *Vibhaṅga* on their synthesis. The book is divided into eighteen chapters. Each of these chapters is called a *vibhaṅga* and contains three parts which are *Suttantabhājanīya*, *Abhidhammabhājanīya*, and *Paññāpucchaka*. The first three chapters of the *Vibhaṅga* serve as supplementary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*.

The *Kathāvatthu* is the only work of the Tipiṭaka ascribed to a definite author. It was composed by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, President of the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputta under the patronage of King Aśoka. It comprises twenty-three chapters containing discussion and refutation of the heretical views of various sects. It is important from the point of view of the history of Buddhism as it throws sufficient light on the development of Buddhist doctrine of the ages after Buddha.

The *Puggalapaññatti* is a short work which differs very much, both in language and subject-matter, from other books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It deals with the nature of the personality according to the stages along the spiritual path. The *sammāsambuddha*, *pacceka-buddha* and *ariyapuggala* have been described herein. The main purpose of this text is to examine the various types of individuals and not the study of the various *dhammas*. It is significant to note that the *Puggalapaññatti*, one of the earliest parts of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, is nothing but a collection of portions selected from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

The *Dhātukathā* is a discussion on the mental elements and their relations to other categories. The *Khandhavibhaṅga*, the *Dhātuvibhaṅga* and the *Āyatana-*

[22] *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 138.

vibhaṅga—the three chapters of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* form the foundation of the *Dhātukathā*. There are fourteen chapters in this book. All these chapters discuss *khandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* from different points of view in the form of questions and answers. Some scholars thus hold that the *Dhātukathā* should have been named the *Khandha-āyatana-dhātukathā* as it contains discussion mainly with reference to these subjects.

The *Yamaka* is a book on psychological subjects and their analysis is arranged as pairs of questions. It is so called because of its method of treatment. Throughout the work all the questions are presented and answered in two ways. It contains ten chapters. Each of the chapters is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent one.

The *Paṭṭhāna* is the most notable and voluminous book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It is devoted to the discussion on causation and mutual relationship of phenomena. It is also called the *Mahāpakaraṇa*. The *Paṭṭhāna* is nothing but a detailed exposition of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*. The twelve links of the *paṭicca-samuppāda* have been explained very lucidly in the *Paṭṭhāna* in the form of twenty-four *paccayas*.

POST-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

Apart from the canonical literature in Pali, there are also a large number of post-canonical Pali works. Most of them are the works of the monks of Ceylon. They comprise mostly *ṭīkās* and *ṭippanīs*, i.e. exegetical literature and grammatical treatises. Pali texts, especially the *ṭīkā*, *dīpanī*, *madhu*, *gandhi*, i.e. the commentarial literature, were composed also in Burma later on. For the convenience of our treatment we propose to classify them into the extra-canonical works first, next the commentaries, then the chronicles, manuals, poetical works, grammars, and works on rhetoric and metrics, and lastly, the lexicons.

(*i*) Extra-canonical works: Let us take up the works composed in between the closing of the Pali canon and the writing of the Pali commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla. The works belonging to this period may rightly be called the extra-canonical works. Among them the *Milindapañha*, the *Netti-pakaraṇa*, the *Peṭakopadesa* deserve our special attention as they originated in India.

The *Milindapañha* is the oldest and most famous work of the non-canonical Pali literature. The original text was not composed in Pali. It was composed in northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit. The original text is lost, and the present work is a Pali translation of the original made in Ceylon. It contains a learned dialogue between King Milinda and venerable monk Nāgasena on a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism. The present work contains seven chapters. Some scholars believe that it contains three chapters only. Chapters IV-VII were interpolated later on. It is of im-

mense value from the points of view of the Buddhist literature and philosophy. It occupies a unique position in the post-canonical Pali literature.

The *Netti-pakaraṇa* is contemporaneous with the *Milindapañha*. It is ascribed to Mahākaccāna, a great disciple of Buddha. It is a work on the textual and exegetical methodology. It is the earliest text which gives us a connected treatment of Buddha's teachings. It is the text which refers first to the science of logic. Dhammapāla wrote a commentary on it in the fifth century A.D.

The *Peṭakopadesa* is another treatise contemporaneous with the *Milindapañha*. It is also composed by Mahākaccāna. It is a continuation of the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. It is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject-matter taught in the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. It has quoted three chapters *verbatim* from the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. It contains teachings embedded in the Piṭaka texts. In some places we find quotations from the Tipiṭaka. It also throws much light on the points not clearly explained in the *Netti-pakaraṇa*.

(*ii*) Commentaries: The commentaries have made Buddha's abstruse teachings intelligible to the common people, thereby making them popular. Among the Pali commentators the three most illustrious names stand out—Buddhadatta, Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla. Of them Buddhaghoṣa was the most celebrated. Buddhadatta wrote a number of commentaries on the Vinaya and Abhidhamma treatises. Of them *Vinayavinicchaya*, *Uttaravinicchaya*, *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga* are the most important. The *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* are the two commentaries on the Vinaya Piṭaka. They contain rules of discipline for the monks and the nuns of the Saṅgha. The *Uttaravinicchaya* is a supplement to the *Vinayavinicchaya*. The *Abhidhammāvatāra* contains twenty-four chapters. It is composed in verse and prose. It deals with *citta*, *cetasika*, *ārammaṇa* (support), *vipāka-citta* (resultant consciousness), *rūpa*, *nibbāna*, and the like. The principal objective of this text is to analyse the *dhammas* contained in the Abhidhamma. It forms an introduction to the study of the Abhidhamma, and stands out foremost among Buddhadatta's works. The *Rūpārūpavibhāga* is composed in verse. *Rūpa*, *citta*, *cetasika*, and the like form the subject-matter of this treatise. It deals mainly with *nāma* and *rūpa*.

Buddhaghoṣa, whose name stands out pre-eminent as one of the greatest commentators and exegetists, wrote a number of commentaries on the texts of the Tipiṭaka. Apart from his commentaries, he wrote two other works, the *Ñāṇodaya*[23] and the *Visuddhimagga*. Here is given a brief survey of some of his works:

The *Visuddhimagga* is Buddhaghoṣa's first work which was composed in Ceylon. It contains something of almost everything of the early Buddhist literature. It consists of twenty-three chapters. Buddhaghoṣa composed this monu-

[23] It has not come down to us.

mental work in order to explain clearly a *gāthā*.[24] It is a digest of the whole of the Tipiṭaka texts. It is indeed an encyclopaedia of Buddha's teachings.

The *Samantapāsādikā* is a commentary on the five treatises of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It was written on the basis of the *Mahāpaccarī* and *Kurundī aṭṭhakathās* at the request of Buddhasiri. The valuable Vinaya materials apart, it discusses the reason for holding the Buddhist Council, selection of members for the Council and the place of the Council. It is rich in historical and geographical informations.

The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* is a commentary on the *Pātimokkha* of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Apart from commenting on the rules of the *Pātimokkha*, it throws much light on the later development of the Buddhist monastic life. It is remarkable for the restraint and matured judgment that characterize Buddhaghoṣa's style.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is a commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It furnishes us with valuable information on the social, political, philosophical, and religious history of India during the time of Buddha. It also gives us interesting geographical information.

There are, besides, other famous commentaries like the *Papañcasūdanī* (commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*), the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (commentary on the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*), the *Manorathapūraṇī* (commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*) and the like composed by Buddhaghoṣa. His famous *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is very useful to students of Buddhism. It also contains some valuable historical and geographical information.

Lastly, we come to Dhammapāla and his works. He wrote a commentary known as the *Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Thera-Therīgāthās*, *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Itivuttaka* and *Udāna* included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. He also wrote a commentary called the *Paramatthamañjūsā* on Buddhaghoṣa's *Visuddhimagga*. We are told that he also composed a commentary on the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. Dhammapāla's commentaries throw much light on the religious condition of South India and Ceylon.

It should be mentioned here that other *aṭṭhakathās* (commentaries) and expository works were also written before the composition of the well-known commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla. Such commentaries have been referred to by Buddhaghoṣa in his different commentaries. The *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, for instance, is one such commentary which gives in its introductory chapter called the *Nidānakathā*, the life story of Buddha. There is no connected biographical sketch of the life of Buddha in Pali literature until we come to the *Nidānakathā* which is regarded as the most informative in this regard.

[24] *Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño*
cittaṁ paññaṁ ca bhāvayaṁ;
Ātāpi nipako bhikkhu
so imaṁ vijaṭaye jaṭaṁ. *Visuddhimagga, Nidānādikathā.*

It contains a chronological biography of Gautama Buddha to a certain extent. Its authorship is not known.

(*iii*) Chronicles: Here is given a brief survey of a few of the important Pali chronicles. The *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* are the two great Pali chronicles of Ceylon. They were composed on the basis of the Pali *aṭṭhakathās*. The author of the *Dīpavaṁsa* is not known; Mahānāma, who lived towards the later part of the fifth century A.D., was the author of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The two works bear close resemblance in respect of subject-matter and composition. We find hardly any difference even in their language and style. The two works give us the life-history of Gautama Buddha. They trace the genealogy of the old royal families of India and Ceylon as also give us a brief account of the first three Buddhist Councils. They also relate the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda and Saṅghamittā. The works are of great value for a comprehensive account of the spread of Buddhism not only in Ceylon but in India too.

The *Mahābodhivaṁsa* or the *Bodhivaṁsa* was composed by monk Upatissa at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. It provides us with an account of the attainment of enlightenment of Gautama Buddha, his *mahāparinibbāna* and first three Buddhist Councils. It also furnishes us with the history of the coming of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon. It is written mostly in prose.

The *Dāṭhāvaṁsa* or the *Dantadhātuvaṁsa* was written by the distinguished monk, Dhammakitti, who was well versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhi, and *vyākaraṇa* (grammar). It contains five chapters. It is written not in pure Pali but in Sanskritized Pali. It gives us an account of the tooth-relic of Buddha brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, prince of Kaliṅga. From the point of view of the history of Buddhist literature it is indeed an important contribution to Pali literature. The work further shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.

The *Thūpavaṁsa* was written by Vācissara in the thirteenth century A.D. It exists in both the Sinhalese and Pali languages. The work may conveniently be divided into three principal chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the previous existences of Buddha and the *thūpas* (topes) erected over his relics. The second chapter provides us with the life of Buddha from his birth to his attainment of the *mahāparinibbāna* as also the distribution of his relics. The third chapter gives us a later account of the relics.

The *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravaṁsa* is a history of the monastery of Attanagalla. It contains eleven chapters and is composed in simple Pali. The first eight chapters give us an account of King Siri Saṅghabodhi and the remaining three chapters describe the various types of noble edifices erected on his last residence. The *Chakesadhātuvaṁsa* was written by a monk of Burma. Its language is very simple. It gives us an account of the *thūpas* erected over the hair-relic of Buddha.

The *Gandhavaṁsa* was also written in Burma by a monk named Nandapaññā. It contains five chapters written mostly in prose. It provides us with the history of the Pali canon and further gives us an account of more modern Pali works written in Burma and Ceylon. In short, it is a brief and interesting outline of the history of Pali books. It is thus of immense value from the point of view of the history of Pali literature.

The *Jinakālamālī* was written by Ratanapaññā Thera in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. It contains six chapters. It is an independent chronicle for the study of the religious history of northern Siam (Thailand). It has its importance also in the history of Buddhism in South-East Asia. It further discusses the story of Buddhism in India, the introduction and development of Buddhism in Ceylon as also the spread of Sīhala Buddhism and Sīhala Saṅgha in different regions of Siam.

The *Cāmadevīvaṁsa* is another important chronicle for the study of Siamese (Thai) Buddhism written by the Bodhiraṁsi. It is written in prose and verse and divided into fourteen sections. It describes Buddha's visit to northern Siam, the story of the foundation of the city of Haripuñja, Cāmadevī's accession to the throne, the establishment of Buddhism and reigns of several kings after Cāmadevī.

The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* was written by Dhammakitti, a monk of Ayodhyā, and probably belonged to the fourteenth century A.D. It contains nine chapters in prose and poetry. It gives an account of the missionaries to various places for the establishment of Saddhamma. It also refers to Buddha's preaching at Campaka (*Campakanagaravāsinām*).

The *Sandesakathā* was written mainly in prose. It refers to the composition of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* by Thera Anuruddha, the composition of a commentary known as the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvaṇi* by Thera Sumaṅgalasāmi and the like. Many kingdoms such as Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Rāmañña, Jayavaḍḍhana, Ayuddhāya, Sīvi, Cīna, etc. have also been mentioned herein.

The *Buddhaghosuppatti* deals with Buddhaghoṣa's life and career. It gives us an account of his childhood, his admission to monkhood, his voyage to Ceylon, his career as a translator, and his passing away. It is more a romance than a historical chronicle.

The *Sāsanavaṁsa* was written by the distinguished monk, Paññāsāmi of Burma, towards the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. It relates mainly the history of the spread of Buddhism in Burma. The propagation of Buddhism in other countries have incidentally been discussed herein. It throws much light on the relation of the State and the Saṅgha in Burma.

(*iv*) Manuals: The manuals present their subject-matter systematically in a terse and concise form. The *Saccasaṅkhepa* was written by Culla Dhammapāla. It is a short treatise containing five chapters on Abhidhamma materials.

It deals with the *rūpa, vedanā* (feeling), *cittappavatti* (thought), *pakiṇṇakasaṅgha*, and *nibbāna*.

The *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* was written about twelfth century A.D. by Anuruddhācariya, an Indian monk of Kāñcipuram or Kāñjivaram. It is a manual of the psycho-ethical philosophy of the Theravāda school. The work deals with the four ultimate categories, viz. *citta, cetasika, rūpa,* and *nibbāna.* It is not a systematic digest of the entire Abhidhamma Piṭaka. But it gives us in outline the form which the teaching of the Dhamma took, when for the Buddhists, it became Abhidhamma. The *Nāma-rūpa-pariccheda* was also written by Anuruddha. It contains thirteen chapters in verse. It deals with *nāma* and *rūpa.* Two commentaries were written on it. The *Sutta-saṅgaha* was most probably written in Anurādhāpura. It is a manual of select *suttas.* It is meant for learners who wished to have a knowledge of the canonical texts in brief.

The *Khuddakasikkhā* and the *Mūlasikkhā* are the two compendia containing a short summary of the rules of the Vinaya Piṭaka. They are mostly in verse. The *Khuddakasikkhā* is generally ascribed to Dhammasiri and the *Mūlasikkhā* to Mahāsāmi.

(*v*) Poetical works: There is no lack of poetical works in Pali literature. Most of the works were written about tenth-fifteenth centuries A.D. in Ceylon. Here is a brief survey of some of the important works:

The *Anāgatavaṁsa* was composed by Kassapa, a native of the Coḷa country. It is composed in verse. It is an account of the life and career of Metteyya, the future Buddha. It may be said that this work is a supplement to the *Buddhavaṁsa.*

The *Jinacarita* was composed by Vanaratana Medhaṅkara. It is a poem of more than four hundred and seventy stanzas composed in different metres. It deals with the life of Buddha on the basis of the material found in the *Nidānakathā.*

The *Telakaṭāhagāthā* is a poem in ninety-eight stanzas supposed to have been uttered by Kalyāṇiya Thera who was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil by Kalyāṇi Tissa on suspicion of his carrying on an intrigue with his queen. It deals with the vanity of human life and the good religion of Buddha.

The *Pajjamadhu* was composed by Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara or Buddhappiya. It is a poem of one hundred and forty-four stanzas. It deals with the eulogies of Buddha. Its language is Sanskritized Pali.

The *Saddhammopāyana* was composed by Buddhasamapiya. It contains six hundred and twenty-nine verses dealing with the fundamentals of Buddhism in general and the ethical doctrines in particular.

The *Pañcagatidīpana* is a poem of one hundred and fourteen verses. It enumerates the deeds performed in this world by body, word, and mind, for

which human beings are reborn in one or other of the five conditions of life—as human beings, animals, ghosts, gods or hell creatures.

(*vi*) Grammars: There is no dearth of Pali grammars in the Pali literature. All the grammatical works were written in Ceylon and Burma. Of the grammarians, three deserve special mention. They were Kaccāyana, Moggallāna and Aggavaṁsa. Kaccāyana wrote the first Pali grammar named *Susandhikappa*. Many *suttas* of this work agree closely with those of the Sanskrit *Kātantravyākaraṇa*. The *Mahārūpasiddhi*, *Bālāvatāra*, and the like were composed on the basis of Kaccāyana's *suttas*. The *Payogasiddhi*, *Padasādhana*, and others were composed on the system of Moggallāna's grammar. The famous *Cullasaddanīti* was composed on the system of the famous *Saddanīti* of Aggavaṁsa. There were, besides, many grammars written by eminent teachers later on.

(*vii*) Works on Rhetoric and Metrics: The number of works on this subject is very small. The few that we have were written on the model of Sanskrit works. They do not, however, exhibit any originality or profound knowledge of the authors concerned. A brief account of the treatises that are available at present is given below:

The *Subodhālaṅkāra* is the only noteworthy work on rhetoric. It was written by the distinguished *ācariya*, Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon, on the pattern of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. It contains three hundred and sixty-seven verses divided into five chapters. The life of Buddha has been illustrated by the figures of speech herein.

The *Vuttodaya* is the most notable work on metrics. It was also written by Saṅgharakkhita in imitation of the Sanskrit works dealing with metrics. The *Kāmandakī*, *Chandoviciti*, *Kavisāra-pakaraṇa*, and *Kavisāra-ṭikānissaya* are other works on this subject.

(*viii*) Lexicons: In Pali literature we have also lexicographical works, written on the pattern of Sanskrit lexicons. We are told that the Vevacanahāra of the *Netti-pakaraṇa* containing synonyms may be regarded as the early model of the Pali lexicon. The two most well-known lexicons are the *Abhidhānappa-dīpikā* and the *Ekakkhara-kosa*.

The *Abhidhānappa-dīpikā* was written by the distinguished monk, Moggallāna of Ceylon, in the twelfth century A.D. It is divided into three parts.

The *Ekakkhara-kosa* was composed by Saddhammakitti, a student of Ariyavaṁsa in the sixteenth century A.D. It was also modelled on the Sanskrit works of the similar type.

The Pali literature is, indeed, vast and rich in varied compositions. But unfortunately it is deficient in drama or novel, strictly so-called. There are, however, some *suttas* like the *Brahmajāla-Sutta*, *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta*, *Sakkapañha-Sutta* and the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* which exhibit vividly dramatic settings. In the *Segāthavagga* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* we come across stage action. It seems

that one Devaputta appears therein to test Buddha's knowledge and retires and another appears on the stage. It shows that there are ample dramatical materials in the Pali literature although there is no dramatical work. As to novel, the historical narratives contained in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*, the *Milindapañha*, the *Udānavatthu*, and the *Visākhavatthu* are of special literary merit.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the contribution of Pali towards Indian history and culture is unique and unparalleled. As a literary language, Pali shows some remarkable points of agreement with the Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī and with the languages of the inscriptions of Aśoka. Modern Indian languages, such as Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Hindi, Marathi, Maithili, and the like as well as the languages of the neighbouring countries of India, e.g. Burmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and others, contain ample material traceable directly or indirectly to Pali.

BUDDHIST SANSKRIT

Like the Pali Tipiṭaka, there is also the Tripiṭaka in Buddhist Sanskrit consisting of Āgama, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. But a complete set of the Tripiṭaka is still a desideratum. Some of them exist in fragments of manuscripts and others are lost beyond recall. Fortunately, some fragments of manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school, one of the main branches of Hīnayāna Buddhism, composed in Buddhist Sanskrit have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit (now in Pakistan).

As regards the characteristics of Buddhist Sanskrit, it may be observed here that there was a class of Buddhist writers of Sanskrit who paid more attention to meanings than to correct forms. In other words, they cared more for sense than for forms. And the consequence was that their writings abounded in grammatical and other irregularities.

HĪNAYĀNA BUDDHIST SANSKRIT TEXTS

The Āgama as mentioned above is divided into four books entitled *Dīrghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Saṁyuktāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*, corresponding to the four Pali *Nikāyas*, viz. *Dīgha Nikāya*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Saṁyutta Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

The *Dīrghāgama* consists of thirty *sūtras* only as against thirty-four in Pali. Among the *sūtras*, the fragments of the *Saṅgīti* and *Aṭānāṭiya Sūtras* have been discovered in Central Asia. The *Madhyamāgama* contains two hundred and twenty *sūtras* as against one hundred and fifty of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the *Upāli* and *Śūka Sūtras* have only been discovered. The *Saṁyuktāgama* is divided into fifty chapters. It contains a larger number of *sūtras* than those of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the *Pravāraṇa*,

Candropama and *Śakti Sūtras* have been discovered in Central Asia. The *Ekottarāgama* contains fifty-two chapters, while the Pali text contains eleven *nipātas* (*ekādaśakanipāta*) consisting of one hundred and sixty-nine chapters. The manuscript fragments of the *Paṅkadhā*, the *Pūrṇikā* and other *sūtras* have been discovered in Central Asia. The manuscript fragments of the *Kṣudrakāgama* of this school corresponding to the Pali *Khuddaka Nikāya* have not yet been discovered. Fortunately, a complete copy of the *Dhammapada* as also a few fragments of the *Sthaviragāthā* have been discovered.

The Vinaya Piṭaka contains four divisions—*Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Vinayavastu*, *Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu* and *Vinaya-uttaragrantha*. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* corresponds to the *Suttavibhaṅga*, the *Vinayavastu* to the *Khandhakas*, i.e. the *Mahāvagga* and portions of the *Cullavagga*, the *Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu* and the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* to the *Cullavagga* and *Parivārapāṭha* respectively. The *Vinayavastu* is further divided into seventeen chapters. The *Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu* and the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* contain various minor rules of the Vinaya. Of the Tripiṭaka texts of the Sarvāstivāda school a large number of manuscript fragments of the Vinaya Piṭaka only have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit.

The Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school has seven treatises[25] like the Theravādins. The *Jñāna-prasthāna* by Āryakātyāyanīputra: it is divided into eight sections covering forty-four chapters and deals with the *pratīcya-samutpāda*, the faculties of organs, the question of final emancipation, etc. The *Saṅgītiparyāya* by Mahākauṣṭhila: it deals with *eka-dharmas* (all beings living on food etc.), *dvi-dharmas* (mind and matter—*nāma-rūpa*) up to *pañca-dharmas* (five *skandhas*), five *balas* and the like. The *Prakaraṇapāda* by Sthavira Vasumitra: it treats of the five *dharmas*, i.e. *rūpa*, *citta*, *caitya-dharma*, *cittaviprayukta-saṁskāra*, *asaṁskṛta-dharma*, ten kinds of knowledge, twelve organs and objects, etc. The *Vijñānakāya* by Sthavira Devaśarmā: it was composed 100 years after Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa* and deals with Maudgalyāyana's opinion about *pudgalas*, *indriyas*, *cittas*, *kleśas*, *vijñānas*, *bodhyaṅgas*, etc. The *Dhātukāya* by Pūrṇa: it was rendered into Chinese by Hiuen-tsang in A.D. 663. Pali *Dhātukathā* has nothing in common with the present treatise. The *Dharmaskandha* by Ārya Sāriputra: it treats of five precepts, *srotāpannas*, four sorts of purity as to Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha and *śīla*, four stages of *śrāmaṇyaphala*, four *āryavaṁśas*, etc. The *Prajñapti-śāstra* by Ārya Maudgalyāyana: in this book the instruction about the world (*loka-prajñapti*) belonging to the *Abhidharma-mahāśāstra* is supplied. It is to be mentioned here that these seven Abhidharma texts have nothing in common with the seven Pali Abhidhamma texts, except as to their total number.

The *Mahāvastu* is one of the most important works belonging to the school of Hīnayāna. It is undoubtedly an encyclopaedia of Buddhist legends and doctrines. It claims to be the first book of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Lokottara-

[25] They are available in Chinese translations only.

vāda, a branch of the Mahāsāṅghika school. It agrees with the Pali *Nidāna-kathā* in that it treats the life of Buddha in three sections. It also corresponds to that part of the Vinaya Piṭaka which recounts the history of the rise of the Saṅgha. The doctrines and stories found in it breathe the spirit of the Purāṇas testifying to the interrelation existing between the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical schools of thought. Though largely written in Buddhist Sanskrit, its language is not uniform. The arrangement of the topics discussed in this work is most disorderly and the text is full of repetitions. It, however, preserves many old traditions and old versions of texts which appear in the Pali canon.[26] Its language and style of composition seem to suggest that the work must have been written as early as the first or second century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the third or fourth century A.D. and perhaps still later, by accretions and interpolations.

Apart from those mentioned above, this school has to its credit a large number of works under the caption Avadāna literature which comprises the *Jātakamālā*, the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, etc. Another important treatise, the *Abhidharma-koṣa-vyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Abhidharma-koṣa*, belongs to this school.

The *Jātakamālā*, also called *Bodhisattvāvadāna*, is the work of Ārya Śūra. It gives in thirty-four *jātakas* the stories of the past lives of Buddha as Bodhisattva and illustrates the value of the *pāramitās* (perfections) essential for the attainment of Buddhahood. The Pali *Jātaka* and the texts like the *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Apadāna* are the sources of these stories. A few of them are to be found in the frescoes in the Ajantā caves and Bharut *stūpas*. The *Avadānaśataka* (*c.* second century A.D.) is a collection of a hundred *avadānas* or tales of heroic acts which inculcate the doctrine of Karma, i.e. evil deeds produce evil fruits, while good acts good fruits. It is put into ten groups (*vargas*) comprising ten stories each. Many of the stories narrated herein recur in other collections of *avadānas* including a few in the Pali *Apadāna*. The *Divyāvadāna* contains thirty-eight *avadānas*. The stories are written by various authors; some of them contain a large number of grammatical irregularities while others are in genuine *kāvya* style. It has many legends in common with the Pali canon. The collection as a whole could not be written earlier than the fourth century A.D. The *Avadāna-kalpalatā* is the work of the Kashmirian poet, Kṣemendra. It contains 107 legends to which another was added by his son. It is held in high esteem in Tibet. It inculcates the doctrine of Karma and presents the Buddhist propensity to self-sacrifice in an impressive way.

[26] Thus the famous legend of Siddhārtha's departure, *abhiniṣkramana*, may find a parallel with the account in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. There are also versions of the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, *Pabbajjā*, *Padhāna*, and *Khaggavisāna suttas* from the *Suttanipāta*, of the *Sahassavagga* from the *Dhammapada*, of the *Mahāgovinda-Sutta* from the *Dīgha Nikāya*, of the *Dīghanakha-Sutta* from the *Majjhima Nikāya*, and of the *Māra-saṁyutta* from the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*.

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHIST SANSKRIT TEXTS

We now turn to the works which belong to the Mahāyāna school whose contribution to Indian thought is indeed unique. It had also an extensive literature of its own. Of the numerous Mahāyāna works, nine books, 'so-called nine Dharmas', which are held in great reverence, deserve to be specially noted inasmuch as they trace the origin and development of Mahāyāna as also point out its fundamental teachings. They are: *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra, Lalitavistara, Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Gaṇḍavyūha, Tathāgata-guhyaka, Samādhirāja* and *Daśabhūmīśvara.* They are also known as *Vaipulya-Sūtras.* The *Prajñāpāramitās* belong to the earliest Mahāyāna *sūtras* and are considered to be the most holy and the most valuable of all Mahāyāna works. They are further of great importance from the point of view of religion. Of the different recensions of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* is probably the earliest. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra* is the most important Mahāyāna *sūtra* and as a work of literature it stands foremost. It deals with the characteristic peculiarities of Mahāyāna and is more devotional. It is the main scripture of a few sects in China and Japan. The *Lalitavistara* is a biography of Buddha, more superman than man. In twenty-seven chapters, the text gives us an account of the Buddha legend up to the sermon of Vārāṇasī, embodying in it all the germs of an epic. It exhibits all the remarkable features of Mahāyāna.[27] From the points of view of the history of religion and literature, it is of immense value to us. The *Laṅkāvatāra*, which is one of the latest books of this group, presents us with valuable material for the study of the early Yogācāra system. It teaches Vijñānavāda. According to it, nothing exists but thought. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra* is also one of the later Mahāyāna works. A few fragments of this work have been discovered in Central Asia. It is both philosophical and ethical. Tāntric rituals are further referred to herein. It is very popular in Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* which is not yet available in Sanskrit corresponds to the Chinese translation of the *Avataṁsaka* which comes just after the *Śatasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā* and *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā.* It depicts the wanderings of the youth Sudhana who attained the highest knowledge through the advice of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. It is quoted several times in the *Śikṣā-samuccaya.* At the end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, there are a few verses which are used even at the present day for purposes of worship in all the Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. The *Tathāgata-guhyaka,* which probably belonged to the seventh century A.D., contains Mahāyāna teachings mingled with elements of Tāntricism. It is regarded as one of the authoritative works on the earliest Tantras. The *Samādhirāja-Sūtra* which is

[27] It, however, originally contained the biography of Buddha for the Sarvāstivādins of the Hīnayāna. It is probable that the present text is 'a recast of an older Hīnayāna text...enlarged and embellished in the spirit of the Mahāyāna.' Cf. *HIL*, Vol II, p 252.

also one of the works of later Mahāyāna *sūtras* lays the greatest emphasis on meditation for the attainment of perfect knowledge. It also enumerates the practices necessary for developing the mental state. The *Daśabhūmīśvara* contains an exposition of the ten stages of spiritual progress essential for the attainment of Buddhahood (enlightenment).

PURE SANSKRIT TEXTS

The Buddhist literature was further enriched by a galaxy of eminent scholars. Prominent among them were Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Diṅnāga, Vasumitra, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śāntideva and Śāntarakṣita. Their works were composed in pure Sanskrit and mainly on Buddhist philosophy and logic. Some of them are available in Sanskrit and others are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Let us deal with some of the important works now extant:

The *Buddha-carita* and the *Saundarananda* are the two important poetical works composed by Aśvaghoṣa. The former is a *mahākāvya* extant only in seventeen cantos in Sanskrit today.[28] It gives us an account of the life and work of Buddha from his days in the royal palace till the conversions in Vārāṇasī.[29] It is for the first time that the life and teachings of Buddha have been depicted by a real poet in a true *kāvya* style. The mythological traditions and the pre-Buddhist philosophical system of the then India are also mentioned herein. The latter is also connected with Buddha's life-story, but actually it narrates the love-story of Nanda, Buddha's half-brother, who was ordained as a monk by Buddha, and his beautiful wife Sundarī. The *Sāriputra-prakaraṇa*, a drama in nine acts, is the oldest dramatic work extant in Sanskrit literature.

The *Mādhyamika-śāstra*, popularly known as the *Mādhyamika-kārikā*, can certainly be called Nāgārjuna's masterpiece. It presents in a systematic manner, in twenty-seven chapters, the philosophy of the Mādhyamika school. It teaches *śūnyatā* (the indescribable absolute) to be the sole reality. This work alone is enough to show what a mastermind Nāgārjuna was and how he shines in solitary splendour among the intellectuals of this country, past and present.

Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva, which is available in Sanskrit at present, is next in importance to Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika-kārikā*. It contains four hundred *kārikās* (verses) and is one of the principal works of the Mādhyamika philosophy.

The *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* by Asaṅga in its original Sanskrit form has been discovered by Rahul Sankrityayana. It is divided into seventeen *bhūmis*

[28] It is often claimed that the first thirteen cantos were composed by the poet himself. Cf. *HIL*, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[29] Tibetan and Chinese translations of the text, each having as many as twenty-eight cantos, run, however, up to the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha.

(chapters) and describes in detail the path of discipline according to the Yogācāra school.

The *Viṁśikā* and the *Triṁśikā* of Vasubandhu, containing twenty and thirty *kārikās* respectively, are the basic works of the Vijñānavāda system of thought. Both repudiate all belief in the reality of the objective world, maintaining that *citta* (*cittamātra*) or *vijñāna* (*vijñānamātra*) is the only reality.

The *Nyāyapraveśa* of Diṅnāga, the father of Indian logic, is a monumental work on logic. It deals with different types of terms, viz. *pakṣa*, *sādhya*, *dṛṣṭāntas* (examples), etc. for demonstration and refutation of fallacies. Perception and inference have also been discussed herein for self-understanding.

The *Nyāyabindu* by Dharmakīrti is regarded as one of the important works on logic. It is divided into three chapters: (*i*) *pratyakṣa* (perception), (*ii*) *svārthānumāna* (inference for one's own self), and (*iii*) *parārthānumāna* (inference for the sake of others).

The *Śikṣā-samuccaya* is a work of Śāntideva. It is a compendium of Buddhist doctrines. It consists mainly of quotations and extracts from various Buddhist sacred works. It is a manual of Mahāyāna Buddhism consisting of nineteen chapters. It deals with the following subjects: faith, restraint, avoidance of evil, sacrifice of the body, application of merit, duty of self-preservation, the snare of Māra, the Buddhist Satan, truthfulness, rules of decency, evil of talkativeness, contemplation of thought, good conduct, and so on. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, another work of Śāntideva, is an important and popular religious-cum-philosophical work of Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to Winternitz,[30] it is designated as the entrance into the *bodhi* life, i.e. into the way of life leading to enlightenment. According to this text, the perfect charity (*dāna-pāramitā*) is not an actual deliverance of the world from poverty, but an intention for such deliverance. It is a grace of the spirit. Poverty here means misery due to worldly desire. The purity of will is the greatest of all virtues and the foundation of all. The perfect conduct (*śīla-pāramitā*) consists essentially in the will not to hurt any living being.

The *Tattva-saṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita is an important philosophical work. It criticizes various other philosophical systems of his time—Buddhist and non-Buddhist.

TĀNTRIC BUDDHISM

In the course of time, Mahāyāna Buddhism underwent profound changes yielding place to a new form of Mahāyāna, commonly known as the Mantrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism. *Mantras, dhāraṇis, mudrās* and *maṇḍalas* and other Tāntric rites gradually crept in to this new system. Later, there appeared Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna from this system. A vast litera-

[30] Cf. *HIL, op. cit.*, p. 370.

ture on Tāntricism also grew up. It is still popular and exerts a great influence over the spiritual life of the people of some parts of Asia including India. Most of these works are extant in Tibetan translations. A few of them that are available are discussed below.

The *Jñānasiddhi*, a work on Vajrayāna, points out that *bodhicitta* (thought of enlightenment) is really the *vajra* (invincible). When it would attain the nature of *vajra* (diamond), a meditating monk would then attain enlightenment (*bodhi*). The *Dohākośa* and *Caryāgīti* (in Old Bengali) give us a fair idea about the meditational practices of the Sahajayāna system. The *Laghukālacakra-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā* or the *Vimalaprabhā-ṭīkā* furnishes us with the doctrinal views of the Kālacakra system. The language used in these Tāntric texts is technically known as the *sandhyā-bhāṣā* having two meanings—esoteric and exoteric.

As it has been indicated, Tibetan has an enormous mass of Buddhist literature, Buddhist Sanskrit and Pure Sanskrit, originals of which are lost. It is contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur, the two principal divisions of the Tibetan literature. The study of Tibetan is, therefore, a necessity for a proper understanding of our glorious heritage. Those who want to know the history of literature and culture of ancient India can in no way neglect these Tibetan translations.

The Chinese canon, another vast store of Buddhist literature, preserves in translation many works of the various schools of Buddhist thought. The works embedded in the Chinese canon are of course of a very varying nature. Although it consists of works of very unequal merits and translated at different periods, its value as a storehouse of Buddhism cannot be doubted. An idea of the number of texts contained in the canon can be had from the catalogues of Nanjio and Hobogirin.

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that Buddhist literature is the mainstream of Buddhist thought and culture. It contains works chiefly of religious nature. Considered from the point of view of antiquity, these works of Buddhist literature stand unparalleled for their sublime thought, super-intellectual treatment and unique literary excellences. They may easily be compared with the best productions of European literature.

PART II

SANSKRIT AND SANSKRITIC LITERATURE

13

SANSKRIT KĀVYA LITERATURE : A GENERAL SURVEY

THE earliest writings that have come down to us in Sanskrit, the Ṛg-Vedic hymns, are in the form of poetry; even the Sanskrit name for a poet, *kavi*, has come down from the *Ṛg-Veda*. The oldest form of prose is also in Sanskrit and is found in that part of Vedic literature called the Brāhmaṇas, where several examples of old narrative composition are found. The two great epic sagas of the heroic age, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, are called *kāvyas* (poems), and are described as the model and source of all later literary creations. Of these two, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more specifically called the *ādikāvya* (the first poem); in it all the characteristics seen in the later classical poems are already present. For theme and treatment, for metres and their variations, for style, and for the portrayal of characters and emotions, the classical authors of *kāvyas* took Vālmīki, the *ādikavi*, as their guide.

What the earliest classical poems in Sanskrit were we cannot say; but tradition treats Pāṇini as the author of a long poem whose name, alternatively given as *Jāmbavatī-vijaya* and *Pātāla-vijaya*, is found in later anthologies, together with some of his stray verses. Pāṇini, who lived between 500 and 350 B.C., is the author of the first systematic grammar. In his grammatical aphorisms (IV. 3. 87-88), Pāṇini refers to, and names, certain old works which appear to be narratives in verse or prose. Another grammarian, Kātyāyana (also known as Vararuci), who added critical and supplemental dicta to Pāṇini's aphorisms, classified these narrative works as *ākhyāna* and *ākhyāyikā*. Kātyāyana probably lived in the third century B.C.

Patañjali (second century B.C.), in his extensive scholium on both these grammarians, names as examples several old narratives. He also says (IV. 3. 101) that Kātyāyana (Vararuci) himself wrote a poem, *Vāraruca-kāvyam*, which, according to Rājaśekhara (*c.* A.D. 900), was called *Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. In his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, Bhoja (A.D. 1018-63), quotes a half-verse by Kātyāyana which is a poetical fancy on the river Gaṅgā. Patañjali's writings are full of material which reflects the active and wide cultivation of poetry. He quotes verses, or parts of verses, which can only be from older poems, and he quotes verses in a variety of metres, including the more rare ones. So, the evidence from Patañjali, taken together with the evidence found in the early treatise on prosody, the *Chandaḥ-Sūtra* by Piṅgala (second century B.C.), attests to an early efflorescence of lyric poetry of extraordinary range and expressiveness.

A highly developed dramatic literature is vouched for in the early Mauryan age (324-187 B.C.), and drama, especially Sanskrit drama, naturally pre-

supposes the cultivation of poetry. The earliest elaborate treatise on drama is Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. Its nucleus goes back to the pre-Pāṇinian *Naṭa-Sūtras*, and it grew into full shape in the period between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. It deals with the text of drama as *kāvya*, and is a work on poetics as much as on dramaturgy. It demonstrates a rich variety of metres with lyrical names, figures of speech, alliteration, and rhyme, and other stylistic features; it even gives examples of lyrical verse used as songs on the stage. All this shows that Bharata knew a highly developed art of poetic composition, and it shows too that there was a considerable output of literature in this field. The fact of the widespread and effective practice of poetry and drama on the themes, thoughts, and teachings of the Vedic and epic tradition is borne out by another phenomenon, that of the early Buddhist writers borrowing the medium of Sanskrit poetry and drama for the propagation of their new faith.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KĀVYA STYLE : AŚVAGHOSA AND KĀLIDĀSA

The ideology bequeathed to the classical poets by Vyāsa and Vālmīki, was the projection through the *mahākāvya* (the epic or long poem) of the personality and the heroic acts of one of exalted nature (*dhīrodātta*), one who was a ruler-sage (*rājarṣi*), and an upholder of *dharma*. In the centuries immediately before and after Christ, the new Buddhist authors, some of whom were Brāhmaṇas, turned to the existing literary resources for the propagation of their faith. The technique and ideology of the Brāhmaṇical *itihāsa-purāṇa* literature and of the Sanskrit poem, play, hymn, and gnomic poetry came to be reflected in the Buddhalogical literature that then arose, viz. the *Mahāvastu* 'The Great Theme', which was a biography of Buddha; and the *Lalitavistara*, an elaboration of the *līlā* (sport or play) of Buddha. Apart from parallels and echoes, even the actual names of the two epics occur in these works. The best among these Buddhist poets is Aśvaghoṣa who lived in the first or second century A.D. He was formerly a Brāhmaṇa of Sāketa, and he wrote two *mahākāvyas* and at least one play. One of his two *mahākāvyas* is the *Buddha-carita*, a life of Buddha. The full text of this work, in twenty-eight cantos, is available in a Chinese translation made in the beginning of the fifth century, and also in Tibetan translation. The Sanskrit manuscript that has survived has only a little over thirteen cantos.

Saundarananda, an earlier poem by Aśvaghoṣa, is available in complete Sanskrit form. At the end of the work the author states that it is a *kāvya*, but it is written mainly for the sake of *mokṣa* and *vyupaśānti* (spiritual effort and the attainment of peace), the poetic character added to the theme being merely like the honey used to make a bitter medicine palatable (XVIII. 63).

It is difficult to estimate the amount of didactic material in the *Buddha-carita*, although the poet narrates the whole life of Buddha. In the *Saundarananda*,

however, the end part is given over mostly to exhortations relating to moral and spiritual discipline. Yet it is a poetical work, relating how Buddha converted his half-brother Nanda who was engrossed with love for his beautiful wife Sundarī. At the end of the poem, the poet asks the reader to blow off the poetic dust and take the embedded spiritual gold (XVIII. 64); but Aśvaghosa's poetry is too substantial to be thus blown away. In metrical variety and polish, in verbal effects, in striking similes which are sometimes given in a series, in picturesque descriptions, and in language and grammar, he shows an all-round mastery of technique. In both poems the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is patent throughout; and in the *Buddha-carita*, where the figure of Buddha is drawn on the model of Rāma, his admiration for Vālmīki finds pointed expression.

Following Aśvaghoṣa, some other Buddhist poets applied the Sanskrit *kāvya* medium to two other classes of works on Buddha, the Jātakas and the Avadānas, the cycle of his lives and his exploits, in prose and in hymns. Of the prose are the *Kalpanā-maṇḍitaka* by Kumāralāta, the *Avadāna-śataka* (*c.* A.D. 100), the *Divyāvadāna* (*c.* second century A.D.), and the *Jātaka-mālā* by Ārya Śūra. Among the hymns are two by a poet named Mātṛceṭa, one in a hundred and fifty verses, and the other in four hundred. These are the *Śatapañcāśatikā-stotra* and the *Catuśśataka-stotra*, both of which are simple but intense expressions of devotion to Buddha. Little is known about Mātṛceṭa and he is sometimes identified with Aśvaghoṣa.

The continuity of the *kāvya* style is seen not only in its reflection in the field of Buddhism, but also in the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era. However, the earliest poems in the main current of the Vedic and epic traditions that we have are those of the great Kālidāsa. The perfection we find in his works, and his mention of predecessors in both poetry and drama, bear out an unbroken output of *kāvyas*, all of which have been lost. For example, Kālidāsa mentions as one of his predecessors in drama, Saumilla, who is remembered in later literature as the joint author, with one Rāmila, of a work called *Śūdraka-kathā*. Another work also called *Śūdraka-kathā*, by Pañcaśikha, an old name in Sanskrit literature, is cited by Bhoja.

Between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa there is frequent correspondence in ideas and expression. The Buddhist poet has generally been taken as the earlier of the two, the latter being taken as the borrower. On this and on other counts, Kālidāsa is usually held to be a poet of the golden Gupta age of Hindu revival, whatever this may mean. Yet the specific poetic character of Kālidāsa as against the mixed mission of Aśvaghoṣa, and Kālidāsa's undoubted artistic superiority, make one hesitate to subscribe readily to the theory that Kālidāsa was indebted to the Buddhist philosopher. Moreover, the fact that Kālidāsa refers in *Megha-dūta* to Vidiśā as a capital city, and in *Mālavikāgnimitra* to Agnimitra as a contemporary ruler, has induced several Indian scholars to place Kālidāsa,

the *kavi-sārvabhauma* (sovereign among poets), in the Śuṅga age which was equally an age of Hindu revival.

However, whether he lived in the Śuṅga age or the Gupta, whether he was a native of Ujjain or of any other place, Kālidāsa is a national poet, a poet of all time. There is hardly a part of India which he has not mentioned with affection; and in his compositions he has embodied the enduring ideals of the Indian conception of life, which embraces life in all its aspects and which is formulated in the Śruti (scriptures which record revealed knowledge) and in the Smṛti (other scriptures based on the Śruti). So well has Kālidāsa done this that to this day he stands as the authentic voice of the culture in which his genius flowered, as much as any *ṛṣi* (ancient sage) or *ācārya* (later philosopher). It is not surprising that a philosopher like Kumārila quotes him. Kālidāsa depicted in his poetry the well-rounded philosophy of human endeavour, and all the different aspects were harmonized in a scheme which led by stages to the *summum bonum* of a rich life fully lived. This truth is apt to be overlooked when one looks at his achievements in the lyrical aspects of his poetry or in his portrayals of love. Yet here he did not fail to emphasize that the physical is ephemeral and has to be made spiritual and enduring. It is through the fire of suffering together that this is achieved, and also in the fulfilment which ties the two hearts in an inseparable common bond, the child, an image of the two in one.

THE WORKS OF KĀLIDĀSA

Kālidāsa began with a short poem, *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, describing the cycle of seasons, one canto being devoted to each of the six *ṛtus* (seasons). The descriptions are addressed by a lover to his beloved; each season, with its varying sights and sounds, augments his love; the cycle culminating appropriately in the spring.

Meghadūta is a singular testimony to the endless creativity of the poet's imagination. Here he gives to the airy nothing of a cloud any number of forms and functions, making the cloud a partner and participant in all sorts of human experiences fancied by a fertile, love-laden mind. There is perhaps an autobiographical touch when Kālidāsa writes about a separated lover; the lover from the north is sojourning in the south, and through the cloud (*megha*) as a messenger (*dūta*) sends a message to his beloved in the north. This is one of the works in which are clearly seen the poet's knowledge and love of different parts of the country, the beauty spots, the cities, rivers, mountains, shrines, and so on.

In the *mahākāvya* class he wrote two poems, the shorter, *Kumāra-sambhava* in eight cantos and the longer, *Raghuvaṁśa*, in nineteen cantos. Taking as leading characters Śiva and Pārvatī, the prime parents of the universe, Kālidāsa effectively brings out in *Kumāra-sambhava* the idea of love triumphing through

tapas (austerity) and fulfilling itself in the birth of a heroic son, the one who is to deliver the world from its sufferings. By a suggestive simile, the poet adores in the divine couple the twin principles of *vāk* and *artha* (word and meaning) which are inseparably connected and to which again he pays obeisance in the opening verses of *Raghuvaṁśa*. Kālidāsa introduces the Love-god (Madana) as a character, burns his gross nature, and resurrects him in a sublime form. Its message and meaning apart, *Kumāra-sambhava* is an illustration of the poet's descriptive powers; he describes the beauty of Pārvatī, of the forest in the bloom and gaiety of spring, and of the grandeur of the Himalayas. Indeed, it is in Kālidāsa that we realize to what an extent the Himalayas occupy the Indian mind.

Raghuvaṁśa is a work that is studied by beginners in Sanskrit, yet it contains the fullest statement of the poet's mind affording enjoyment and food for thought to mature minds. It is the saga of the Solar dynasty, presenting a pageant of kings from Dilīpa to Agnivarna, through Raghu, and Rāma. The work opens by setting forth the high ideals of this godly race, followed by an account of the lives and deeds of individual kings as they embodied those ideals. Taking the work as a whole, however, there may be seen behind it a deeper plan. It shows how each of the *purusārthas* (the scheme of life's eternal values), *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*, is exemplified in one or another of the lives of these kings.

The first king of the dynasty to be mentioned in *Raghuvaṁśa* is Dilīpa. Dilīpa tends a divine cow in order to gain a son befitting the race, and to this end performs sacrifices. He may be taken as exemplifying the first and foremost *puruṣārtha*, *dharma* (duty in the sense of contributing to the progress and well-being of the individual and society). The son, Raghu, is born. He conquers the whole country and its neighbourhood. In this, he exemplifies *artha* (wealth). But he also exemplifies another aspect of *artha*, the aspect which says that the purpose of material gain is fulfilled only when it is given away to the deserving. Raghu performs the *viśvajit* (universal conquest) sacrifice and gives away all his possessions. Next, *kāma* (worldly pleasure) is illustrated in an account of the romantic life of Aja, Raghu's son, and the premature death of Aja's beloved queen, Indumatī, which leads the grief-stricken king to give up his life. *Mokṣa* (spiritual salvation), the highest in the *puruṣārtha* series, is exemplified in Rāma, Raghu's great-grandson. Rāma is none other than Śrī Hari, *Rāmābhidhāno Hariḥ*, and he is described as *jagat-prathama-maṅgala* (the primary source of the world's welfare). The final act in the story of this great race, as seen in the life of the profligate Agnivarna, the last king, exemplifies the progressive deterioration of values in the cycle of ages. The poet does not, however, end his poem on this tragic note, but in his last lines sets out the hope of future regeneration (XIX. 57).

Canto IV of *Raghuvaṁśa* concerns Raghu's *digvijaya* (conquest in all directions) and it brings out the idea of a country being under one *cakravartin* (emperor). In the cantos depicting Rāma's story, we observe the poet's intimate knowledge of Vālmīki's epic and the artistry with which he introduces a gem here and a gem there within the framework of the *ādikavi*. The canto which depicts Sītā's exile brings out the poet's powers of pathos; and in his account of the birth of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its recital by Lava and Kuśa, the poet pays homage to the *pathikṛt* (predecessor) to whom he owes so much. One of the most remarkable aspects of Kālidāsa's poetry is his use of simile. Similes were his forte and in aptness and suggestiveness they are so unique that they have been termed *upamā Kālidāsasya* (Kālidāsa's similes). Taking his style as a whole, his expression is distinguished for simplicity and grace, precision and proportion.

If it was the *ādikavi* that showed Kālidāsa the path, he in turn became the model and guide for all subsequent writers, and so he is known as the *kavi-kula-guru*, the prime *guru* of all poets. All later *mahākāvyas*, and the pattern of their treatment, follow his works. His *Meghadūta* alone has been endlessly imitated, and still continues to be imitated. In Sanskrit literary tradition, standing together with Kālidāsa's two longer poems are creations of three later poets, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Śrīharṣa, their poems being the *Kirātārjunīya*, the *Śiśupāla-vadha*, and the *Naiṣadhīya-carita* respectively. Together, these five poems attained special status and came to be referred to as the *pañca-mahākāvyas* (the great pentad). The five poems became part of the regular curriculum of studies, but this does not mean that there were no other noteworthy *mahākāvyas* in post-Kālidāsa times. Poems there were, but they have been lost. The *Hayagrīva-vadha* by Meṇṭha (sixth century), for example, is known to have existed, since it is mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and several verses are cited from it. It is described as an 'outstanding production'. Similarly, Bhāmaha, the seventh century literary critic and rhetorician, mentions a work called *Aśmakavaṁśa*, citing it as an example of the Vaidarbhī style of poetry. A close follower of Kālidāsa in both time and style is the Sinhalese prince Kumāradāsa, the author of *Jānakī-haraṇa*. This poem, preserved in Sinhalese paraphrase, was recovered from South Indian manuscripts.

THE KĀVYAS OF BHĀRAVI, MĀGHA, ŚRĪHARSA, ŚIVASVĀMIN, AND OTHERS

Bhāravi was a friend of King Kubjaviṣṇuvardhana (*c.* 608), the founder of the eastern Cālukya dynasty of Veṅgi. He wrote his poem, *Kirātārjunīya*, in the Deccan, taking his theme from the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. This relates the episode of Arjuna doing penance and obtaining from Śiva the divine missile called *pāśupatāstra*, a theme cherished very much at that time as is shown by its famous sculptural representation at Mahābalipuram. Bhāravi's greatness as a *mahākavi*, although resting on a single production, is clearly next only to that

of Kālidāsa. His work is praised for its *artha-gaurava* (thought-content), and equally notable are his pure poetic gifts well brought out, for example, in the pictures he draws of rural life.

Closely modelled on the *Kirātārjunīya*, but more copious, is the work of Māgha (*c.* 700), the *Śiśupāla-vadha*, written on a theme from the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. Māgha's poetic powers are obvious, and the poem is packed with learning and displays of skill in using difficult types of composition. This characteristic, already seen in Bhāravi, gathers momentum in Māgha, and, through several other works of this class, reaches its climax in Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhīya-carita*.

Before we speak of Śrīharṣa, however, let us turn to the Kashmiri poets of the ninth century. Śivasvāmin was the prodigious author of seven *mahākāvyas*, several plays, songs, and eleven hundred thousand hymns on Śiva. Like the other Kashmiri intellectuals, he was cosmopolitan in outlook, and wrote a *mahākāvya* on a Buddhist theme, the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*. Ratnākara, who was called *vāgīśvara* (lord of speech), wrote *Haravijaya*, a *mahākāvya* in fifty cantos on a Śaivite theme. Ānandavardhana (ninth century) was an eminent aesthete; he established the doctrine that *dhvani* (suggestion) was the essence of poetic expression. He wrote the *Arjuna-carita*. Abhinanda, the son of the gifted Kashmiri logician Jayanta, put into *mahākāvya* form the story of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. In Bengal at that time, under the patronage of the Pāla kings, there was another Abhinanda. An even more distinguished poet, he wrote a *Rāmacarita*, but so far it has been only partly recovered. The greatest of the lost *mahākāvyas* of this period, quotations from which stimulate an appetite for more, is *Hara-vilāsa* written by Rājaśekhara whose works are so versatile and encyclopaedic. In Kashmir, the critic and polymath Kṣemendra (eleventh century) wrote four long poems and a shorter one summarizing the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Avadānas* on Buddha, and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*; the last of these has not yet been recovered. He also wrote several stories of his own, but only one, the *Daśāvatāra-carita*, is available. In the next century, also in Kashmir, another *mahākāvya* was written. This was Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita*, glorifying Śiva. In the last canto the poet gives an informative account of his contemporary authors.

In the twelfth century flourished that unique genius, Śrīharṣa. He was a monistic dialectician, but he also produced several poetic compositions, the chief of which was the celebrated *Naiṣadhīya-carita*. This work, counted as the fifth of the *pañca-mahākāvyas*, consists of twenty-two long cantos. It presents the simple story of Nala and Damayantī, but, being the product of the massive mind of Śrīharṣa, it presents a veritable thesaurus of knowledge and has been correctly characterized as *vidvadauṣadha* (a tonic for the learned).

The latter part of the classical period witnessed the composition of many

more *mahākāvyas*, but they are all lost and we know only their names since they are mentioned in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. Among them is *Antarātma-carita*, a work which introduced a philosophical theme. While philosophical drama was already known, this was the first philosophical *mahākāvya*.

JAINA POETS IN THE SANSKRIT KĀVYA TRADITION

The Jains were comparatively slow to take up the *mahākāvya* medium for their religion, but once they took to it they strove to excel their Brāhmaṇical compeers. Their endeavour was to surpass the Brāhmaṇical works in length, in the introduction of learned matter, and in displaying skill in different kinds of versification.

The *Varāṅga-carita* by Jaṭā Siṁhanandin was written before the middle of the eighth century. Two Tamil Jains, Kanakasena Vādirāja and Oḍayadeva Vādībhasiṁha (eleventh century A.D.) composed the *Yaśodhara-carita* and the *Kṣatra-cūḍāmaṇi* respectively. In A.D. 978, Vīranandin wrote the *Candraprabha-carita*; and in A.D. 988, Asaga wrote the *Vardhamāna-carita*. Hemacandra (1088-1172), who is known as the *kalikāla-sarvajña* (the know-all of the *kaliyuga*), contributed, among his numerous works which did indeed cover all branches of knowledge, the long poem *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākapuruṣa-carita*, including supplementary material at the end.

Other notable Jaina poems include: Māṇikya Sūri's *Yaśodhara-carita* (eleventh century); Vāgbhaṭa's *Nemi-nirvāṇa* (twelfth century); Muniratna's *Amamasvāmi-carita* (twelfth century); Ravigupta's *Candraprabha-carita*; Haricandra's *Dharma-śarmābhyudaya*; Devaprabha's *Pāṇḍava-carita*; Cāritrasundara's *Mahīpāla-carita*; Abhayadeva's *Jayanta-vijaya* (1221); Amaracandra's *Bāla-Bhārata* (thirteenth century); and Vāgbhaṭa II's *Ṛṣabhadeva-carita* and the work quoted by him, the *Bājīmatī-parityāga*.

LATER MAHĀKĀVYAS : ŚLEṢA-KĀVYAS

The later history of the pure *mahākāvya* may be illustrated by specimens selected from different regions. Under the Pālas of Bengal, Umāpatidhara wrote *Candracūḍa-carita*. In Orissa, Kṛṣṇānanda produced the *Sahṛdayānanda* on the Nala-Damayantī story. In Andhra, Agastya Paṇḍita (thirteenth century), under the Kākatīyas, composed the *Bāla-Bhārata;* and in the same region, under another king, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa (beginning of the fifteenth century) wrote the *Nalābhyudaya*.

A South Indian, Utprekṣāvallabha, who flourished earlier, produced a new and interesting kind of *mahākāvya* in his *Bhikṣātana-kāvya*. In this work Śiva goes out to receive *bhikṣā* (alms) and he receives it from women of all ages and of varying mental states, who go out to make offerings to him. Two other leading poets of the Tamil region are Veṅkaṭanātha Vedānta Deśika (1268–

1369) who wrote *Yādavābhyudaya* on the life of Kṛṣṇa, and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (early part of the seventeenth century) who composed *Śivalīlārṇava*, a *mahākāvya* on the legends, well known in Tamil literature, surrounding Madurai and its great temple. These two poets belonged to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava school and were *sarvatantra-svatantra* (proficient in all aspects of the scriptures). Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita also wrote a poem on the descent of the Gaṅgā, *Gaṅgāvataraṇa.* His contemporary, Rājacūḍāmani Dīkṣita, wrote *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa*, and his pupil, Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, wrote the *Patañjali-carita.* In Karṇāṭaka, Vidyācakravartin III (1291–1342), under the Hoysaḷas, wrote *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa*. In Kerala, the writers of *mahākāvyas* included two prominent poets, Sukumāra (fifteenth century) who wrote *Kṛṣṇavilāsa*, and Rāma Pāṇivāda (eighteenth century) the author of *Rāghavīya* and *Viṣṇuvilāsa.*

New interest in the *mahākāvya* form was aroused by the introduction of diverse innovations and experiments. Quite early, a new class of *mahākāvya* was established in which, through *śleṣa (double entendre),* two distinct stories were told in the same set of verses. Stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, for example, were embedded in the same poem. Such poems were called *dvisandhāna* (pursuing the two), the earliest one, which is still known only through a quotation from it, having been written by that great critic and prose writer Daṇḍin of Kāñcī (seventh century). The earliest and best-known extant poem of this class is the *dvisandhāna* written by Dhanañjaya (*c.* 1000–1050). *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya*, written by Kavirāja from Banavāsī at the end of the twelfth century, is also well known.

The skill of writing such poems was improved still further–three to seven stories narrated in one poem. Finally, the enthusiasm to display even greater ingenuity resulted in poems which told one story when read forwards, and another story when read backwards. Poems of this type were called *viloma-kāvya.*

Kāvya was also used to display erudition or to teach some branch of knowledge. This trend bore early fruit in the famous *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya.* Bhaṭṭi (sixth-seventh century A.D.) wrote *Rāvaṇa-vadha* which achieved the double purpose of being a poem and also an illustration of Pāṇini's grammar and poetics. Bhaṭṭi's work again started a class represented by a number of grammar poems, the better known among these being *Rāvaṇārjunīya* by Bhīma (or Bhauma); *Kavi-rahasya* by Halāyudha (tenth century); and three works from Kerala: *Subhadrā-haraṇa* by someone called Nārāyaṇa; *Vāsudeva-vijaya* by Vāsudeva; and *Dhātu-kāvya* by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri. Then, as if these were not enough, Hemacandra, who was equal to any task of learning, worked into his poems history, and Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar. One such work was his *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* or *Kumārapāla-carita.* Another writer, Jinavallabha, composed a hymn on Mahāvīra which could be read either as Sanskrit or as Prakrit.

HISTORICAL KĀVYAS

A comparatively more refreshing and useful innovation took place which concerned the subject of a *mahākāvya*. The story of a Paurāṇika king was replaced by the story of a historical king or line of kings, and thus resulted the historical *mahākāvya*. The background for the development of this trend was perhaps created by the historical inscriptions in high-flown Sanskrit, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. In the north, the early Gupta inscriptions, and, in the south, the early Coḷa inscriptions could, indeed, be taken as short *kāvyas*. So, too, are the excellent Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia of this period.

The earliest historical *kāvya* is *Bhuvanābhyudaya* by Śaṅkuka of Kashmir (*c*. 850) which describes a local battle. The first *mahākāvya* of this class is Padmagupta Parimala's *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* which is about King Sindhurāja of Mālava. In the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, the celebrated Bilhaṇa deals with his patron Cālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa (1076-1127). The greatest of the historical poems is *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Kalhaṇa (middle of the twelfth century) on Kashmir. In it the author sets forth the efforts he made to collect evidence and material for his work and the sources he consulted. Among the sources mentioned are some historical writings, *Nṛpāvali* by Kṣemendra and the works of Helārāja and Chavillākara which are all lost. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is not a mere chronicle of the names of kings or of political events, but a rich and vivid picture of the social and cultural life of the country, including the literary contributions of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's tradition was carried forward by Jonarāja and by Śrīvara both in the fifteenth century, and was taken up to the time of Akbar (1556–1605), by Prājya Bhaṭṭa and Śuka.

To write a biographical poem on the royal patron and his family became a regular activity for court poets in medieval times, and there is hardly a part of India where such historical poems did not arise. In Bengal, Sandhyākara Nandin wrote the *Rāmacarita* which is at the same time a historical *kāvya* relating to Pāla rule during the period 1070–1120. Chandakavi wrote *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, a *kāvya* on Pṛthvīrāja of Ajmer. Someśvara's *Kīrti-kaumudī*, *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*, *Vastupāla-carita*, and *Vasanta-vilāsa* form a set of works on the Vāghela kings of Gujarat and their minister Vastupāla. Nayacandra's *Hammīra-mahākāvya* on the Cauhāna king of Raṇastambhapura describes the king's heroic stand against Alauddin.

In South India, the tradition of historical *kāvyas* dates from Pallava and Coḷa times. The *Mayūravarma-carita* deals with the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsī. *Rājarāja-carita*, now lost, was written round a great Coḷa monarch and builder; Atula's *Mūṣukavaṁśa* is on the history of North Malabar. The *Kākatīya-carita* by Narasiṁha dealt with the Kākatīya kings of Warangal in Andhra. The great Vijayanagara kingdom of the South, which rose as a bulwark against

the advancing tide of Mohammedan rule, was celebrated in a series of biographical poems on its successive kings: Gaṅgādevī's *Mathurā-vijaya*, or *Vīrakamparāya-carita*, in which the goddess of the South appears in a dream to the Vijayanagara prince and asks him to deliver her from the atrocities of the Mohammedan invaders; *Sāluvābhyudaya* by Rājanātha II; and *Acyutarāyābhyudaya* by Rājanātha III.

Another series of poetic accounts of rulers was written on the Telugu rulers of the Tanjore offshoot of the Vijayanagara empire. The Telugu ruler Raghunātha Nāyaka was the subject of *Sāhitya-ratnākara* by Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, and also of *Raghunāthābhyudaya* written by his court poetess Rāmabhadrāmbā. Maratha power, like that of Vijayanagara, arose from historical necessity and consequently inspired many poems and other works on Śivājī, Śāmbhājī, and others. The *Śivabhārata* on Śivājī by Paramānanda Kavīndra is the greatest work in this group. Other works were the *Śambhurāja-carita* and the *Rājarāma-carita*. The Maratha dynasty at Tanjore was celebrated in several biographical works of this nature. The largest number of these literary tributes centred round Śāhājī (1684–1710), the foremost ruler and patron of the dynasty.

The rulers of the various Kerala kingdoms were similarly celebrated in poems and plays. The following random selection of works will show that an account of some kind of almost all the local dynasties in various parts of the country was given by the poets of their courts: Rudra's *Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṁśa-kāvya* on the Bāgulas of Mayūragiri (end of sixteenth century); *Jāmavijaya* by Vaṇīnātha on the rulers of the Navanagara (end of sixteenth century); *Rāmacandra-yaśaḥ-prabandha* by Govindabhaṭṭa on the rulers of Bikaner; Kṛṣṇa Kavi's *Īśvara-vilāsa* and Rāma's *Jayavaṁśa-kāvya* describing Śaiva Jaisingh and his ancestors; and *Cetasiṁha-kāvya* by Balabhadra on Cet Singh of Vārāṇasī.

Mohammedan rulers received similar attention from poets, as the following works will show. Maheśa Ṭhakkura translated *Akbarnama* into Sanskrit and named it *Sarvadeśa-vṛttāntasaṅgraha;* the subject of Rudra Kavi's *Dānaśāha-carita* is Akbar's son; while *Kīrti-samullāsa* and the *Nabākhāna-carita* by the same poet also celebrate Jahangir; in his *Nṛpanīti-garbhita-vṛtta*, Lakṣmīpati narrates the events which followed Aurangzeb's death; *Vijayapurī-kathā* is on the Bijapur Sultans, but is written in bad Sanskrit.

To these accounts of kings, we may add the biographies of saints, the *vijayas*, in which are described the lives and works of Śankara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, and others. Works were also produced describing the lives of individual scholars and of families of scholars, relating their genealogies, their works, their migrations, and so on. Individual merchants or pious persons were also given biographical treatment showing that the trend towards biographical writing did manifest itself. Unfortunately, however, works of this class have remained in unmerited neglect.

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND RHYMED KĀVYAS AND KĀVYAS IN PROSE

Originally, geographical accounts were closely linked with cosmogony and pilgrimage, the earliest form being seen in the treatment of *bhuvanakoṣa* (a list of the different worlds), *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage), and *kṣetras* (holy places) in the *itihāsa-purāṇa* literature. In classical *kāvya* literature, the *dūta-kāvyas* involve geographical descriptions. Pilgrimage came to be a main subject for a *kāvya*. *Tīrtha-prabandha* by Vādirāja (sixteenth century) with a commentary, and *Yātrā-prabandha* by Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita (seventeenth century) are examples of *kāvya* and *campū* (a mixture of verse and prose) on this theme.

Another direction in which poets showed their skill was in poetry wholly in rhymed verses, called *yamaka-kāvya*, and in difficult verbal feats, called *duṣkaras*. In *yamaka-kāvya*, there is play upon a word which is repeated giving two different meanings. All these skills, limited to the extent of a single canto, are found in the poems of Bhāravi and Māgha.

The earliest poem to exhibit such difficult feats of composition is *Acyutottara* by Rāma Śarman, mentioned by Bhāmaha. Among those that are available, the earliest ones are the short *Ghaṭakarpara*, and *Nalodaya* and *Kīcaka-vadha* by Nītivarman; and Mānāṅka's *Vṛndāvana* and *Meghābhyudaya*. In the tenth century, Vāsudeva of Kerala composed three *yamaka* poems; and in Tamil country there was *Yamaka-ratnākara* by Śrīvatsāṅka. Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka* displays all the feats. Dharmadāsa, earlier than Bhoja, produced *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* which is a complete, illustrated work on enigmatology.

Prose was cultivated by poets much more than we are led to believe from the few extant specimens. In fact, the surviving works themselves mention some early prose works, the *gadya-kāvyas* (prose literature). In the introduction to his *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa refers to two earlier *kathās* (fiction with no traditional or historical basis); similarly, in his *Harṣacarita* he refers to Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra's *gadya-bandha* (prose composition). Dhanapāla in his *Tilaka-mañjarī* mentions Rudra's *Trailokya-mañjarī* and Bhadrakīrti's *Tārāgaṇa*, the former being quoted also in Vardhamāna's *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi*. An *ākhyāyikā* (a fictional adventure story with some historical basis) called *Mādhavikā* is mentioned by Bhoja in his *Sṛṅgāra-prakāśa*; while Vardhamāna mentions two works, called *Narmadā-sundarī* and *Vilāsavatī*. In his *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana discusses many varieties of story literature, some of which, at least, should have been represented by actual examples. Earlier, the two rhetoricians, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, held pointed discussions on the differences between the two types of composition called *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*.

SUBANDHU, BĀṆA, AND DAṆḌIN

The three chief prose-poets of the classical age whose works have survived are: Subandhu (seventh century) who wrote *Vāsavadattā*; the great Bāṇa who

wrote *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita*; and Daṇḍin who wrote *Avantisundarī-kathā* or the *Daśakumāra-carita*. The shortest of these, *Vāsavadattā*, has a brief romantic theme, but its special feature is that, at every step, it is wrought with *śleṣa* (double meaning). *Śleṣa* was then taken over by Bāṇa, but it figures in his works only as one among the several brilliant qualities which gave him the status of the pre-eminent master of *gadya-kāvya*.

Bāṇa's appearance in prose was like Kālidāsa's in poetry and drama: it threw earlier works into oblivion, and caused all later writings to fall in line with his style and technique. Bāṇa flourished under King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (606–48), of whom the *Harṣacarita*, the first prose historical *kāvya*, is a biography. But it is not only the king's biography, it is also the poet's autobiography and, as a combination of the two, it is a unique work in Sanskrit literature. *Kādambarī* is woven round a tale told in the *Bṛhatkathā*; it shows, through successive deaths and rebirths, the steadfastness of love and its eventual fulfilment through persistence. In both these works, Bāṇa has a sustained story to tell; but he includes in them a mass of other things as well. In fact, as the traditional saying goes, there is hardly anything in the universe that Bāṇa has left untouched (*Bāṇocchiṣṭaṁ jagat sarvam*). His mind's universal sweep is constantly demonstrated in his descriptions and similes. It is usual, for Western scholars at least, to point out the difficulties of Bāṇa's style, particularly its *śleṣas* and long compounds. Yet to one well grounded in the language, these are no barrier to the enjoyment of the descriptions. The poet's son Pulinda, or Pulina, who completed his father's work, himself says that the sonorous passages and grand cadences are a sheer delight. But Bāṇa can also be brief and simple; he can touch us and move our hearts in situations of pathos. It is to Bāṇa that we owe the revelation that Sanskrit holds so much music in store in its prose, a revelation similar to that made by Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, and Jayadeva in respect of its verse.

When we read Daṇḍin, Bāṇa's compeer, who was no less a master of Sanskrit and its prose and no less encyclopaedic in his range, we are in a completely new world. With fewer compounds and shorter sentences, his prose produces quite a different rhythm. The number of characters, incidents, and other details, in which Daṇḍin revels, create a lively tempo. While Bāṇa's mind sweeps between earth and heaven, Daṇḍin's digs into the earth; he penetrates the world and reaches the underworld. His *Daśakumāra-carita* is the story of the adventures of three princes and seven sons of ministers. They separate and each one undergoes varied and exciting experiences. Finally, they reunite and each one mirrors the world, truly and fully, as he has seen it. Although this work was for a long time current under the title of *Daśakumāra-carita*, that was not its original name. This is an incomplete text, its beginning and end both being lost. A fuller version, recovered in part more recently, shows that it was origi-

nally called *Avantisundarī-kathā*. Like the *Harṣacarita*, it carried an interesting autobiography of its author. Thus this poet-laureate of the Pallavas of Kāñcī threw valuable sidelights on the history of South India between the sixth and ninth centuries.

Other prose stories or romances include *Tilaka-mañjarī* by Dhanapāla, who wrote under Muñja and Bhoja of Dhārā, and tried to follow the line of Bāṇa. *Gadya-cintāmaṇi* was a Jaina prose work by the Tamil Jaina writer already mentioned, Oḍayadeva. *Āścarya-mañjarī* by King Kulaśekhara of Kerala is known only in citations. Rājaśekhara mentions a work called *Mṛgāṅkalekhā* written by someone called Aparājita.

Following Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, a few historical works in prose appeared. Among these are *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya* by Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇa, written on his father King Vikramāditya (1076–1127). This work has been recovered only in part. *Gadya-karṇāmṛta* by Vidyācakravartin II dealt with the history of the Hoysaḷas in the thirteenth century. This work, too, has come down to us in an incomplete manuscript. A history was also written of the Reddi King of Andhra (1403–20). This was Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's *Vema-bhūpāla-carita* or the *Vīranārāyaṇa-carita*.

CAMPŪS

From the earliest times, there was a tendency to use prose and verse together. Originally, this mixed style figured in religious and scholastic writings. The Buddhists, for example, employed it in their quasi-literary works. Finally, it was that great book of didactic fables, the *Pañcatantra*, which brought it fully into the literary field. The literary critic Daṇḍin had mentioned this class of writing and had identified its name as *campū*, on the basis of examples extant in his time.

The oldest extant *campū-kāvya* is the *Nala-campū* or the *Damayantī-kathā* by Trivikrama written at the beginning of the tenth century. Trivikrama followed Bāṇa's diction, with all its *śleṣa* too. His second *campū*, *Madālasā*, has not, however, survived. It was in the same period, under the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, that the versatile Jaina scholar Somadeva Sūri wrote the long *Yaśastilaka-campū*, which in the later parts turns completely didactic and religious. Another *campū* produced in South India in this period is the *Jīvandhara-campū* by Haricandra. Two old *campūs* which are lost, and whose names we know from Bhoja, *Damayantī* and *Vāsavadattā*, are different works from those whose names are mentioned above.

The *Bhoja-campū* on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, attributed to King Bhoja, was very well known; even today all students of Sanskrit know this *campū*. Following this, numerous *campūs* were written, particularly in South India, on the stories of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Two outstanding South Indian examples are *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, written in 1637, and *Viśvaguṇādarśa*

by Veṅkaṭādhvarin, written in the latter part of the seventeenth century. *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* tells the stories of the churning of the ocean and of Śiva drinking the poison, written with all the characteristic wit and originality of the author. In *Viśvaguṇādarśa* the world is reviewed by two aerial observers; one reports favourably, the other adversely. The originality of the work caught on and led to a few imitations. The *campū* form was also used in South India in historical and biographical works, such as the *Coḷa-campū* written by Virūpākṣa, and *Ānandaraṅga-vijaya-campū* by Śrīnivāsa (1752).

A new development in *campū* took place in Kerala. The Sanskrit writers were eager to spread knowledge of the classics among the masses, and in their efforts to do this adopted dramatic forms, using the gifted community of actors called *cākyārs*. For them, *campū* compositions called *prabandhas* were composed on episodes from the two epics and from the Purāṇas. The *cākyārs* were thus provided with full scope for recitation and exposition through word and gesture. The great Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri composed a large number of such *campū-prabandhas* for the use of one of these actors, with whom he was friendly. This was Ravi-nartaka, who was himself the author of a metrical résumé of the complicated story of the *Mudrārākṣasa-nāṭaka*.

ANIMAL TALES

Parables from the animal and bird kingdoms have been used since the time of the Upaniṣads, the Buddhistic writings, and the two epics. The *Mahābhārata*, in particular, contains a number of instructive animal fables. In a separate collection, the *Pañcatantra*, the fables are arranged in a way that they inculcate in kings the principles of polity and prudent conduct. The five sections of the book deal with (*i*) dividing friends; (*ii*) winning friends and allies; (*iii*) war and peace; (*iv*) the loss of things gained; and (*v*) thoughtless action or the lack of vigilance. Stories of animals and birds are inserted one within another, and strewn throughout the book are wise sayings and pithy didactic verses. The prose style is straight and simple, and has the patent quality of communication. The *Pañcatantra* is current in different recensions and recasts, the best-known recast being Nārāyaṇa's *Hitopadeśa*.

The remarkable thing about the *Pañcatantra* is that it is the ultimate source of animal fables throughout the world. It was translated first into Pahlavi in the sixth century; then, through derivative versions in Arabic and Syriac, it was adapted into almost all European languages. Over two hundred versions of it have been traced in more than fifty languages, three-fourths of these being non-Indian languages.

NĪTI LITERATURE

Closely related to the theme of the *Pañcatantra* is the question of *nīti* (right

conduct). This is the subject of several shorter poetic works, ranging in length from a few verses to a *śataka* (a hundred verses). The best-known work in this category is the *Nīti-śataka* by Bhartṛhari. In popularity, it is second only to the *Vidura-nīti* of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Nīti-dviṣaṣṭikā* of Sundarapāṇḍya of South India, written in verse in *āryā* metre and widely extracted in anthologies, is of a markedly high literary quality. There are *śatakas* in diverse recensions ascribed to Cāṇakya; and there is also *Nītisāra* by Kāmandaka, which calls itself a *kāvya*. There are some anonymous *nītisāras* and collections of *nīti* verses, but these do not exhaust the reflective type of poetry in Sanskrit. There is yet another form, and it is unique, allied to the animal fable. It is the *anyokti* or *anyāpadeśa*, in which the poet conveys, by indirect suggestion, some criticism of the life around him, some praise or blame, and he does this by depicting a tree, a creeper, an animal or bird, or any other aspect of nature. The best collection of such *anyāpadeśas* is the one current in the name of the poet Bhallaṭa of Kashmir (ninth century). Of equal rank is the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka* by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of the Tamil region.

There also developed poems which were more directly didactic; in fact they sprang from most ancient roots in the epics and in Buddhist writings, such as sayings in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Dhammapada*. In this field, the Jaina output is especially large. A remarkable didactic poem is *Praśnottara-ratnamālikā*, in simple catechismal style, which inculcates virtues in an effective manner. The popularity of this poem is seen not only in its numerous manuscripts, but also in the fact that its authorship is shared, in different manuscripts with recensional differences, by the great Śaṅkara, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsa, a Jain teacher Vimala, and a Buddhist teacher Śaṅkarānanda.

In this class the versatile Kṣemendra of Kashmir wrote several originally conceived works, some short, some long. On pride, he wrote *Darpadalana*; on master and servant, the *Sevya-sevakopadeśa*; on the four ends of man, *Caturvarga-saṅgraha*; and on the right and healthy conduct, *Cārucaryā*. With satire and sarcasm, he produced two more pieces, the *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā*. To warn the people of various social pests and parasites, he wrote *Kalā-vilāsa*; and to warn the young of pitfalls, he wrote *Samayamātṛkā*; this was written on the lines of an earlier work, *Kuṭṭanīmata* by the Kashmiri minister Dāmodaragupta (*c.* 800). Following both Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra, Jalhaṇa wrote the *Mugdhopadeśa*. On the model of Kṣemendra's *Cārucaryā*, Gamāni, a later poet, composed the *Upadeśa-śataka*, embodying in each verse a principle of good conduct and an illustrative episode. On the model, again, of Kṣemendra's satirical and didactic pieces, Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of South India wrote two brilliant *śatakas*, *Kaliviḍambana* and *Sabhārañjana*. The *Mahiṣa-śataka* by Vāñcheśvara Yajvan is a satire on an official of the Tanjore Maratha court. Employing *śleṣa*, Vedānta Deśika, in his *Subhāṣitanīvi*, drives home moral and ethical ideas. A more popular, simpler,

and an effective century of verses of this type is *Kavirākṣasīya*. There are other *subhāṣita* (epigrammatical saying) poems contributed by various individual writers, but on the border of these is the wider world of a mass of anonymous *subhāṣitas*, luminous nebulae embodying the wisdom of the people.

PROSE NARRATIVES IN SIMPLE STYLE

As a source-book of themes for poets and playwrights, the *Bṛhatkathā* ranks with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. It was written by Guṇāḍhya in Paiśācī Prakrit, most probably in the Śātavāhana court between the first and fourth centuries A.D. Four Sanskrit versions were also written, the earliest by the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, but this is not available now. The one by Buddhasvāmin, *Ślokasaṅgraha*, has survived only in part. But the two Kashmiri versions are available. A rather too summary account of it was written by Kṣemendra, called the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*, and a longer form, *Kathāsarit-sāgara* by Somadeva (1063–81). Somadeva's version, which the poet wrote for Sūryamatī, the queen of Ananta, is of better quality and interest as a narrative. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* by King Bhoja, more recently recovered and published, narrates stories illustrative of psychological types of love. Popular collections of stories relating to the fabled kings Vikramāditya, Śūdraka, and Bhoja are *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, the *Śālivāhana-kathā*, the *Vīra-carita*, and *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśikā*. Of a different type, and originally conceived in purpose and in mode of narration, is *Śukasaptati*, in which the ingenious poet makes a parrot tell a story and pose a question to prevent a lady from going astray. Of later story-books, *Puruṣa-parīkṣā* by Vidyāpati of Mithilā stands high above all others. *Mādhavānala-kāmakandalā*, by Ānanda, and *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, *Prabandha-koṣa*, the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, and the *Bhoja-prabandha* are the best known. Śrīvara's *Kathākautuka* is translated from the Persian. Śivadāsa's *Kathārṇava* gives tales of knaves and fools. The Jains produced numerous *kathākoṣas* with a religious purpose; in some of them they ridiculed the Paurāṇika stories, sometimes overdoing this tendency.

LYRIC POETRY : EROTIC, DIDACTIC AND DEVOTIONAL

Kālidāsa's *Ṛtusaṁhāra* and *Meghadūta*, which have already been discussed, stand at the head of lyric poems. *Meghadūta* has been endlessly imitated, in Sanskrit and also in local languages. Of the numerous *dūta* or *sandeśa-kāvyas* (poems which send a message or news), *Pavana-dūta* by Dhoyī of Bengal (twelfth century) and *Haṁsa-sandeśa* by the great South Indian philosopher, Vedānta Deśika, are noteworthy. In this type of *kāvya* the route of the messenger has to be described. Thus, as already mentioned, the *sandeśa-kāvyas* have a secondary use in disseminating knowledge of local geography and place-names.

Love-lyrics are best referred to by the collections of verse, often in hundreds and called *śatakas*, depicting an infinite variety of moods of love. The earliest

of these collections is the *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* by the famous Bhartṛhari. In fact, this work, together with his century on *nīti*, and another on *vairāgya* (dispassion), formed his *triśatī* (three centuries) and became part of the curriculum of studies. Then, like Bhartṛhari, to write *triśatis* on *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra* (mundane love), and *vairāgya* became a vogue with poets, and they began to produce *śatakas* on the three subjects or on one or two of them.

For artistry, for fineness of feeling, and for portraiture, the *Amaru-śataka* of the poet Amaru (*c.* seventh century) is unexcelled. Amaru was made immortal by his hundred verses. He was imitated freely; his collection was added to, and manuscripts of his verses were provided with colour illustrations. These illustrations, in fact, have attained importance in the study of Indian painting. In dance, his verses became part of the repertoire for *abhinaya* (imaginative exposition through gesture).

Another writer who carved a niche for himself as a love-poet was Bilhana (eleventh century). In *Caura-pañcāśikā*, his portraits of love-situations take the form of a series of recollections. The popularity of this lyric is borne out by the growth of recensions of the poem. Also, a *Bilhaṇa-kāvya* arose to supply a story framework for the lyric.

Like Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, *Gītagovinda* by Jayadeva (twelfth century) is one of the most imitated among Sanskrit poems. Depicting the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the form of a song-poem intended for dance and gesticulation, Jayadeva's work holds a unique place in the widely different but interrelated fields of poetry, music, dance-drama, and *bhakti* (devotional practices). Keith[1] observes that in Jayadeva's poetry 'the art of wedding sound and meaning is carried out with such success that it cannot fail to be appreciated even by ears far less sensitive than those of Indian writers on poetics. The result, however, of this achievement is to render any translation useless as a substitute for the original; if to be untranslatable is a proof of the attainment of the highest poetry, Jayadeva has certainly claim to that rank.' He also set the model for music compositions. Inscriptions, and also practices which have not yet died out, show that Jayadeva's poem has been used in temples, in *bhajana* (devotional songs) gatherings, and in dance recitals. Outstanding among the numerous imitations of the *Gītagovinda* is *Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgiṇī* by Nārāyaṇatīrtha of the Tanjore area (*c.* seventeenth century). This work is still part of the Karnatic music tradition, and of the *Kṛṣṇagīti* or *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam* of Mānavadeva, the Zamorin of Calicut (seventeenth century). *Kṛṣṇagīti*, which is still produced at the Guruvayur temple was the precursor of the more famous Kathākali art.

Govardhana, Jayadeva's fellow court poet, wrote an important lyrical poem, *Āryā-saptaśatī*, a Sanskrit counterpart of the old *Gāthā-saptaśatī* in Prakrit; and, on the same model, Viśveśvara wrote a *śataka*, *Āryā-śataka*. With Bhartṛ-

1. *HSL*, p. 195.

hari as model, Dhanadarāja (fifteenth century) wrote *śatakas* on *nīti*, *śṛṅgāra*, and *vairāgya*; and the well-known Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha (seventeenth century) his *Bhāminī-vilāsa*. Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-śataka* gave rise to a number of *śatakas* on the theme of retirement and peace, *vairāgya* and *śānti*; a considerable number of these were written by Jains. The more noteworthy *śatakas* in this class are: the *Śānti-śataka* by Śilhāṇa of Kashmir; *Moha-mudgara* ascribed to Śaṅkara; Amitagati's *Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha*, and Somaprabha's *Sūkti-muktāvali* among the Jaina works; *Vairāgya-pañcaka* by Vedānta Deśika, and the *Vairāgya-śataka* and *Śānti-vilāsa* by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

BHAKTI HYMNOLOGY

Between mundane love (*śṛṅgāra*) on the one hand and total detachment (*vairāgya*) on the other, there is devotion to a personal God (*bhakti*), and its manifestation in the form of *stotras*, devotional lyrics. *Stotras* form a very substantial part of writings in Sanskrit. The *Ṛg-Veda* is the oldest and greatest book of *stotras*; next come the two epics and the Purāṇas as storehouses of hymns. From these sources come *Āditya-hṛdaya* and *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*, which have a continuous tradition from very early times. We have already mentioned Mātṛceṭa's *Buddha-stotras*. Other works which together form the chief Buddhist *stotras* are: Nāgārjuna's *Catuḥstava*; King Harṣavardhana's *Suprabhāta-stotra* and *Aṣṭa-mahāśrīcaitya-stotra*; Vajradatta's *Lokeśvara-śataka* (ninth century); the *Nāma-stotra*, *Paramārthanāma-saṅgīti*, and the *Sragdharā-stotra* on Tārā by the Kashmiri Sarvajñamitra.

The *mahākāvyas* written by Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha contain hymns; while some *stotras*, many of them of high poetic quality and esoteric significance, are ascribed to Kālidāsa, we cannot be sure of their authenticity. The earliest historical hymns, *śatakas*, are those of Bāṇa and Mayūra at Harṣa's court, and also the *Caṇḍī-śataka* on Goddess Devī and the *Sūrya-śataka* on the Sun. The *Sūrya-śataka* is famous through frequent quotations in treatises on rhetoric.

In Kashmir, in the ninth century, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara, both of the same court, wrote the *Devī-śataka* and the *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* in which they exhibited their skill and wit in verbal feats and *double entendre*. From a purely religious point of view, the *stotra* literature gained greatest momentum at the hands of the great Śaṅkarācārya. Although there is difficulty in deciding the genuineness of the host of hymns, printed and unprinted, ascribed to him, there is no doubt that he composed a number of *stotras* on various forms of the divinity, and at the various sacred places he visited during his triumphal march and mission through the length and breadth of the country.

In the area of devotion to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, the *Mukunda-mālā* by Kulaśekhara, which is often taken to be identical with the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvār of that

name, attained canonical status together with the *Stotraratna* by the pre-Rāmānuja philosopher Yāmunācārya. Of equal or even higher status on the Śaivite side is the *Mahimnaḥ Stava* by Puṣpadanta. Commentaries were written on this work and its verses were often cited as authority in philosophical discussions. Kashmir Śaivism developed a corpus of hymns which were at the same time authoritative for the doctrines of the school. Among these are: *Stava-cintāmaṇi* by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa; Cakrapāṇi's *Bhāvopahāra-stotra*; Utpaladeva's *Śiva-stotrāvalī*; and Jagaddhara's *Kusumāñjali*. Four other important Śiva *stotras* are taken together with that of Puṣpadanta and referred to as *Śivapañca-stavī*. These are: the *Anāmaya-stotra* ascribed to Daṇḍin; and one each ascribed to Bilhaṇa, Halāyudha, and Malhaṇa. *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* by Līlāśuka is an independent collection of verses which are unique as devotional outpourings centred round young Kṛṣṇa. Here ecstatic devotional poetry registers a high watermark. From South India, where it was produced, this work went to the north-east and spread across Bengal and into Assam where, together with Jayadeva's poem, it became an inspirer of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti*.

The leading Sanskrit hymnists of South Indian Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism are: Śrī-vatsāṅka who wrote *Pañcastavī*; Parāśara who wrote *Śrīguṇa-ratnakoṣa*; and the most prolific Veṅkaṭanātha Deśika. Madhvācārya's *Dvādaśa-stotra* has appealing, devotional, and didactic aspects. In the field of Devī worship, canonical significance combined with high poetic quality attaches to four sets of hymns: the *Lalitā-stavaratna* or *Āryādviśatī* ascribed to Durvāsas; the much commented upon *Saundarya-laharī* associated with Śaṅkara; the *Devī-pañcastavī*, a pentad comprising the *Laghu-*, *Carcā-*, *Ghaṭa-*, *Ambā-*, and *Sakalajananī-stavas*, some of which have commentaries, and the five *śatakas* on the Goddess Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī, the *Pañcaśatī* written by Mūka Kavi. Regarded as dumb, Mūka Kavi is said to have broken into verse by the grace of the Goddess. Vallabhācārya, Viṭhṭhala, and Haridāsa enriched the Puṣṭi school with their hymns on Kṛṣṇa, and Rūpa Gosvāmin enriched the Caitanya *sampradāya* (school).

The versatile Appaya Dīkṣita wrote hymns expounding Śaivite doctrines; but he also contributed some that were notable for their poetic and devotional qualities. Among these are the *Varadarāja-stava*; *Mānasollāsa*, and the *Ātmārpaṇa-stuti*. His brother's grandson, the poet Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, wrote *Śivotkarṣa-mañjarī* and the *Ānanda-sāgara-stava* on the Goddess Mīnākṣī in Madurai. Paṇḍita-rāja Jagannātha's five *laharīs* are praises and prayers addressed to Sūrya, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Lakṣmī, and Viṣṇu. An exclusive Rāma hymnist was Rāma-bhadra Dīkṣita of Tanjore (*c.* 1700) who wrote several *stotras* on Rāma. There was also Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa, of the same time and village as Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, who was the author of several hymns, including a notable one on the Lord's name. He was, in fact, one of those who revitalized the *bhajana* tradition and *nāma-siddhānta* (recitation of the Lord's name) in Tamil country.

Kerala's gift to hymnology is the long poem *Nārāyaṇīya* by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri (1560–1646). It is at once a hymn to the deity at the great shrine of Guruvayar, the Tirupati of Kerala, and a résumé of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Associated with a miracle, it is widely used in devout daily reading and recitation in Kerala, and today its influence is spreading beyond that area.

This account of devotional poetry will not be complete without at least a mention of the more famous among the Jaina *stotras*: Akalaṅka's *Aṣṭaka*; Vidyānanda's *Bṛhat-pañcanamaskāra-stotra*; Samantabhadra's *Stutividyā*; Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara*; Siddhasena Divākara's *Kalyāṇa-mandira*; and the hymns by Hemacandra, Dhanapāla, and Śobhana. Jaina authors used their hymns for doctrinal exposition, and also as a means of exhibiting their skill and as ingenious literary exercises.

WOMEN WRITERS AND ROYAL POETS AND PATRONS OF SANSKRIT

At least in the classical ages, Sanskrit education was common among women. Thus, Sanskrit literature was cultivated not by men alone, but by women too. From the anthologies and other literary evidence, we know of several poetesses whose verses, if not works, are preserved in citation. The foremost of these is Vijjikā or Vijayāṅkā, a Karṇāṭaka princess. Next come Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikā, Vikaṭanitambā, Mārulā, Morikā, Indulekhā, Prabhudevī, Subhadrā, Avantisundarī, and several others. In medieval and modern times, too, the line of women writers in Sanskrit has continued. In South India the works of some of them have been preserved. These are: the *Madhurā-vijaya* or the *Vīrakamparāya-carita* by the Vijayanagara queen Gaṅgādevī (fourteenth century); the *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya* by Tirumalāmbā of the Vijayanagara court (sixteenth century), and *Raghunāthābhyudaya* by Rāmabhadrāmbā of the Tanjore court (seventeenth century).

The kings who patronized the poetry we have reviewed were not mere passive patrons. The system of education for a prince in ancient India included the study of Sanskrit literature. Indeed, several important works have come down in the names of kings; and the greatest of these is King Bhoja of Dhārā (eleventh century). One might naturally expect that the royal connoisseurs, sitting with the poets and enjoying their verse, would participate in their creative activity. Glimpses of such literary gatherings in courts, the names of kings, and their own verses come to us in works on poetics, such as *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*; in poems, such as the *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita*; in Kṣemendra's minor works of criticism, such as *Aucitya-vicāracarcā* and *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*; and in the anthologies. The anthologies, in fact, are windows on much larger fields of literary output in Sanskrit than have survived through the ages. They give us an insight into the works that have been lost and, to those of literary taste, they are companions in reading and enjoying the finest verse of every kind and on every theme, drawn from the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The floating mass

of *muktakas* (stray verses), handed down orally, were only found in the anthologies. Part of the training of Sanskrit students and scholars was to learn by heart choice and quotable verses on diverse subjects. Everyone had his own store of verse in mind, especially the writer on poetics and dramaturgy, who was able to reel off illustrative verses at will. Some went further by making systematic collections of such verse, and thus the anthologies came into being.

Of the anthologies, the earliest is the *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa* made by Vidyākara (1110) of eastern India, which was published by the Harvard University Press in 1957.[2] This was followed by *Sadukti-karnāmṛta* by Śrīdharadāsa (1205), of the same part of the country. Other anthologies included: the *Subhāṣitāvalī* by Vallabhadeva of Kashmir; the *Sūktimuktāvalī* by Jalhaṇa (thirteenth century) who lived under the Yādavas of Devagiri; Śārṅgadhara's *Paddhati* (1363); the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* by Sāyaṇa of Vijayanagara (unpublished); the *Sūktiratnahāra* by Kāliṅgarāya Sūrya (fourteenth century) of South India; the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* by Haribhāskara; the *Padyaveṇi* by Veṇidatta (seventeenth century); the *Padya-racanā* by Lakṣmaṇa ; the *Rasika-jīvana* by Gadādhara; the *Sūkti-sundara* by Sundara (seventeenth century); and the *Vidyākara-sahasraka* by Vidyākara (nineteenth century) of Mithilā.

CONCLUSION

The *kāvya* literature, being derived from the epics, provided a continuation, differently expressed, of the concepts and values of Indian thought. The total output of *kāvya* literature during the two and a half millennia of its history is prodigious in quantity and remarkable in variety. Although, according to the principles of Indian aesthetics, Indian writers set no great store by mere originality, this great mass of classical Sanskrit poetry constantly showed new forms, new themes, new modes of expression and treatment. The greatest assets of these poets were the language itself and its wealth of lyrical metre. The great masters of poetry and of prose brought out and developed the latent possibilities for sound offered by the language, and discovered its extraordinary capacity for matching sound and sense. The whole gamut of human emotions was gone through and given expression to; in particular, the possibilities for expressions of love seemed inexhaustible. In drawing miniatures of moods, in depicting men and women in a variety of human situations, in recreating scenes from nature, the Sanskrit poet was a consummate artist.

Despite the barriers of language and unfamiliar forms, the *kāvya* literature has today reached out, directly and through translation, to the wider readership of the world, and the readers are held primarily by the qualities of humanism and universality which Sanskrit literature presents. While the Upaniṣads and

2. D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gobhale, eds.

their philosophy have strongly appealed to the modern West, the *kāvya* literature, the product of the same spirit of Vedānta, the same integration of man, nature, and the universe, expressed in the more universal medium of art, does not fail to evoke a similar response.

It is significant that, along with the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the first Sanskrit classic to be translated into English was Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*. The poems and plays of Kālidāsa and Śūdraka, the fables of the *Pañcatantra*, the lyrics of Amaru and Jayadeva, the prose of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, these are the glistening white mountain peaks in the great range of Sanskrit literary achievement. The fact is that great range is no less than the range of human nature, and in the *subhāṣitas*, with brevity and pointed expression, the innate wisdom of the pure human mind shines forth, with few parallels in world literature.

14

SANSKRIT DRAMA : GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

SIR William Jones, by his translation of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* in 1789, introduced Sanskrit drama to the West and created a critical interest in the study of Sanskrit literature. Since then the labours of Sanskritists have gradually made available most of the important works of Sanskrit drama, which can now be legitimately regarded as one of the most interesting products of the Indian mind and as one of India's finest national heritages.

The number of Sanskrit plays, which have been printed or which still exist in manuscript form, exceeds six hundred; but most of these are inferior and imitative productions belonging to comparatively recent times. The extant masterpieces of Sanskrit drama belong to the flourishing period of Sanskrit literature, which is usually regarded as extending roughly from the fourth to the twelfth century of the Christian era. Recent researches have, however, shown that the extant literature probably does not give a proper indication of its great antiquity. Kālidāsa himself records the names of some of his famed predecessors, while dramatic fragments, belonging to the early Kuṣāṇa period, have been discovered in Central Asia. One of these fragments is actually the work of Aśvaghoṣa, whom the Buddhist tradition places as the court poet of Kaṇiska. This evidence, though meagre, is extremely important, for even at its first appearance the Indian drama reveals a relatively perfected form and indicates that it must have had a long history behind it. This history, unfortunately, cannot be traced today, for the earlier specimens which might have enabled us to do this appear to have perished in the course of time. The orthodox account of the origin of Sanskrit drama, by describing it as a gift from heaven in the form of a developed art discovered by the divine sage, Bharata, envelops it in an impenetrable mist of myth; while modern scholarship, professing to find the earliest manifestations of the dramatic idea in the dialogue-hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*, and presupposing a development of the dramatic form from the religious after the manner of Greek drama, shrouds its origin in a still greater mist of speculation. The various modern theories, again, of the original 'shadow-play' or 'puppet-play' do not stand up to critical examination in the light of historical facts. The lack of exact dates still precludes a definite conclusion. Nevertheless, references in early literature indicate that drama of some kind probably existed at least as early as the fourth century B.C., although there is nothing extant which bears the same relation to the classical drama as the earlier epics do to the later classical epics.

SANSKRIT DRAMA. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

NO GREEK INFLUENCE

There cannot be any doubt that Sanskrit drama, either in its origin or in its development, did not receive the necessary impetus from the contact of Greece with India. Even if certain striking parallels and coincidences may be admitted between the Greek and the Sanskrit drama, the search for positive signs of influence has only produced a negative result. There are so many fundamental differences that borrowing or influence is out of the question, and the affinities should be regarded as independent developments. Sanskrit drama is essentially of the romantic rather than of the classical type, and affords greater points of resemblance to Elizabethan than to Greek drama. The unities of time and place are entirely disregarded between acts as well as within acts. Twelve years may elapse between one act and another, and the time-limit of an act often exceeds twenty-four hours, while the scene may easily shift from earth to heaven. Romantic legendary elements are freely introduced; tragi-comedy or melodrama is not infrequent; verse is regularly mixed with prose; puns and other verbal manipulations are often favoured. There is no chorus, but there is a metrical benediction and a prologue, which are integral parts of the play and set the plot in motion. Certain dramatic devices, such as the introduction of a play within a play and the use of a token of recognition, are common, while a parallel to the *vidūṣaka* is found in the Elizabethan Fool. There is no limit in Sanskrit drama to the number of characters, who may be either divine, semi-divine or human. The plot might be taken from legend or from history, but it might also be drawn from contemporary life and manners. With only rare exceptions, the main interest almost invariably centres round a love-story, love being the only passion which forms the dominant theme of such romantic dramas. Special structures of a square, rectangular or triangular shape for the presentation of plays are described in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but they have little resemblance to the Greek or modern theatre and must have been evolved independently. Very often, plays appear to have been enacted in the music-hall of the royal palace, and there were probably no special contrivances, elaborate stage-properties or even scenery in the ordinary sense of the word. The lack of these theatrical makeshifts was made up by the imagination of the audience, which was aided by a profusion of verses describing the imaginary surroundings, by mimetic action, and by an elaborate system of gestures possessing a conventional significance.

AESTHETIC IDEALS: EVOCATION OF A RASA

Besides these more or less formal requirements, there are some important features which fundamentally distinguish Sanskrit drama from all other dramas. The aim of the Sanskrit dramatists, who were mostly idealists in outlook, was not to mirror life by a direct portrayal of action or character, but to evoke a particular sentiment (*rasa*) in the mind of the audience, be it amatory, heroic

or quietistic. As this was regarded, both in theory and practice, to be the sole object of the dramatic art, everything else was secondary; complications were to be avoided so that they would not divert the mind from an appreciation of the sentiment. A well-known theme, towards which the viewer's mind would of itself be inclined, was normally preferred; the poet's skill was concerned entirely with the developing of its emotional possibilities. The criticism, therefore, that the Sanskrit dramatist showed little fertility in the invention of plots may be just, but it fails to take into account this defined object of Sanskrit drama.

Thus, Sanskrit drama came to possess an atmosphere of sentiment and poetry, which was conducive to an idealistic creation in subordination of action and characterization, but which in the works of lesser dramatists overshadowed all that was dramatic. The analogy is to be found in Indian painting and sculpture, which avoid the crude realism of bones and muscles and concentrate exclusively on spiritual expression, but which often degenerate into specimens of empty stylization. This, of course, does not mean that reality was entirely banished; but the sentimental and poetic envelopment certainly retarded the growth of the purely dramatic elements. It is for this reason that sentimental verses, couched in a great variety of lyrical measures and often strangely undramatic, preponderate, prose parts merely acting as a connecting link, to purvey information, or to carry forward the story. Dialogue was, therefore, more or less neglected in favour of lyrical stanzas, to which its very flatness made an effective contrast. The absence of scenic aids, no doubt, needed these stanzas to suggest the scene or the situation to the imagination of the audience and to evoke the proper sentiment; but the method progressively enhanced the lyric and emotional tendencies of the drama, and elegance and refinement were as much encouraged as in poetry. It also follows from this sentimental and romantic bias that typical characters were generally preferred to individual figures. This does not mean that the ideal heroic characters were all represented as devoid of common humanity. Cārudatta, for instance, is not just a marvel of eminent virtues, but a well-balanced man of the world, whose remarkable qualities were softened by an equally remarkable touch of humanity; nor is Duṣyanta merely a typical lover prescribed by convention. At the same time, there was a tendency to indulge in generalizations and a reluctance to deviate from the type. It meant an indifference to individuality, and consequently to realistic characterization, plot and action; also a corresponding proneness towards idealization with the result that Sanskrit drama, as a rule, had to make frequent use of such accessories as lyric, dance, music, song, and mimetic art. As there is, thus, a fundamental difference in the respective conception of drama, most Sanskrit plays, judged by modern standards, would not be regarded as dramas in the strict

sense of the word, but rather as dramatic poems. In some authors, the sense of the dramatic became hopelessly lost in their ever-increasing striving after the sentimental and the poetic; and they often made the mistake of choosing lyric or epic subjects which were hardly capable of proper dramatic treatment. It is not surprising, therefore, that a modern critic should accept only *Mudrārākṣasa*, in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature, as a drama proper. This is indeed an extreme attitude, for the authors of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* knew very well that they were composing dramas and not merely a set of elegant poetical passages; but this view brings out very clearly the characteristic aims and limitations of Sanskrit drama. There is, however, an advantage which is not often seen in the modern practical productions. The pulsating breath of poetry and romance animates Sanskrit drama; it does not represent human beings under ordinary commonplace circumstances; it has often the higher poetic authenticity, which is no less attractive in revealing the beauty, as well as the depth, of human character; and even when its dramatic qualities are poor, it appeals by the richness of its poetry.

GENERAL ATMOSPHERE

As the achievement of concord and harmony was a necessary corollary to the ideal character of the drama, nothing was allowed to be represented on the stage, which might offend the sensibility of the audience and detract from the suggestion of the desired sentiment by inauspicious, frivolous, or undesirable details. This rule regarding the observance of stage-decencies included, among other things, the prohibition that death should not be exhibited on the stage. This restriction, as well as the serene attitude of the Indian mind towards life, made it difficult for the dramatist to depict tragedy in its deeper sense or comedy in its higher forms. Pathetic episodes, dangers, and difficulties were allowed to contribute to the unfolding of the plot with a view to the evoking of the desired sentiment, but in the final ending discord was totally ruled out. The poetic justice of the European drama was not permissible in Sanskrit. Dramatic conflict hardly received a full or logical scope; and the dictum was that all should end well by the achievement of all-round happiness and reunion. There are indeed exceptions to this general rule; the *Ūrubhaṅga* has a tragic ending. There were also instances where the rule was obeyed in the letter but not in spirit; for Vasantasenā's apparent murder in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* occurs on the stage, and a dead person is restored to life on the stage in the *Nāgānanda*. Nevertheless, the injunction makes Bhavabhūti alter the tragic ending of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into one of happy union, while the sublimity of the self-sacrifice of Jīmūtavāhana, which suggests real tragedy, ends in a somewhat lame denouement of divine intervention and complete and immediate reward of virtue at the end. In Western drama, death overshadows

everything and, by its loss of hope, forms the chief ingredient of poignant tragedy; the Indian dramatist, no less pessimistic in his belief in the inexorable law of Karma, does not deny death, but, finding in it a condition of renewal of life, can hardly regard it in the same tragic light.

TRAGEDY AND SANSKRIT DRAMA

It is, however, not correct to say that Sanskrit drama entirely excludes tragedy. What it really does is to exclude the direct representation of death, and to insist upon a happy ending. It recognizes a form of tragedy in its pathetic sentiment and in the portrayal of separation in love; tragic interest strongly dominates some of the great plays. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*, for instance, tragedy does not indeed occur at the end, but it occurs in the middle, and in the *Uttara-Rāma-carita* where tragic interest prevails throughout, it occurs in an intensive form at the beginning of the play. The theorists appeared to maintain that there is no tragedy in the mere fact of death; in itself, it is a disgusting, terrible, or undignified spectacle inimical to aesthetic pleasure. Grim realism, in their view, did not exalt but debase the mind, and thereby caused a disturbance of the romantic setting. They held that tragedy either precedes or follows the fact of death, which need not be visually represented, but the effect of which may be utilized for evoking tragic pathos. It appears, therefore, that tragedy was not totally neglected, but it was often subordinated to other sentiments and was thus left comparatively undeveloped. Nevertheless, the very condition of happy ending makes much of the tragedy of Sanskrit drama unconvincing. In spite of the unmistakable tone of earnestness, the certainty of reunion appears to present the pathos of temporary separation as a needlessely exaggerated sentimentality.

PRODUCTION FOR CULTURED PEOPLE

There were also certain other conditions and circumstances which seriously affected the growth of Sanskrit drama. From the very beginning, this drama appears to have moved in a cultured environment, having been fostered by the patronage of the wealthy or in the courts of princes; like Sanskrit poetry, it believed in a tradition which insisted upon literature being a learned pursuit. Even if it did not lack high, serious interests, the drama naturally reflected the graces and the artificialities of courtly life; and its exuberant fancy was quite in keeping with the taste which prevailed in this environment. In the course of time, the canons of poetics and dramaturgy reduced this taste into elaborate stereotyped conventions, and there was a gradual preference for the subtle and the exquisitely contrived to the fervently warm and the spontaneous. The dramatist became an impeccable master of his craft, but he seldom transported his audience. The drama gained in refinement and elegance but lost

its accent of passion and freshness; and in the constant striving after sentimental effects nothing remained in the end but tortured ingenuity and a luxuriance of diction.

One result of this sequestering of drama for the pleasure of the cultured audience was that in the course of time there developed a distinct cleavage between urban sophisticated drama and real life with its unfettered directness. This is seen not only in the stilted and unconvincing diction of later dramas but also in its limitation of form and theme to epic or legendary cycles of stories or to fictitious amourettes of court-life, in its more conscious inclination towards the elegance of the language and sentiment and in the more pronounced absence of direct experience and dramatic originality. The heroic (or rather pseudo-heroic) and erotic drama of a distinctly abstract kind alone survived, with only a meagre surplus of plays of other kinds. Theoretically, middle-class life was not excluded, but the excessive poetic atmosphere in which Bhavabhūti represents it indicates the attitude; common life was ignored or left to inferior talents, whose productions naturally passed, in the course of time, into oblivion. Although various types of drama were theoretically distinguished, few old specimens have survived, making the question purely academic.

THE URBANITY OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

But it is not court life alone nor the elegant poetic conventions of the *sahṛdaya* (aesthete) which inspired the drama. Its dominant love-motif is explained by the fact that at its centre stood the *nāgaraka*, the much-sought-after polished man about town, whose recognition was eagerly coveted and whose culture, tastes, and habits it naturally reflected. Apart from the picture we get of him in the literature itself, we have a vivid, if somewhat heightened, sketch of an ancient prototype of the *nāgaraka* in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. The pessimism of the Buddhistic ideal had disappeared, replaced by more accommodating views about the pleasure principle. Even the Buddhist author of the *Nāgānanda* does not disdain to weave a love-theme into the lofty story of Jīmūtavāhana's self-sacrifice; and in his benedictory verse he does not hesitate to represent Buddha as being railed at for his hard-heartedness by the ladies of Māra's train. This revaluation of life brought in its wake a general demand for polish, culture, and luxury. The people could heartily enjoy the good things of this world, while firmly believing in the next. If pleasure with refinement was sought for in life, pleasure with elegance was demanded in art. It is natural, therefore, that the love theme of this literature seldom transports or moves deeply by means of its joys or its sorrows; for love is conceived not in its depth or plentitude but in its playful moods of enjoyment, as an artistic emotion, not individual but impersonalized in accordance with the theory of codified sentiment. It is true that the love plots, which predominate

in the drama, are not allowed to degenerate into portrayals of the petty domestic squabbles of a polygamic system, but the dramatists often contented themselves with the developing of the commonplace erotic possibilities by a stereotyped sentimental pattern of love, jealousy, parting, and reunion.

PREDOMINANT TONES

Although the theorists laid down an elaborate classification for the various categories of sentiments, it is curious to note that in practice the sentiments that were usually favoured were the heroic and the erotic, with an occasional suggestion of the exotic. This accords well with the ideal and romantic character of the drama as well as with the miraculous and supernatural elements which were freely introduced. The comic, under the circumstances, hardly received proper treatment. Even in heroic or lofty subjects, an erotic underplot was often woven; and in the course of time, the erotic dominated every other sentiment, and became the exclusive prevailing theme. Sanskrit playwrights took delight in minutely analysing the diversities of the amatory condition and in arranging into divisions and sub-divisions, according to rank, character, circumstances and the like, all the conceivable types of the hero, the heroine, their assistants, and abettors, as well as the different shades of their feelings and gestures. These afford ample opportunities for exuberant lyrical stanzas. This technical analysis and the authority of the theorists led to the establishment of fixed rules and rigid conventions and resulted in a unique growth of refined artificiality.

There was a great deal of scholastic formalism in the dramatic theory of sentiment, which had a prejudicial effect on the practice of the dramatist. The fixed category of eight or nine sentiments, the subordination to them of a large number of transitory emotions, the classification of determinants and consequents, the various devices to help the movement of intrigue, the normative fixing of dramatic junctures or stages in accordance with the various emotional states, no doubt, indicate considerable power of empirical analysis and subtlety; but, generally speaking, this scholastic pedantry concerned itself more with fortuitous events than with essentials. One conspicuous drawback of the theory, which had a practical effect on the development of the drama as drama, lay in the fact that it enforced concentration of the sentiment round the hero or the heroine, and did not permit its sharing by the hero's rival, who therefore became an inferior character at every point. The theorists were aware of the value of contrast. To preserve the usual romantic atmosphere, the ideal heroes were often contrasted with vicious antagonists. But the possibility was ignored of making an effective dramatic creation of the antagonist (like Rāvaṇa, for instance), who thus often became a stupid or boastful villain. Sanskrit drama was thereby deprived of one of the most important motifs of real dramatic conflict.

SENTIMENTS OTHER THAN LOVE

In practice the theory of sentiment confined itself, with a few notable exceptions, to the elaboration of the sentiment of love, which alone came to be the dominant theme of this romantic drama. The exceptions refer to the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and the *Nāgānanda* of Śrīharṣa. The first of these is a remarkable drama in seven acts, which has only one minor female character and which concerns itself with interests other than love. It is a drama of political intrigue, in which the action takes the form of a game of skill, and the interest is made to depend on the plots and counterplots of two rival politicians. One may wonder if such a subject is enough to absorb the attention of the audience; but the action of the play never flags, the characters are admirably drawn, and the diction is clear, forceful, and direct. In spite of its somewhat prosaic theme and cast, it is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit plays; but as it does not conform to the standard model, its merits have never been fully appreciated. The same remarks, however, do not apply to the second drama mentioned above, which has a little ineffective love-interest, but which really attempts in six acts to dramatize a well-known epic episode from the *Mahābhārata.* The work is faithful to dramaturgic rules, but narrative details hamper the action and mar the result of an otherwise good characterization. There is enough of fire and energy, horror and pathos, but the diction is laboured and the general effect wholly undramatic. The play is a good example of that peculiar kind of half-poetic and half-dramatic composition, which may be called declamatory drama; and it shares all the merits and defects of this class of work. The third five-act play *Nāgānanda*, which dramatizes the obviously Buddhistic legend of the self-sacrifice of Jīmūtavāhana, differs from the ordinary Sanskrit play both in its theme and inspiration. It admits an erotic underplot, which describes the love of the hero for Malayavatī, but it is rather loosely connected with the main theme. The drama freely introduces the supernatural and the miraculous, and concerns itself with the lofty emotions of charity, magnanimity, resolution, and sacrifice; but the dramatic conflict is somewhat feebly presented, and neither the action nor the characterization creates effective dramatic interest.

DRAMAS OF LOVE . A POPULAR GENRE

Śrīharṣa's two other dramas, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā,* effectively but conventionally devised in plot, are elegant little plays dealing with the over-worked love-intrigues of royal courts. Each is based on one of the numerous amourettes of the gay and courtly lover Udayana, the semi-historical beau ideal of popular tales. The hero is depicted as a care-free and courteous gentleman with a great capacity for falling in and out of love; while the heroines are rather faintly drawn *ingénues* with nothing but good looks and a willingness to

be loved by the incorrigible royal lover. The stock theme of the progress of the love-intrigue and its denouement in the ultimate discovery of the princely status of the lowly maiden has little that is original or absorbing. The theme must have been popularized by Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a presumably youthful production of the great poet; but in this play the motif is not yet defined; it is a light-hearted comedy in which the passionate impetuousity and jealousy of the discarded Irāvatī are finely set off against the subdued dignity and magnanimity of queen Dhāriṇī. More effectively devised in plot, however, is the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* attributed to Bhāsa, which deals in six acts with the same theme of courtly love but rises above its banality; for the motif of the dream in this play is finely conceived, the characters of the two heroines are more successfully differentiated, and the gay old lover of Harṣa's dramas is figured as a more serious, if somewhat love-sick and imaginative, lover. The main interest of the play lies in the dramatic skill and delicacy with which the feelings of Vāsavadattā are depicted, to whose noble and steadfast love no sacrifice is too great; while her willing martyrdom is set off by the equally true, but helpless, love of Udayana, a victim of divided affections and the demands of statecraft. It is a drama of fine sentiments; the movement is smooth, measured, and dignified; and the treatment, brisk and forceful, is free from the intrusion of melodrama, or of rant and rhetoric, to which such sentimental plays often incline.

Of the other so-called Bhāsa plays, the *Pratimā* and the *Abhiṣeka* give us, in seven and six acts respectively, dramatizations of the time-worn Rāma story, just as the five-act *Bālacarita* is a less extensive but similar attempt applied to the legends of the youthful Kṛṣṇa; while the *Avimāraka* in six acts is interesting for its more refreshing plot, based probably on folk-tale, of the love of a plebeian for a princess; but it has a rather flat denouement of a happy marriage and a melodramatic set-up in which the hero seeks to commit suicide twice and the heroine once. The *Mahāvīra-carita* of Bhavabhūti, the two Rāma dramas of Murāri and Jayadeva respectively, and the enormous *Mahānāṭaka* on the same theme, which is anonymous and exists in more than one recension, have some poetic but little dramatic interest. The two South Indian dramas, the *Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra and the *Kunda-mālā* of Dhīranāga (or Vīranāga), exhibit no remarkable peculiarities other than the utilizing of the pretty device of a mark of recognition (*abhijñāna*), which is so familiar in Sanskrit drama. It is also not necessary to linger over the rather insipid plays of Rājaśekhara, which deal with stories from the two great epics. His *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā* and Prakrit *Karpūramañjarī*, both of which are light-hearted conventional plays of court-life in four acts, are hardly above the level of Śrīharṣa's two plays on the same subject; for Rājaśekhara was more concerned with elegant exercises in versification than with real poetry or dramatic values. Most of the Rāma dramas

in Sanskrit suffer from the error of choosing an epic theme for the drama and of preferring types to individuals.

SOME POPULAR PLAYS

More interesting are the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti and the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, both of which are indeed immature productions of their respective authors but mark a departure in some respects from the conventional erotic plays mentioned earlier. The *Mālatī-Mādhava*, the less poetical of the two plays, has yet an interesting, if somewhat loosely constructed, plot, some comic relief and contrasted situations, some touch of the unearthly and supernatural; but there is little individuality either in the hero or the heroine, who are of the conventional type of sentimental lovers. There is, however, a great deal of tenderness and pathos in Bhavabhūti's picture of youthful passion, which reaches its most mature and mellow expression in his *Uttara-Rāma-carita*. The setting here passes from royal courts to a more plebeian atmosphere; it is the story in ten acts, of the love of Mālatī, daughter of a cabinet minister, and Mādhava, a young student. While much of the talk of love and grief in this drama is unconvincing, Bhavabhūti appears to be far more serious than most light-hearted Sanskrit poets, and the intense poetic quality of his erotic verses relieves their banality. The intensity of undisciplined passion and its poetical possibilities, which Bhavabhūti so forcefully describes, are, however, seen in a more poetical and poignant form in the frantic search of Purūravas for Urvaśī in the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśīya*. It depicts in five acts the romantic story of the love of a mortal for a nymph, of which the earliest version is found in a hymn of eighteen stanzas in the tenth book of the *Ṛg-Veda*. Though melodramatic in places and weak in its denouement, the drama reaches lyrical heights in the description of the king's ardent but hopeless passion. There is hardly anything else remarkable in the drama but for this lyric passion of great intensity, which, however, makes it unique.

It has been said by a critic of Sanskrit drama that Kālidāsa, as well as Bhavabhūti, showed no interest in the great problems of life and destiny. While this criticism may be applied to the dramas mentioned above, in which we have nothing but unrelieved individual passion, it is not true of the respective masterpieces of these great dramatists, in which love is taken as a factor of a larger life and is envisaged in its fulness. The *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* of Kālidāsa, which represents the perfection of his art, is not based on the mere banality of a court-intrigue but gives us a picture of love, at first youthful and heedless, but soon purified by suffering and gaining in depth and beauty by tribulation of the spirit. Contrasted with the *Mālatī-Mādhava* and *Vikramorvaśīya*, the suffering of the hero and the heroine in this drama is far more human, far more real; for love here is no longer an explosive emotion, ending in a frame of mind akin

to madness, but a deep and steadfast feeling, or rather a developing emotional experience, ending in an abiding spiritual enrichment.

KĀLIDĀSA'S ABHIJÑĀNA-ŚAKUNTALA

The drama opens with a description of the vernal season, made for enjoyment (*upabhoga-kṣama*); and even in the hermitage where thoughts of love are out of place, the season extends its witchery and makes the minds of the young hero and heroine turn lightly to such forbidden thoughts. At the outset we find Śakuntalā, an adopted child of nature, in the daily occupation of tending the friendly trees and creepers and watching them grow and bloom, herself a youthful blossom, her mind delicately attuned to the sights and sounds in which she had grown up since her desertion by her *amānuṣī* (non-human) mother. In this scene appears the more sophisticated royal hero, full of pride of youth and power, but with a noble presence which inspires love and confidence; possessed of a scrupulous regard for rectitude, but susceptible withal to rash youthful impulses; considerate of others and alive to the dignity and responsibility of his high station, but accustomed to every fulfilment of his wishes and extremely self-confident in the promptings of his own heart. He is egoistic enough to believe that everything he wishes must be right, and everything happens as he wishes it. In his impetuous desire to gain what he wants, he does not even think it necessary to wait for the return of Kaṇva. It was easy for him to carry the young girl off her feet; for though brought up in the peaceful seclusion and stern discipline of a hermitage, she was yet possessed of a natural inward longing for the love and happiness which were due to her youth and beauty. Though fostered by a sage and herself the daughter of an ascetic, she was yet the daughter of a nymph whose intoxicating beauty had once conquered the austere and formidable Viśvāmitra. This beauty and this power she had inherited from her mother, as well as an inborn intelligence and a desire for love. Is she not going to make her own conquest over this great king ? For such youthful lovers, love can never think of the morrow, it can only think of the moment. All was easy at first; the secret union to which they committed themselves obtains the ratification of the foster-father. But soon she realizes the futility of taking love as an end in itself, of making the moment stand for eternity. The suffering comes as swiftly and unexpectedly as the happiness was headlong and heedless.

To these thoughtless lovers the curse of Durvāsas comes to play the part of a stern but beneficent providence. With high hopes, and unaware of the impending catastrophe, she leaves for the house of her king-lover, tenderly bidding farewell to her sylvan friends, who seem to be filled with an unconscious anxiety for her; but very soon she finds herself standing utterly humiliated in the eyes of the world. Her grief, remorse, and self-pity are aggravated by the accusation of unseemly haste and secrecy from Gautamī, as well as by the sterner rebuke

of Śārṅgarava: 'Thus does one's heedlessness lead to disaster !' But the unkindest cut comes from her lover himself, who insultingly refers to instincts of feminine shrewdness and compares her, without knowing, to the turbid flood which drags others also in its fall. Irony in drama or in life can go no further. But the daughter of a nymph as she was, she had also the spirit of her fierce and austere father, and she ultimately emerges triumphant from the ordeal of sorrow. She does stand up for her rights, but comes to realize that she has lost all in her gamble for happiness and that wordy warfare is useless. She could not keep her lover by her youth and beauty alone. She bows to the inevitable; and chastened and transformed by patient suffering, she wins back in the end her husband and her happiness. But the king is as yet oblivious of what is in store for him. Still arrogant, ironical, and self-confident, he wonders who the veiled lady might be; her beauty draws him as irresistibly as it once did, and yet his sense of rectitude forbids any improper thought. But his punishment comes in due course; for he was the greater culprit for having dragged the unsophisticated girl from her sylvan surroundings and left her unwittingly in the mire. When the ring of recognition is recovered, he realizes the gravity of his act. Her resigned and reproachful form now haunts him and gives him no peace in the midst of his royal duties; and his utter helplessness in rendering any reparation makes his grief more intense and poignant. The scene now changes from earth to heaven, from the hermitage of Kaṇva and the court of the king to the penance-grove of Mārīca; love that was of the earth, changes into love that is spiritual and divine. The strangely estranged pair are again brought together equally strangely, but not until they have passed through the baptism of sorrow and become ready for a perfect reunion of hearts. There is no explanation, no apology, no recrimination, nor any demand for reparation. Śakuntalā has now learnt in silence the lessons of her suffering; and with his former self-complacency and impetuous desires left behind, the king becomes chastened and subdued, a wiser and sadder man. The young year's blossom now ripens into the mellow fruit of autumnal maturity.

BHAVABHŪTI'S UTTARA-RĀMA-CARITA

Through the same chastening influence of sorrow, the *Uttara-Rāma-carita* of Bhavabhūti idealizes conjugal love in a way which is unparalleled in Sanskrit, or perhaps in any literature. It depicts in seven acts the later history of Rāma; and Bhavabhūti's literary characteristics may be studied to the best advantage in this work, which reaches no high level as a drama but which undoubtedly ranks high as a dramatic poem. Bhavabhūti derives his main theme from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but to suit his dramatic purpose he does not hesitate to depart in many points from the authoritative epic original. The conception, for instance, of the picture-gallery scene, derived probably from a hint supplied by Kālidāsa,

and of the invisible presence of Sītā in a spirit form during Rāma's visit to Pañcavaṭī, of Rāma's meeting with Vāsantī and confession, the fight between Lava and Candraketu, the visit of Vaśiṣṭha and others to Vālmīki's hermitage, and the enactment of a play on Rāma's later history composed by Vālmīki, are skilful details which are invented for the proper development of his dramatic theme, as well as for the fullest expression of his poetic powers. Bhavabhūti's principal problem here is not the creation but the adequate motivation of an already accepted story. While not monotonously adhering to his original, he accepts for his particular dramatic purpose the epic outlines of a half-mythical and half-human legend of bygone days, which had already taken its hold on the popular imagination by its pathos and poetry; but he reshapes it freely with appropriate romantic and poetical situations, which bring out all the ideal and dramatic implications of the story. In taking up the theme of conjugal love as a form of pure, tender, and spiritual affection ripening into an abiding passion, Bhavabhūti must have realized that its beauty and charm could be best brought out by avoiding the uncongenial realism of contemporary life and going back to the poetry and idealism of olden days. It was not his purpose to draw the figures on his canvas on the generous and heroic scale of the epic; he wanted to add to the ancient tale an intensity of human feeling and a genuine emotional tone which should transform an old-world legend into one of everyday experience, the story of high ideals into a tale of vivid reality.

Bhavabhūti's Rāma and Sītā are from the beginning a man and a woman of more strenuous and deeper experience than Duṣyanta and his woodland love. In the opening act, which has been praised so often and which strikes the keynote of the drama, the newly-crowned king of Ayodhyā, with his beloved spouse and his ever faithful brother, looks over pictures which recall the poignant scenes of their past sorrow. This scene, which is made the occasion for the tender and deep attachment of Rāma and Sītā to show itself, also heightens by contrast the grief of separation which immediately follows. There is a fine note of tragic irony not only in Rāma's assurance that such a separation as they had suffered would never happen again, in Lakṣmaṇa's inadvertent allusion to the fire-ordeal and Rāma's instant declaration of his disbelief in baseless rumours, but also in Sītā's passionate clinging to the memories of past joy and sorrow on the verge of a still more cruel fate. The blow comes just at a moment when the tired, confiding Sītā falls asleep in the arms of her husband, who is lost in his own thoughts of love. When the cup of happiness, full to the brim, was raised to his lips, it was dashed from Rāma's hand; and one can understand the breakdown which immediately follows in the conflict between his love and his stern sense of kingly duty. With the responsibilities of the State newly laid on his shoulders, Rāma is perhaps more self-exacting than just to himself and his beloved. But having abandoned the faithful and dear wife, who was his constant

companion ever since childhood, his suffering knows no bounds. Both his royal and personal pride is deeply wounded by the thought that such an unthinkable stain should attach to the purity of his great love and to the purity of the royal name he bears.

The scene of the next two acts is laid in the familiar setting of Daṇḍaka and Pañcavatī, which Rāma revisits. Ten years have elapsed; his sorrow has mellowed down; but he is still loyal and devoted to the memory of his banished wife. The sorrow, which has become deep-seated, is made alive with the recollection of their early experience of married love in those forests, where even in exile they had been happy. The situation is dramatically heightened by making the pale, sorrowing but resigned Sītā appear in a spirit form, unseen by mortals, an unwilling but happy listener to the confessions which her husband makes to Vāsantī of his love and fidelity. Unknown to each other, the reconciliation of hearts is now complete; and with an admirable delicacy of touch the dramatist describes her gradual but generous surrender to the proof that, though harsh, he deeply loves her and has suffered no less. The denouement of reunion is only a logical development of this scene; and the recognition scene in Act IV, in which Bhavabhūti, like Kālidāsa, represents the offspring as the crown of wedded love, forms a natural psychological climax leading to it.

Bhavabhūti praises himself for his 'mastery of speech' and claims merit for 'felicity and richness of expression as well as depth of meaning'; and the praise that he claims for himself is fully deserved. The qualities in which he excels are his power of vivid and often rugged description, the nobility and earnestness of his conception, a genuine emotional tone, and a love for all that is deep and poignant as well as grand and awe-inspiring in life and nature. Contrasted with Kālidāsa, he lacks grace and polish and a fastidious technical finish. He is interested not in studied reticence but in full and forthright statements, not in restrained elegance but freedom of fancy. This would explain, to a certain extent, why his so-called dramas are in reality dramatic poems, and his plot a string of incidents or pictures without any real unity. Bhavabhūti cannot write in a lighter vein; he takes his subject too seriously. He has little humour, but enough of dramatic irony. He can hardly attain perfect artistic disinterestedness, too often merges himself in his subject, and he has too much feeling for the tranquillity of real poetry.

KĀLIDĀSA AND BHAVABHŪTI A CONTRAST

This characteristic will be better understood if we consider for a moment Bhavabhūti's treatment of pathos, which has been contrasted with that of Kālidāsa. R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked with insight that while Kālidāsa *suggests*, Bhavabhuti *expresses*, and that 'the characters of the latter, overcome

by force of passion, often weep bitterly, while those of the former simply shed a few tears, if they do so at all'. This is nowhere more clear than in the picture of Rāma's suffering on the eve of Sītā's exile, drawn respectively by the two poets. Bhavabhūti's tendency is to elaborate scenes of pathos in the theatrical sense of the word. It is probable that popular taste did not disapprove of such excesses and very few Sanskrit poets, in unthinking allegiance to the accepted theory of sentiment, would have resisted the opportunity of indulging in an outpouring of sentimental prose and verse unmindful of the theory's emphatic warning that the sentiment should be suggested rather than dealt with in *extenso*. It never lent its authority to the fatal practice of wordy exaggeration or over-statement. Bhavabhūti, however, like most Sanskrit poets, was unable to stop when enough had been said. He prolongs the description of agony almost to the verge of crudity; he omits no circumstance, no object animate or inanimate which he thinks can add to the effectiveness of the scene. But the method of Kālidāsa, like that of Shakespeare, is different. There is no exaggeration, no long lingering on the subject, no beating out the theme threadbare. Great sorrow uses few words. Not one of those who gather round the body of Cordelia utters a phrase; the emotion is tense, and there is no declamation to work it up. When Kālidāsa's Rāma hears of the popular rumours about his wife, his heart, tossed in a terrible conflict between love and duty, broke in pieces 'like the heated iron beaten with a hammer'; but he does not declaim nor faint nor shed a flood of tears. He simply calls his brothers together and declares his stern resolve in a brief and dignified speech, bidding the faithful Lakṣmaṇa take Sītā, whom he does not even see, into exile. It is not until Lakṣmaṇa returns and delivers to him the spirited but sorrowful message of his banished wife that we find the king yielding to the man; but even here his eyes become dim with unshed tears, and only one short verse compresses the whole pity of the situation in just a few words.

ŚŪDRAKA'S MṚCCHAKAṬIKA

When we turn from these masterpieces of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti to the third great Sanskrit drama, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* or the *Toy Clay-cart*, attributed to Śūdraka, we find ourselves descending, as it were, from the refined atmosphere of poetry and sentiment to the firm rock of grim reality. It is a strange world which this drama unfolds, a world in which thieves, gamblers, rogues, political schemers, mendicants, courtiers, police constables, housemaids, bawds and courtesans jostle with one another freely; and the love that it depicts is not the romantic love of Dusyanta and Śakuntalā, nor yet the deep conjugal affection idealized in Bhavabhūti's Rāma and Sītā, but simply and curiously, the love of a man about town for a courtesan, which is nevertheless as pure, strong, and tender. A fitting background is supplied to this strange love by the equally

strange world in which it moves; and an inventive originality is displayed by linking the private affairs of the two lovers with a political intrigue which involves the city and the kingdom.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* is one of the few Sanskrit dramas which are not dramatic poems but possess distinctively dramatic qualities that should appeal to modern taste. In the history of Sanskrit literature the work is unique in many respects. Apart from the graphic picture it presents of some interesting facets of life in ancient India, the work is truly worthy of a great dramatist in its variety of incidents and characters, in its comparative freedom from the usual fault of over-elaboration, in its sharpness of characterization, in its use of direct and homely imagery conveyed in a clear, forceful, and unaffected diction, in its witty dialogues, in its general liveliness and dramatic effect, in its mastery of deep pathos, and in its rare quality of quiet humour. In spite of its somewhat conventional happy ending, it verges almost upon tragedy and neither the plot nor the characters can be regarded as conventional. Not only does it eschew the banal theme of courtly love and intrigue but it is also the most human of all Sanskrit plays. A ten-act comedy of middle-class life, the scene is set in the cosmopolitan city of Ujjayinī. Characterized as a play 'full of rascals', its host of despicable riff-raff of society, who at any moment are capable of all kinds of daring acts from the stealing of a gem-casket to the starting of a riot, furnish an excellent foil to the realistic yet romantic story of the love of a *nāgaraka* of breeding and refinement for a famous and beautiful courtesan. The drama is bold and original in conceiving these characters, and they are presented not as types but as individuals of diversified interest. They are living men and women drawn from all ranks of society, from the high-souled Brāhmana to the low-down thief; and the drama includes, in its broad scope, farce and tragedy, satire and pathos, poetry and wisdom, kindliness and humanity.

Indeed, each of the twenty-seven minor characters possesses an individuality which is rare in Sanskrit drama. But in the midst of this motley assemblage, the hero and the heroine stand out prominently. The Śakāra Saṁsthānaka, with his ignorant conceit and brutal lust, presents an excellent contrast, but the author's power of effective characterization is best seen in his conception of the two main characters. The noble Cārudatta, a large-hearted Brāhmaṇa by birth and wealthy merchant by profession, does not represent the typical *nāgaraka*, whose whole round of life consists of love and pleasure; for there is nothing of the gilded dandy and dilettante in his refined character, and his chief interest is not gallantry. There is a note of quiet self-control in most of his acts; and even in love, most of the courtship is done by Vasantasenā. He is an upright young man of good breeding and culture, whose princely liberality won the admiration of the whole city but reduced him to loneliness and poverty. If the change of fortune has made him bitter, it has not made him a misanthrope,

nor has it debased his mind; it has only taught him to take life at its proper value. Cārudatta is endowed with great qualities, but like the conventional hero he is not made a paragon of virtue. He is by no means austere or self-denying. He is a perfect man of the world, who loves literature, music, and art, does not disdain gambling, and never assumes a self-righteous attitude. His great virtues are softened by the milk of human kindness. His youth does not exhibit indifference, and the most outstanding feature of his character is his quiet and deep love for Vasantasenā.

The stain attached to such unconventional love disappears in the ideal beauty which gathers round it; and its purity, strength, and truth make it escape degradation. Vasantasenā has neither the girlish charm of Śakuntalā nor the mature womanly dignity of Sītā. Witty and wise, disillusioned and sophisticated, she has seen much of a sordid world; yet she has a romantic heart and her love is true and deep even in a social status which makes such emotion difficult. Wealth and position she achieved by an obligatory and hereditary calling, but her heart was against it, and it brought her no happiness. Her meeting with Cārudatta affords a way of escape, but she is sad and afraid lest her misfortune of birth and occupation should stand in the way. It is a case of love at first sight, and for the first time she is really in love. The touch of this new emotion quickens rapidly into a spreading flame and burns to ashes her baser self. It is all so strange, even to herself. She can hardly believe that she, an outcast of society, has been able to win the love of the great Cārudatta, the ornament of Ujjayinī, and asks, half-incredulously, the morning after her first union with her beloved if all that is true. She is fascinated by the lovely face of Cārudatta's little son and stretches out her arms in the great hunger for motherhood which has been denied to her. Her love makes her realize the emptiness of riches and the fulness of a pure and true affection. When the Śakāra threatens to kill her for not submitting to him, and taunts her as 'an *inamorata* of a beggarly Brahmin', she is not ashamed but replies: 'Delightful words ! Pray, proceed, for you speak my praise.' Growing furious, the brutal and cowardly Śakāra takes her by the throat. She does not cry out for succour, but she remembers her beloved Cārudatta and blesses his name. 'What, still dost thou repeat that name,' spits out Śakāra, blinded by rage, as he throttles her; but on the verge of imminent death the name of Cārudatta is still on her lips, and she murmurs in a struggling voice: 'My homage be to Cārudatta !'

HARSA

The dramas of Harṣa, Viśākhadatta and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa show greater variety and vitality. Three dramas, *Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī,* and *Nāgānanda,* have come down to us under the name of Śrīharṣa who was identical with King Harṣavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. The *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī*

are almost identical in form and structure and depict a single theme of numerous amourettes of the gay and gallant Udayana. The two plays are four-act *nātikās* and centre round the two heroines Sāgarikā and Āraṇyakā respectively. The theme consists of love-intrigues of the king with a maiden of unknown status, their secret meetings through the help of the jester and the damsel's friend, the jealousy of the queen and her final acceptance of the situation, when the maiden is discovered to be her long-lost cousin. The *Priyadaršikā* is an effective introduction of play within a play (*garbhārika*). It is undoubtedly a better play than the *Ratnāvalī*, but has no strikingly dramatic incident.

The *Nāgānanda*, a five-act *nāṭaka*, is a more serious drama depicting the Buddhist legend of Jīmūtavāhana's self-sacrifice. It contains an erotic sub-plot of the hero's love for Malayavatī which is linked with the main quietistic theme of heroic sacrifice. But the one part is not the development of the other and hence there is no unity of action. The embodiment in Jīmūtavāhana of the high ideal of self-sacrificing magnanimity in a romantic atmosphere of pathos and poetry adds to the merit of the play. If Kālidāsa supplied the pattern, Harṣa has undoubtedly improved upon it in his own way and succeeded in establishing the comedy of court-intrigue as a distinct type of Sanskrit drama.

VIŚĀKHADATTA

Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit dramas. It is a drama of purely political intrigue, in which resolute action in various forms constitutes the exclusive theme. The main theme is the reconciliation of Rākṣasa, the faithful minister of the fallen dynasty of the Nandas, by the traditional master of polity, Cāṇakya, who wants to win him over into the service of Candragupta Maurya. The drama is unique in avoiding the erotic atmosphere. It is a drama without a heroine. There is nothing suggestive of tenderness or domestic virtues. Politics is represented as a hard game for men. In characterization, Viśākhadatta fully realizes the value of contrast. Both Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa are astute politicians, but both are admirable as excellent foils to each other. Cāṇakya is clear-headed and vigilant, while Rākṣasa is soft, impulsive and blundering. The secret agents of Cāṇakya, Bhāgurāyaṇa and Siddhārthaka, faithfully carry out their commissions from a feeling of abject submission, but Rākṣasa's agents, Virādhagupta and Śakaṭadāsa, are moved by a sincere attachment to Rākṣasa. Viṣākhadatta's dialogues have the dramatic quality necessary for fast-moving and direct action and bold characterization. The only serious defect is that the drama lacks grandeur, with a grand subject.

BHAṬṬA NĀRĀYANA

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's *Veṇīsaṁhāra* dramatizes in six acts a well-known episode of the *Mahābhārata* but practically goes over the entire epic war. The main

theme is the satisfaction of Bhīma's ferocious revenge, celebrated by the killing of Kaurava chiefs and by binding up, with blood-stained hands, the braid of Draupadī, which she had sworn to leave unbraided until the wrong done to her is avenged. There is enough of pathos and horror, but the pathos is tiresome and the horror uncouth; there is enough of action, but the action is devoid of dramatic conflict. The work is hardly a unified play, but is rather a panoramic procession of actions and incidents. The modifications introduced for the purpose of transforming it into a real drama are hardly effective. It is that peculiar kind of half-poetical and half-dramatic composition which may be called the declamatory drama.

LATER DECADENT DRAMA

With Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Bhavabhūti, the great epoch of Sanskrit dramatic literature ends and the age of decline sets in. The drama now surrenders itself to poetical *kāvya*. In this group Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Kṣemīśvara and Kṛṣṇamiśra have enjoyed traditional reputations.

Murāri's *Anargha-Rāghava* dramatizes the traditional narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in seven acts. One would like to remember Murāri more as an elegant poet than as a dramatist in the proper sense. Rājaśekhara's *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa* dramatizes in ten acts the entire story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* up to Rāma's coronation. His *Bāla-Bhārata* is a drama on the *Mahābhārata* story, but it is left incomplete. His *Karpūramañjarī* is a *saṭṭaka* and *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā* is a *nāṭikā*. The former is written entirely in Prakrit. The theme in both the plays is the traditional amorous intrigue of court life. Kṣemīśvara's *Caṇḍa-kauśika* deals with the story of Hariścandra in five acts. But it has little dramatic quality.

Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodha-candrodaya* is a symbolical drama with purely personified abstractions. The treatment is interesting not only for its novelty but also for the spirit of allegorizing which it represents. The theme is a profound philosophical allegory in six acts of the whole life of man. It is conceived as an internecine struggle between the two powerful sons Moha and Viveka of the regal Mind (*manas*) born respectively of his two wives Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti. In this drama Kṛṣṇamiśra succeeds, to a remarkable degree, in giving us an ingenious picture of the spiritual struggle of the human mind in the dramatic form of a vivid conflict, in which the erotic, comic and devotional interests are cleverly utilized. On the doctrinal side, the composition attempts to synthesize Advaitic Vedānta with *Viṣṇu-bhakti*, but the philosophical content does not make it heavily pedantic. The theme is made a matter of internal experience. The allegorizing is consistent and there is no frigidity in the plot. The author undeniably possesses the gift of satire and realism as well as of poetry and the *Prabodha-candrodaya* must be singled out as an attractive effort of real merit.

15

SANSKRIT PROSE

MUCH less attention has unfortunately been devoted to Sanskrit prose than to Sanskrit poetry even in authoritative treatises on the history of Sanskrit literature. The prose works mentioned there are very few indeed. Sanskrit prose—its origin, style, syntax, vocabulary, its application in different *genres* of literary art and in the Śāstras, its beauty and wealth—should be accorded an honourable place in a critical representative history of Sanskrit literature. It is true that prose works, belonging to literature proper, are not as abundant as metrical works in Sanskrit. This may be one of the reasons that called forth the following scathing and uninformed observation from James Mill, the author of *The History of British India*. As he observed: 'All their (viz. of the Hindus) compositions, with wonderfully few exceptions, are in verse. ...Their laws, like those of rude nations in general, are in verse. Their sacred books, and even their books of science, are in verse; and what is more wonderful still, their very dictionaries.'[1]

That this view is prejudiced and is the product of a kind of complex is beyond doubt. Sanskrit prose from its rudimentary stage to its finished and sophisticated form has had a chequered history which deserves to be studied with an unbiased outlook and in a scientific spirit. To give an idea of its richness and variety, a brief chronological account of its origin and development, as well as of its use in different branches of Sanskrit literature, is sought to be presented in the sections that follow.

EARLIEST SPECIMEN : THE BRĀHMAṆAS

The earliest evidence of the employment of prose as a vehicle of sacerdotal and esoteric disputations is found in the *Yajus*, and the running commentary thereon, viz. the Brāhmaṇas. The *nivids*, *nigadas*, and non-metrical portions of the *Atharva-Veda* should also be comprehended under this head. One might recall in this connection the definitions of *Ṛk*, *Sāman*, and *Yajus* as furnished by Jaimini in his *sūtras*.[2] The Brāhmaṇa texts are mostly composed in prose, though interspersed with occasional verses. Eggeling, in his introduction to the

[1] James Mill, *The History of British India* (Associated Publishing House, New Delhi-5, 1972, 2nd Edn. Reprint), Vol. I, pp. 365-66. See also Nirad C. Chaudhuri's *Scholar Extra-Ordinary—The Life of Professor the Rt. Hon. Friedrich Max Muller, P.C.* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974), p. 132. Cf. also Dr S. K. De's observation in *HSL* (University of Calcutta, 1947), p. 418.

[2] *Yatrārtha-vaśena pādavyavasthā sā ṛk*
Gītiṣu sāmākhyā
Śeṣe yajuḥ-śabdaḥ. (*Jai. S.*, II. 1.35-37)

English translation of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*, has spoken very disparagingly of the Brāhmaṇa literature as a whole. The general reaction of Western scholars with regard to this extensive literature, which forms one of the two constituent parts of the Veda, may be gauged from the following words of his:

'For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterized by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere, unless, indeed, it be the speculative vapourings of the Gnostics, than which, in the opinion of the learned translator of Irenaeus, "nothing more absurd has probably ever been imagined by rational beings".'[3]

Yet, Eggeling himself has to revise his opinion as regards the importance of the Brāhmaṇa texts from the standpoint of linguistic development of Sanskrit prose. There are important myths and anecdotes narrated in unadorned Sanskrit prose in the course of apparently dry and unimportant speculations on the subtleties of the various ritualistic acts. He observes: '. . . these works (together with their supplements, the Āraṇyakas, and their metaphysical appendages, the Upaniṣads) are of the highest importance as the only genuine prose works which the Sanskrit, as a popular language, has produced.'[4]

Most of the Brāhmaṇas have little 'literary value' in the usually accepted sense of the expression. But occasional flashes of literary grace, mostly due to lack of long compounds so common in later Sanskrit prose and the apparently artless manner of narrating myths and stories, are noticeable in some of them. This is particularly so in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla Yajur-Veda* and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma-Veda*. Some scholars notice a kind of subtle stylistic parallelism between the prose of the Brāhmaṇas and the early canonical Pali texts.[5]

It is not possible to determine precisely the age of the Brāhmaṇas. But that all these texts were not of the same age and clime can be fairly ascertained from the linguistic and grammatical data. Such data are most important for tracing the historical development of Sanskrit from the Mantra period up to the age of Pāṇini, when the standard form of classical Sanskrit appears to have been established. Pāṇini, in his *sūtra*: *'purāṇa-prokteṣu brāhmaṇa-kalpeṣu'* (IV. 3.105), is supposed to have discriminated between some Brāhmaṇa texts as older and some as later or more or less contemporaneous. Besides, he seems to have been more familiar with the texts of the schools that flourished in the north or in the south than with those flourishing in the eastern region.

[3] *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, pt. I, Introduction, p. ix (*SBE*, Vol. XII).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

[5] Compare Dr Batakrishna Ghosh's remarks in *The Vedic Age* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1952), pp. 416, 418. This characterization, however, of the prose of classical writers is a bit too strong. See, in this context, Keith's observations on the stylistic peculiarity of the Ṛg-Vedic Brāhmanas in *HOS*, Vol. XXV, pp. 97-98.

The extent of the vast Brāhmaṇa literature can be fairly gathered from the fragments of the lost Brāhmaṇas collected together by late Dr Batakrishna Ghosh in his scholarly brochure on the subject. His critical and exegetical annotations on those fragments help us to realize the importance of this apparently meaningless jargon for following the chronological development of Sanskrit prose. The Brāhmaṇas abound in observations that have direct bearing on the etymological analysis of words of obscure origin and Yāska, in his *Nirukta*, has profusely drawn upon Brāhmaṇa passages in his suggested derivations. The prose of the Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, which constitute the concluding portions of the Brāhmaṇas, is admittedly most lively and picturesque even when it is used as a vehicle for propagating profound metaphysical truths. This is evident from the dialogues between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī or Āruṇi and Śvetaketu, and a good many similar examples. The language is simple, conversational, bristling with vivid illustrations, similes, and proverbs and free from the lengthy awe-inspiring compounds that were to become a regular feature of Sanskrit literary prose. Such prose could easily become a medium of communication for the educated *élite*.[6]

THE SŪTRA LITERATURE

At the close of the Brāhmaṇa period Sanskrit prose assumed a new form in the hands of the authors of the Sūtra texts. For the purpose of easily memorizing the contents of the vast Brāhmaṇa literature, the authors of these texts developed a peculiar mnemonic style—brief, compact, and elliptical. This style was adopted at first for the treatment of sacrificial matters—both of the *śrauta* and the *gṛhya* type—but was later extended to other domains as well, especially to juridical and social subjects in the Dharma-Sūtras belonging to various Vedic schools and forming the chief source of the later Smṛti-saṁhitās. There is another division of Sūtra literature, viz. the Śulva-Sūtras, containing minute rules and measurements for the construction of sacrificial altars etc. These, therefore, are justly regarded as the earliest texts to provide the basis of Indian geometrical science. This mnemonic style of the Vedic Kalpa-Sūtras was later adopted by the great teachers of the Indian philosophical systems, and by the classical grammarians, chief among whom is the great Pāṇini. The dictum: '*ardhamātrā-lāghavena putrotsavaṁ manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ*' ('economy of even half a *mātrā* [short vowel] gives as much pleasure to grammarians as the birth of a son') gives us a glimpse into the mental discipline of the grammarians, who always sought verbal economy in the formulation of their aphorisms. A body of intricate technique and methodology, known as *paribhāṣās*, was developed to achieve this.

[6] See Keith's remarks on the style of the prose portions of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* in particular, and of the Brāhmana literature in general, in *HOS*, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, pp. clvii-clix.

NIRUKTA

Nirukta or the science of etymology was regarded, like the Kalpa-Sūtras, as an important Vedāṅga, a knowledge of which was essential to understand the message of the Vedas. Yāska's *Nirukta*, a commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*, is the sole extant specimen of the vast Nirukta literature that was once current. This important treatise is composed in prose which, though savouring of the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, has become more sophisticated. Yāska's prose style is terse, free from long compounds, and retains to a great extent the archaic character of Sanskrit as used in the Brāhmaṇas. But it resembles the Sanskrit prose of the classical age as regards morphology and syntax. The dates of Yāska and Pāṇini[7] are still in dispute, though from a comparative study of the grammatical data available in Yāska's text and Pāṇini's technique and terminology there seems to be strong evidence in favour of regarding him as prior to Pāṇini. Yāska's *Nirukta* is 'the oldest existing Veda-exegetic work' and it led to the writing of detailed commentaries on the Vedic texts at a later period.[8]

DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT PROSE

It is somewhat difficult, with the insufficient data at our disposal, to trace systematically the development of Sanskrit prose in the post-Brāhmaṇic epoch. It was put to various uses, as seen in literary forms like the *kathā*, the *ākhyāyikā*, epistles, etc., in inscriptions, royal grants and edicts, and also popular dramas where it is used as a medium for conversation. It is also illustrated in the *bhāṣyas*, *vārttikas*, and other exegetical works belonging to various philosophical schools, as well as in technical treatises dealing with particular disciplines like medicine etc. Classical Sanskrit, as distinguished from Vedic Sanskrit, was brought to perfection and standardized by the endeavours of eminent grammarians, both pre-Pāṇinian and post-Pāṇinian. Unfortunately it has been dubbed by a good many Western scholars as the imposition of the Brāhmaṇical priestly class which, in their opinion, was never employed as a popular medium of communication. Some have even gone to the length of considering the great epics and the Purāṇas as well, as no more than artificial Sanskrit versions of original works composed in different forms of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) or Prakrit. According to them the Sanskrit language, at least in its classical form, had no direct relation with the popular dialects of these times but was artificially foisted by the crafty hieratic class as 'the speech of the gods' (*daivī vāk*) on the unwilling readers. Rather it was the Old Indo-Aryan or Vedic language, the evidence of which we meet with in the vast Brāhmaṇa literature, that was akin to the popular speech of the masses, and in the course of time, this Vedic

[7] A recent study on the subject by Mantrini Prasad, entitled *Language of the Nirukta* (D. K. Publishing House, Delhi, 1975) may be consulted.

[8] Cf. M. Winternitz's *HIL*, Vol. I, p. 288.

dialect developed into various forms of MIA including Pali, which are thus direct descendants of the Old Indo-Aryan. In support of this theory, the employment of the various forms of MIA in the inscriptions of Aśoka and other epigraphs belonging to the pre-Christian era is cited as corroborative evidence. This paucity of epigraphic and literary data in Sanskrit during a period covering several centuries before and after Christ led Max Müller to propound his novel theory of '*Renaissance of Sanskrit language and literature*'[9] which had once been so much in vogue among Western Sanskritists. But we should be wary of running to hasty and fanciful conclusions, however novel they might appear at first sight. The great commentaries or *bhāṣyas*, some of which belonged to the pre-Christian era, were composed in Sanskrit prose that was lucid, lively, colourful, full of wit and humour when occasion demanded, and also free from long compounds. It is decidedly not Vedic Sanskrit, but *lokabhāṣā*, as prevalent among the cultivated *śiṣṭas* (wise men), that is employed in these texts. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya* has characterized the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali as '*alabdhagādhe gāmbhīryād uttāna iva sauṣṭhavād*'[10] ('unfathomable in import but apparently intelligible on account of grace'). Perspicuity (*prasāda*) which is one of the chief merits of the *bhāṣya* style, is in evidence, not only in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but in the style of Śabara's *bhāṣya* on the *Jaiminīya-Sūtras*, in Vātsyāyana's *bhāṣya* on Gotama's *Nyāya-Sūtras*, in *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya* on Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣika* aphorisms, in Vyāsa's *bhāṣya* on Patañjali's *Yoga-Sūtras*, and similar other treatises of indisputable antiquity. It should also be remembered that Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* itself is but an abridged version of Vyāḍi's *Saṅgraha*, a critical exposition of Pāṇini's *sūtras*, composed most probably in prose and running to the extent of a hundred thousand *ślokas*. Thus it is beyond all doubt that Sanskrit prose was employed as a vehicle of highly sophisticated and refined scientific and philosophical disquisitions from very early times, when the Vedic period had been brought to a decisive close with the propagation of the Brāhmaṇas. The diction or grammatical construction of the *bhāṣya* texts is simple and straightforward, but the difficulty of these texts lies in the abstruse thoughts embedded therein as well as in the employment of the subtle, refined method of ratiocination. In Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the *bhāṣya* style has been very effectively imitated, though the expression in these texts has become more compact and the diction much more recondite due perhaps to the novelty and technicality of the subject-matter. Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, artfully adopted the style of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya, the prose being interspersed with verses. This lends a unique grandeur to the treatment, though it has a certain rigidity and affected impersonality which is

[9] See Max Muller's *India: What Can It Teach Us*. Note G: *The Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature* (Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.), pp. 281 ff.

[10] *Vākyapadīya*, II. 480.

totally lacking in the ancient *bhāṣyas* like those of Patañjali, Śabara, and Vātsyāyana.

The employment of Sanskrit prose in secular literary works for the treatment of well-known legends, anecdotes, and myths can be attested from the data available in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Kātyāyana's *vārttikas* thereon. Besides *ślokas* and *gāthās*, Pāṇini refers to *ākhyānas* as a distinct species of literature dealing with stories like those of Paraśurāma, Yayāti, etc.[11] Of course, it is not certain whether these *ākhyānas* were actually in prose, but from the evidence of two-fold classification of prose into *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* as noticed by later *ālaṅkārikas* like Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha as also by the celebrated lexicographer Amarasiṁha, it seems probable that *ākhyānas*, too, formed one of the species of prose narrative current in those times. Ānandavardhana, in his *vṛtti* on *Dhvanyāloka* (III. 7), notices several divisions of *kāvya*, composed either in prose or in verse, whether in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa, like *paryāya-bandha*, *parikathā*, *khaṇḍa-kathā*, *sakala-kathā*, besides the well-known types like *sarga-bandha*, *abhineyārtha*, *ākhyāyikā*, and *kathā*.[12] It should be kept in mind that the authors who employed Sanskrit for composition of their literary works did not eschew the various Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas. They were, in most cases, equally at home in more than one MIA dialect besides Sanskrit. Rājaśekhara has elaborately dwelt on this point in his *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*.[13]

Thus it is evident that there could have been no unbridgeable gulf between Sanskrit as the literary medium of the learned and aristocratic classes on the one hand, and the popular dialects or Prakrits that used to be spoken by the

[11] Cf. *Pān.* VI. 2. 103. *Vide Mahābhāṣya* and *Kāśikā* thereon, where texts like *Pūrvādhirāma*, *Aparādhirāma*, *Pūrva-yāyāta*, and *Apara-yāyāta* are referred to as examples.

[12] Cf. *Dhvanyāloka-vṛtti* on III. 7, and Abhinavagupta's *Locana* thereon. It appears from Abhinava's gloss that *khaṇḍa-kathā* and *sakala-kathā* were composed in Prakrit or popular dialects, just as *kathā* itself was composed in dialects other than Sanskrit as well, which is corroborated by Daṇḍin also in his *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 38; also Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, I. 28. See also *L'Inde Classique*, *Tome* II, p. 239 (Par Louis Renou et Filliozat, Imprimérie Nationale, Paris, 1953). On the various sub-varieties of *kathā* as recognized by later theorists A. K. Warder's *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. I, Chapter VII may be consulted (Motilal Banarsidass, 1st Edn., 1972).

[13] Cf. *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, *Adhyāya* IX, p. 48 (*GOS.* Edition, 1924). In *Adhyāya* X, again, Rājaśekhara discusses the arrangement of seats for poets assembled in a conference, where there is mention of Sanskrit poets, poets proficient in many dialects, poets who can use Prakrit alone or those eminent for their mastery of Apabhraṁśa. Thus it can be easily gathered, that the literary writers in those days were highly catholic in their taste, though the pre-eminence of Sanskrit as the sophisticated medium of expression *par excellence* was admitted by all. In this connexion Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* notes:

'Saṁskṛtavat sarvāsvapi bhāṣāsu yathāsāmarthyaṁ yathā-ruci yathākautukaṁ cāvahitah syāt. . . . taduktam: Eko'rthaḥ saṁskṛtoktyā sa sukaviracanaḥ prākṛtenāparo'smin anyo'pabhraṁśagīrbhiḥ kim aparam aparo bhūtabhāṣākrameṇa, dvitrābhiḥ ko'pi vāgbhir bhavati catasṛbhiḥ kiñca kaścid vivektum yasyetthaṁ dhīḥ prapannā snapayati sukaves tasya kīrtir jaganti.'

common folk on the other.[14] In fact, Prakrit works of acknowledged merit like the *Gāhā-sattasaī* of Hāla composed in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, no longer extant, in *bhūta-bhāṣā* or Paiśācī Prakrit, were looked upon with great respect, and Govardhana, the author of the *Āryā-saptaśatī*, does not hesitate to rank Guṇāḍhya with Vālmīki and Vyāsa and declares unambiguously that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Bṛhatkathā* form, as it were, the three main streams along which our speech flows just like the three streams of the Ganges.[15] So it is absolutely wrong to theorize that the early Sanskrit prose texts dealing with fables, romances, etc. were mere adaptations from original Prakrit versions.[16] It is much more reasonable to look upon the Sanskrit and the Prakrit versions as existing side by side and exercising mutual influence on form and content in a spirit of happy rivalry. The only difference was that while the Prakrits were meant for the people belonging to the lower strata in general, the Sanskrit versions had in view the enlightened and sophisticated sections of the community. Sanskrit was also employed in order to impart to the themes the stamp of permanency, which would be lacking in the case of the former. It would, however, be unwarranted to conclude therefrom that Sanskrit, in its simple and popular form, was completely unintelligible to the masses and it is also futile to trace in the Pali *jātakas* the origin of the vast fable literature composed in Sanskrit.

FABLES AND FAIRY TALES

The Sanskrit fables and fairy tales, that were generally called *kathā*, have close affinity with the Sanskrit prose romances as also with didactic and gnomic poetry as regards style and import. As Professor Macdonell notes: 'the abun-

[14] Consult also R. C. Dutt's remarks on the relation of Sanskrit with the Prakrits in his *Later Hindu Civilization* (A.D. 500 to A.D. 1200), Calcutta, 1909, pp. 175-76. Prof. A. B. Keith also observes in much the same strain, in the course of comparison of Sanskrit with Latin in the Middle Ages, as also with Standard English *vis-à-vis* the various spoken dialects of England. *Vide* his *HSL* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 11.

[15] Cf. '*Śrīrāmāyaṇa-bhārata-bṛhatkathānām kavīn namaskurmaḥ, Trisrotā iva sarasā vahati yaiḥ sarasvatī bhinnā.*'—*Āryā-saptaśatī*. For the numerous encomiums heaped upon Gunādhya and his *Bṛhatkathā* by later Sanskrit poets and theorists *vide* A. K. Warder, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

[16] Prof. Keith has justly observed:

'What is clear is that Sanskrit represents the language of Brahmanical civilization, and the extent of that civilization was ever increasing, though the Brahmanical religion had to face competition from new faiths, in special Buddhism and Jainism, from the fifth century B.C. The Buddhist texts themselves afford the most convincing evidence of all of the predominance of Brahmanism; the Buddha is represented as attempting not to overthrow the ideal of Brahmanism, but to change its content by substituting merit in place of birth as the hall-mark of the true Brahmin. The public religious rites and the domestic ritual were recorded and carried out in Sanskrit, and education was in Brahmin hands. The Buddhist texts repeatedly confirm the Brahmanical principle that instruction of the people (*lokapakti*) was the duty of the Brahmins, and the tales of the Jātakas show young men of all classes, not merely Brahmins but boys of the ruling class, Kṣatriyas, and children of the people, Vaiśyas seeking instruction in the north from Brahmin teachers.'—*Op. cit.*, pp. 7 & 12.

dant introduction of ethical reflection and popular philosophy is characteristic, the apologue with its moral is peculiarly subject to this method of treatment.'[17] This practice of narrating tales with a view to teaching some ethical, philosophical or practical lesson is traceable in the *Mahāvaipulya-Sūtras* of Buddhistic literature and the *Avadāna*, which can also be linked with their somewhat archaic parallels in the Brāhmanas. In the Upaniṣads also such allegories are not rare, 'where we have the allegory of satire of the dogs who search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of two flamingoes whose remarks call attention to Raikva, and the instruction of the young Satyakāma first by a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird.'[18] Even in the various philosophical systems, such fables (*ākhyāyikās*) were made use of by renowned teachers with a view to clarifying abstruse points, as can be easily gathered from references in Kapila's Sāṁkhya aphorisms and their exegesis—the *Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* by Vijñāna Bhikṣu. Not only Brāhmaṇical teachers, but also those belonging to other schools like the Jaina, the Bauddha, etc. followed this custom in propagating their doctrines.

The earliest collection of fables known to us is Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* which was composed in Paiśācī, a very low form of Prakrit, as can be gathered from Daṇḍin's reference to it as *bhūta-bhāṣā,* though it did not lose any of its importance on that score. The original is presumed to have been written in prose.[19] But, strangely, all the extant versions of this encyclopaedic collection of Indian fables, available in Sanskrit, are in verse. The best known are two Kashmirian versions, one by Somadeva, called *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* and the other the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* by Kṣemendra. The Nepalese version, known as the *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin, is considered by scholars as more faithful to the original, though incomplete. There were versions of this work in other languages as well, one in Tamil, another in Persian. There is also a Jaina adaptation of this work called *Vasudeva-hiṇḍi.* Saṅghadāsa's lately recovered version in archaic Māhārāṣṭrī has been assigned to a period earlier than the sixth century A.D. The *Bṛhatkathā* stands as the prototype for a whole species of Sanskrit prose narratives dealing with fables and romances, where tales are embedded or contained within tales in the manner of a Chinese box. This method of narration is closely imitated in the *Pañcatantra,* though the lyrical and epic elements noticeable in the former are conspicuous by their absence in the latter.

The *Pañcatantra* explains the principles of polity as laid down in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and allied works, through popular tales and fables, for the plea-

[17] See Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature,* p. 368.
[18] Keith, *op. cit.,* p. 242.
[19] Renou et Filliozat, *op. cit.,* p. 240.

surable instruction of young princes. It is a model of simple Sanskrit prose, which deserves to be emulated. There are occasional traces of the elaborate *kāvya* style, so much in vogue in later prose texts, such as the use of long compounds, *double entendres* (*śleṣa*), and elaborate metres. The habit of denoting the past by means of active or passive participles, the regular use of aorist, the growing fondness for passive construction resulting in nominal verbal forms, as also for long compounds, and the excessive use of gerunds and adjectival participles are other stylistic characteristics of this work. In fact, the linguistic and grammatical evidence gathered from the extant versions goes to show that the simple unaffected mode of expression of earlier Sanskrit prose was gradually undergoing changes. This was to culminate in the ornate prose style of the classical writers. The judicious mixture of verse with prose is also an attractive feature of the *Pañcatantra*. Animals and human beings are brought together in a most natural way to play their distinctive roles. The jackal has been endowed with a personality at once wise and shrewd that might well be a projection of the character of Kauṭilya, the arch-diplomat as traditionally conceived (*'Kauṭilyaḥ kuṭilamatiḥ'*).

The *Pañcatantra*, along with the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, had an unequalled success in that it was translated in various languages all over the world. About two hundred versions in some sixty languages have been traced so far, and it is second only to the *Bible* from this point of view. Besides, within the Indian sub-continent it was circulated in different recensions, more or less faithful to the original prototype, some being longer and some shorter. The resemblance between the fables of the *Pañcatantra* and those of Aesop on the one hand and those of La Fontaine on the other is striking, and the originality and uniqueness of the Indian version have been admitted by almost all scholars. Benfey once tried to establish the indebtedness of the *Pañcatantra* to the Buddhist *Jātaka*, but the evidence of apparent borrowing can be explained as due to the common Indian heritage.

Diverse works dealing with popular tales and fables (*kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) were composed in Sanskrit prose during the centuries following, mostly inspired by the *Bṛhatkathā* and *Tantrākhyāyikā* or *Pañcatantra*, of which the *Vetāla-pañca-viṁśatikā*, the *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśikā* (also called *Vikrama-carita*), the *Mādhavānala-kāmandalā-kathā*, having Prince Vikramāditya as the hero, the *Śuka-saptati*, of unknown date and authorship, the *Kathārṇava* of Śivadāsa, the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* of Vidyāpati, the well-known Maithili poet, and the *Bhoja-prabandha* of Ballāla (or Vallabha), deserve particular mention, besides the two Jaina collections, the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Prabandha-koṣa*.

REFINED PROSE NARRATIVES

Alongside the popular specimens of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* the parallel develop-

ment of a refined and artistic type of prose narrative was discernible. Prose was looked upon not merely as a popular medium of communication, but it was raised to the status of artistic expression. It was made as ornate, refined, and sophisticated as the court-epics and lyrics of poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, etc. What more, prose came to be looked upon as the real touchstone of poetic gifts, inasmuch as the writer of prose had to do without the aid of the natural rhythm of metres. There is an oft-quoted saying: *gadyaṁ kavīnāṁ nikaṣaṁ vadanti*[20] ('the touchstone of literary composers is prose').

Consequently, a gifted writer of artistic and ornate prose was ranked as in no way inferior to an epic or lyric poet. Prose works were recognized as specimens of genuine *kāvya*, rivalling versified poetical works in literary excellence. This shift from popular, simple, and unadorned prose narratives to an artificial, ornate, and sophisticated prose style as the vehicle of artistic expression can be traced in such works as Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā*, the diction of which is highly praised by Dharmakīrti in a verse attributed to him by Tāranātha. Bāṇa, in one of the introductory verses to his *Harṣacarita*, speaks very highly of the prose of Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra, its diction being right 'royal'.[21] Thus in the course of time, prose narratives came to vie with classical epics both in theme and artistic excellence. This can be easily gathered from the theme and diction of prose works like Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita*, and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-carita*, to name only the chief representatives of this class. The style, too, gradually became varied, sometimes abounding in long compounds, sometimes employing compounds of medium length, sometimes

[20]Cf. '*Kāvyaṁ gadyaṁ padyaṁ ca*'—Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra*, I.3.21 and his own *vṛtti* thereon: *gadyasya pūrvanirdeśo durlakṣya-viśeṣatvena durbandhatvāt, tathāhuh: 'gadyaṁ kavīnāṁ nikaṣaṁ vadanti'*. Note also the comments of Gopendra Tripurahara on this *vṛtti*-text in his commentary *Kāmadhenu*.

[21]Cf. '*Padabandhojjvalo hārī kṛta-varṇa-kramasthitiḥ, Bhaṭṭāra-haricandrasya gadyabandho nṛpāyate.*'—*Harṣacarita*, I.13. There is a reference to Haricandra in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā, Adhyāya* X, in connexion with a conference of poets convened at Ujjayinī:

'Śrūyate cojjayinyāṁ kāvyakāraparīkṣāem
Iha kālidāsa-meṇṭhāvatrāmara-rūpa-śūra-bhāravayaḥ
Haricandra-candraguptau parīkṣitāviha viśālāyām.'

Haricandra is also mentioned along with such great poets as Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Dākṣīputra (i.e. Pāṇini), Śūra, Bhāravi, and Bhavabhūti in the well-known stanza:

'Subandhau bhaktir naḥ ka iha raghukāre na ramate dhṛtir dākṣīputre harati haricandro'pi hṛdayam
Viśuddhoktiḥ śūraḥ prakṛtimadhurā bhāravi-giras-tathā'pyantar modaṁ kamapi bhavabhūtir vitanute.'

In a verse of questionable authenticity Haricandra is mentioned as one of the sons of Śabara, the great Mīmāṁsist, born of four wives of different castes, he being born of a Vaiśya wife and Vaidya (physician) by caste. See D. V. Garge's *Citations in Śabara's Bhāṣya*, p. 18, fn. 6. Haricandra was, according to *Viśvaprakāśa-koṣa* of Maheśvara, the court-physician of King Sāhasāṅka and a commentator of Caraka's *Saṁhitā*, the name of the commentary being *Kharaṇāda*. A physician Haricandra, son of Īśānacandra, is also mentioned in the *Bhāṇa* entitled *Pādatāḍitaka*. But it is not certain whether the poet Haricandra referred to by Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara, was identical with Haricandra, the physician. See V. S. Agarwal's *Harṣacarita—Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana* (in Hindi) [Bihar Rastrabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1953], p. 6.

again conspicuous by the absence of compound forms. At times, it savoured of metrical feet, adding rhythmical grace to the even monotony of jejune prose narratives.[22] Artifices like *double entendre*, poetic fallacy (*utprekṣā*), pompous syllables (*akṣara-ḍambara*) were freely made use of by poets all over the vast sub-continent. And, in Bāṇa's prose all these devices are artistically and judiciously utilized, harmonizing with the theme, the context, the sentiment, and the speaker.[23] In this way the difference between prose *ākhyāyikās* and *kathās* on the one hand and ornate high-flown metrical compositions of acknowledged poetic worth like the *mahākāvyas*, the *khaṇḍa-kāvyas*, and the various species of *rūpakas* (dramas) on the other, became gradually narrowed down. Consequently the authors of prose narratives endowed with all the poetic embellishments that were regarded as the hallmark of metrical *kāvyas* were considered full-fledged poets, fit to be mentioned in the same breath with eminent *mahākavis* like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, etc.

Originally there was a clear-cut distinction between the two types of prose narrative, viz. *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, from the point of view of theme as well as of form. The *kathā* had an imaginary plot, whereas the *ākhyāyikā* was based upon some historical anecdote. The prose of *kathā* had to be manoeuvred with an eye to the sentiment to be evolved, and as such it avoided excessive use of long compounds. But in *ākhyāyikā* the writer had complete liberty to give vent to his power of stringing together lengthy compounds that added force and compactness to the prose style. But this judicious discrimination of form and content as regards the two time-honoured divisions of *gadya-kāvya* (prose narrative) was completely ignored by later writers. Thus there was no meaning in observing any distinction between them as Daṇḍin unambiguously asserts. The authors of *gadya-kāvyas* were as punctilious as the renowned authors of court-epics regarding choice of words. This choice was directed by their anxiety to display their knowledge of organic and inorganic nature, and their vast erudition. Their vast learning extended to mythology, religion, philosophy, alchemy, even the art of theft, and the art of warfare and polity, including espionage, and to popular customs and beliefs. This gave the whole work an

[22] Cf. '*Cūrnakam alpasamāsaṁ dīrghasamāsam utkalikāprāyam, Samāsarahitam āviddhaṁ vṛttabhāgānvitaṁ vṛttagandhi.*' Vāmana, too, mentions three varieties of *gadya*—viz. *vrttagandhi*, *cūrna*, and *utkalikāprāya* in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra*, I. 3.22-25 and illustrates them in his *vṛtti* thereon. Viśvanātha, in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, VI. 330-32[a], considers *four* varieties of prose instead of *three*, adding *muktaka*, which is defined as '*vṛttagandhojjhita*' and marked by a complete absence of compounds.

[23] See *Harsacarita*, I. 8-9. V. S. Agarwal thinks that in earlier prose narratives like *Lalitavistara*, *Jātaka-mālā*, etc. the emphasis was on realistic description of nature and man (*svabhāvokti* or *jāti*), which gradually came to be looked down upon and gave way to ornate prose embellished with various poetic devices like *vakrokti* and *śleṣa*, as it appears to have been hinted at by Bāṇa in the couplet:

'Santi śvāna ivāsaṁkhyā jātibhājo gṛhe gṛhe,
Utpādakā na bahavaḥ kavayaḥ śarabhā iva.'—*Harṣacarita*, I. 6.

encyclopaedic character, raising it far above the simple art of story-telling meant to please the ordinary folk. Bhāmaha has observed with reference to the poet's versatility: What a great burden the poet has to bear in that he cannot omit anything in the world in his composition ![24]

Thus the later *kathās* and *ākhyāyikās* could be easily regarded as mere prose counterparts of classical court-epics or *mahākāvyas*, the difference lying in the medium and not in theme. Such works were obviously meant for the *élite* who had access to the *kāvya-goṣṭhīs*[25]—that were organized under the patronage of princes and wealthy citizens. The interest of these works lies not in their plot, but in the manner of narrating it and the writer's ability to bring the vast storehouse of his worldly experience and erudition to bear upon the art of narration. Attracted by his unparalleled virtuosity in the art of story-telling and mastery of vocabulary, the equally distinguished connoisseurs lost all interest in the theme.[26]

[24] *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, V. 4: *Na sa śabdo na tad vācyaṁ na sa nyāyo na sā kalā, jāyate yanna kāvyāngam aho bhāro mahān kaveh.*

The concluding remarks of Professor Cowell in his preface to the English translation of Bāna's *Harṣacarita* almost echoes the same sentiment: 'The book is full of Sanskrit lore of every kind; but its author was not (as Gibbon says of Libarius) "a recluse student whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian Commonwealth." He was by no means the mere lover of what was abstract and difficult; he had also an eye for the picturesque and the pathetic, and he could sympathise with the men and women of his own time; like Apollonius Rhodius he was a poet as well as a grammarian.'—*The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa*, translated by E. B. Cowell & F. W. Thomas, Royal Asiatic Society, London, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Preface, p. xiv. Similarly, speaking of his work *Yaśastilaka-campū* the author Somadeva declares with pride:

'Uktayaḥ kavitā-kāntāh sūktayo'vasarocitāh
Yuktayaḥ sarvaśāstrāntās tasya yasyātra kautukam.'—*Yaśastilaka*, I. 15.

[25] '*Goṣṭhī*' has been explained by the commentator Śaṅkara as: '*Samānavidyā-vṛtta-śīla-buddhi-vayasām anurūpair ālāpair ekatrāsanabandho goṣṭhī.*' *Goṣṭhīs* might, according to Vātsyāyana, be either good (*loka-cittānuvartinī*) or bad (*lokavidvistā parahiṁsātmikā gosthī*). Various types of *goṣṭhī* are noticed in Jinasena's *Mahāpurāna*, XIV. 190-92, viz: *pada-gosṭhī, kāvya-, jalpa-, gīta-, nrtya-, vādya-, vīṇā-*, etc. Bāṇa refers to *vīra-goṣṭhīs* as well. In such *goṣṭhīs* various literary competitions, recitals of *ākhyānas, ākhyāyikās, itihāsas, purāṇas*, and discussions on the important philosophical and learned topics used to be held as can be easily gathered from the frequent references to such assemblies in Bāṇa's works. *Vide* V. S. Agarwal, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

[26] Speaking of the literary merit of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, Gray observes:

'In the West the subject-matter comes first in nearly every form of literary composition; and the more tense and nervous the people, the more simple and direct is the style. In the East, on the contrary, the form is often more important than the matter especially in periods of hyper-civilisation, such as was that during which Subandhu wrote. We must, therefore, consider the *Vāsavadattā* from the luxuriant atmosphere of the land of its author, not from the "practical" point of view of the West. To me, at least, there is true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled save in Sanskrit, and the alliterations have a lulling music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of vaunted modern "progress". There is, on the other hand, compact brevity in the paronomasias, which are, in most cases, veritable gems of terseness and twofold appropriateness, even though some are manifestly forced and are actually detrimental to the sense of passages in which they occur. The entire romance may, in a sense, be likened to India's

Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, Baṇa's *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita*, and Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-carita* are four great works in Sanskrit prose, of which the first two may be regarded as specimens of the *kathā* and the last two of the *ākhyāyikā* type of composition though poetic fancy and mastery of expression are equally noticeable in all of them. The original trait of an *ākhyāyikā*, viz. its historicity, which marked it off from *kathā*, a purely imaginary narrative, became gradually blurred and the two types were identified for all practical purposes, as is evident from Daṇḍin's remarks.[27] Though Sanskrit prose style was classified under three broad heads, viz. *utkalikā-prāya*, *cūrṇaka* and *vṛttagandhi*, according to the degree of preponderance of compounds, the great prose writers mostly preferred the *utkalikā-prāya* variety of prose, abounding in long compounds (*dīrgha-samāsā saṁghaṭanā*) and marked by the quality called *ojas* (force). This use of long compounds was also approved by great theorists like Ānandavardhana in the case of prose narratives in general, though in the case of *kathā* certain reservations were made.[28] Weber's criticism of Bāṇa's prose style,[29] which is compared to an Indian wood, is unsympathetic and, to say the least, based on a total misconception of the traditional Indian view-point as to the form of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* and the *milieu* in which they flourished. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, a *kathā*, or his *Harṣacarita*, an *ākhyāyikā*, should not be viewed as being on the same level with the *Bṛhat-kathā*, which charmed the common village-folk by virtue of its varied contents,[30] whereas the main attraction of the former consisted in the finesse and perfection of their form. Besides, it is not true that Bāṇa always revelled in *utkalikā*-

own architecture, where the whole structure is so overlaid with minute detail that the eye forgets, the outlines of the building in amazement at the delicate traceries which cover it.'—*Vāsavadattā* (a Sanskrit romance) by Subandhu, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press, Introduction, pp. 26-27.

[27] '*Tat kathākhyāyiketyekā jātiḥ saṁjñādvayāṅkitā, atraivāntarbhaviṣyanti śeṣāś cākhyānajātayaḥ.*'—*Kāvyādarśa*, I. 28. Cf. 'The great merit of the *Harṣacarita* consists in the fact that it is a very early attempt at an historical romance. Bāṇa's other work, the *Kādambarī*, and Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* deal with mythological fiction, and everything is viewed through a highly poetical atmosphere; and the *Daśakumāra-carita* is equally based upon pure imagination, although its characters, as in the *picaresco* literature of modern Europe, are the exaggerated pictures of the vulgar rogues and ruffians of every great city.' —Cowell & Thomas, *loc. cit.*, p. viii. According to some scholars development of the biography *ākhyāyikā* as a *kāvya* form may be traced to the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (II. 72), in both Pali and Sanskrit versions. See A. K. Warder, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 74. The difference between *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, from the point of view of plot and *milieu*, can be illustrated by that between *nāṭaka* and *prakaraṇa*, the two principal dramatic types, the former being based upon *itivṛtta* and dealing with characters of high rank, and the latter being *utpādya-vastu* and having characters belonging to the middle and lower strata of society.

[28] *Vide Dhvanyāloka*, III. 8 and *vṛtti* thereon; also III. 9.

[29] Cf. 'Bāṇa's prose is an Indian wood where progress is impossible through the undergrowth until a traveller cuts out a path for himself, and where even then he is confronted by malicious wild beasts in the shape of unknown words to terrify him.' See Keith, *HSL*, p. 326.

[30] Cf. *Meghadūta* : '*prāpyāvantīn udayanakathā-kovidagrāmavṛddhān.*'—v. 30 (K. B. Pathak's Edn.)

prāya prose. His use of *cūrṇaka* or simple prose is picturesque, lively, and calculated to evoke the desired emotion—be it pathos, wonder, love, awe or anger. Bāṇa knew not only how to heap poetic figures one upon another, but could, whenever necessary, write simple, unadorned, and short sentences with equal felicity and grace.

The tradition of artistic prose narratives was firmly established by the three great masters of classical Sanskrit prose just mentioned. A host of gifted writers tried to keep it alive by composing extensive narratives interspersed with verses, as in the afore-mentioned works of the masters. In this connection, Dhanapāla's *Tilaka-mañjarī* (*c.* tenth century A.D.), Soḍḍhala's *Udayasundarī-kathā,* a tale in eight *ucchvāsas,* Oḍayadeva Vādībhasiṁha's *Gadya-cintāmani* in eleven *lambhas,* Vāmana's *Vemabhūpāla-carita,* a life of his royal patron who ruled during the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. at Koṇḍaviḍu, and Ahobila Nṛsiṁha's *Abhinava-Kādambarī* (close of the eighteenth century A.D.), though inspired by Bāṇa's art, deserve special notice.[31] Among the various sects, the Jains especially cultivated this art with great enthusiasm and a missionary zeal for propagating their own religion and demonstrating its excellence.

CAMPŪ

Besides *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā,* another species of *śravya-kāvya* in Sanskrit has been noticed by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa,* viz. *campū,* which is a mixture of prose and verse in almost equal measure, and has therefore been regarded as a specimen of *miśra-kāvya.* This technique of mingling prose and verse is in evidence in the Brāhmaṇas and later in the Purāṇas as well. But the element of poetry and the artistic excellence of the classical age are not discernible in these early specimens.

Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* can be regarded as the earliest specimen, as yet available, of this *genre.*[32] There are thirty-four *jātaka* tales narrated in this collection in prose and verse mixed almost in equal proportions, and the artistic finesse of Ārya Śūra's prose and his skilful employment of elaborate metrical forms are beyond dispute. His command of Sanskrit vocabulary is striking and

[31] Vāmana openly declares that his attempt is to show that good prose-writing is possible even after the great Bānabhatta:

Bāna-kavīndrād anye kānāh sarasagadyasaranīṣu
Iti jagati rūdhamayaśo vatsakulo vāmano'dhunā mārsti.

It has been justly said by an unknown critic with reference to Bāna's uniqueness as a poet in prose in the following verse—

Ślese kecana śabdagumphavisaye kecid rase cāpare'lankāre katicit sadarthavisaye cānye kathā-varnane
Āsarvatra gabhīradhīrakavitā-vindhyāṭavī-cāturī-sañcārī kavi-kumbhi-kumbha-bhiduro bānastu pañcānanah .

[32] Cf. 'The *Jātakamālā* (Garland of Births) is a *campū* narrative with roughly equal amounts of prose and verse, regarding thirty-four of the most popular *Jātaka* stories. The critic Ratnaśrījñāna gives it as an example of the *campū* form.'—Warder, *op. cit*, Vol. II, p. 247.

his virtuosity in the manipulation of difficult metres evoked the praise even of Dharmakīrti, as noticed by Tārānātha. In an anonymous verse cited by Vidyākara, in his celebrated anthology *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa*, Śūra is lauded for the purity of his diction (*'viśuddhoktiḥ śūraḥ'*). It would not be unjust to assert that Śūra's prose style formed a link, as it were, between the unadorned simple prose style of the early story-tellers and the sophisticated, heavy, artificial prose of the later classical authors.[33]

Earlier specimens of *campū* are not available at present, and it is difficult to determine the actual works which called forth Daṇḍin's definition just referred to.[34] From the tenth century A.D. onwards, *campūs* became very common, particularly in South India,[35] though such works were composed in other parts of this sub-continent as well. Of the principal works of this class, Trivikrama's *Nala-campū* has had wide popularity, and he compares his prose mixed with verse to a song accompanied by notes of musical instruments. His style is artificial and strained, and he has consciously imitated the art of Bāṇa and Subandhu, without having their literary virtues. Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka-campū*, consisting of seven *āśvāsas*, was evidently written to eulogize the religion of Jina. It is a very important work from the viewpoint of the cultural history of the times.[36] Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* also is a notable *campū* work. Originally it ran up to the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*, but was later supplemented by the addition of the sixth *kāṇḍa*, the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, by Lakṣmaṇakavi. The problem of authorship of this important *campū* is still disputed as there is doubt as to whether Bhoja is the famous king of Dhārā or a king of Malwa bearing the same name. A sequel to the story was added to include the incidents of the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* as well. *Campū* works based upon the incidents of the *Bhāgavata* and the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa were also composed. Of these, Abhinava Kālidāsa's *Bhāgavata-campū* and the *Ānandakanda-campū* of Mitra Miśra deserve special notice. The *Viśvaguṇādarśa-campū* of Veṅkaṭādhvarin (the latter half of the seventeenth century A.D.) utilizes the *campū* form to give, in humorous, satirical vein, a picture of the contemporary society. The author's wide experience, his

[33] See Warder, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp 255-56; also F. Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: Language and Literature* (Ten public lectures), p. 35, where it is remarked that the prose of the *Jātakamālā* might be Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit.

[34] In the Pali *Kunāla Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, V. 416-56) alternance of prose and verse is, however, noticeable and according to Warder 'the work is a true *campū-kāvya* in form. Probably this *campū* was designed as a bitter response to the actions of Aśoka's last empress who tried to undo her husband's good works after gaining influence over him in his old age· One should never trust a woman'.—Warder, *op cit.*, Vol. II. pp. 71-75.

[35] The origin of the *campūs*, according to a majority of scholars, is to be traced in South India. Cf. '*On a présumé une origine méridionale pour le genre littéraire tout entier.*'—Renou et Filliozat, *op. cit.*, p 259.

[36] For a detailed study of Somadeva's *campū* from various aspects—historical, literary and cultural, see K. K. Handiqui's *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture* (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, No. II, 1949).

versatile learning and mastery of diction are in evidence throughout the work. The *Svāhāsudhākara-campū* of Nārāyaṇa (seventeenth century) and Śaṅkara's *Śaṅkaracetovijaya-campū*, in honour of the famous Chait Singh of Banaras, deserve mention in this connection. Numerous works of this *genre* were composed with biographical themes or themes of local interest. Many such have been noticed in the various descriptive catalogues of manuscripts. The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava teachers also made important contributions in this field, of which the *Gopāla-campū* of Jīva Gosvāmin and the *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* of Kavi Karṇapūra are noteworthy both from literary and theological stand-points.

EPIGRAPHS AND EDICTS

The Sanskrit prose style, the flowering of which we notice in the compositions of Bāṇa, Subandhu and Daṇḍin, as also in the *campūs*, had also greatly influenced the style of the important epigraphs and edicts. In the *Śāsanādhikāra* (*Arthaśāstra*, II. 10), Kauṭilya lays down the six merits of a royal decree of which *mādhurya*, *audārya*, and *spaṣṭatva* are conspicuous.[37] But in most of the epigraphs composed in Sanskrit prose, the element of *mādhurya* is not very prominent. Instead we have *ojas*, which is the characteristic feature of the *gauḍīya* style, abounding in long compounds and avoiding mellifluous and soft sounds, that is so much in favour with most of the eminent prosateurs. In Hariṣeṇa's *Samudragupta-praśasti* and even earlier in Rudradāman's Girnar inscription[38] (second half of the second century A.D.) evidence of this artistic prose style is clearly visible. The authors of such inscriptions were adepts in the full-fledged *kāvya* style as elaborated by ancient writers on poetics, and consciously made use of all the artistic devices, viz. *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*, some of which have been mentioned by name in the Girnar inscription. Thus, the beginning of the *kāvya*

[37] Cf. '*Arthakramaḥ sambandhaḥ paripūrṇatā mādhuryam audāryaṁ spaṣṭatvam iti lekhasampat.*'—*A.Ś.*, II. 10.6. Kauṭilya defines the last three *guṇas* as:

'*Sukhopanīta-cārvartha-śabdābhidhānaṁ mādhuryam*

Agrāmyaśabdābhidhānam audāryam

Pratītaśabdaprayogaḥ spaṣṭatvamiti.'—*Loc. cit.*, II. 10.10-12.

[38] In the early Sanskrit inscriptions of South India, especially those of Vākāṭaka, Kadamba, and Viṣṇukuṇḍin, the prose, though ornate, is less elaborate and much simpler in comparison with the inscriptions of North India. See Renou, *Histoire de la Langue Sanskrite*, p. 98 (Paris, 1956). Ārya Śūra's prose is one of the earliest specimens of Vaidarbha style, as Śūra was a southerner (*vaidarbha*), according to Ratnaśrījñāna, an old critic and commentator of Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*. Besides, *Aśmaka-vaṁśa*, a specimen of Vaidarbha-mārga, according to Bhāmaha (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*, I. 33), had as its theme the dynasty of Aśmaka, belonging to the south of Vidarbha, and most probably was composed in that locality. Thus Vākāṭaka might have been the region where the *vaidarbhī rīti* had its origin and it is not strange that it would leave its stamp on the prose style of the royal edicts and inscriptions of that region. See Warder, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 260-61. For employment of *gauḍī rīti* in Sanskrit inscriptions Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya's informative article entitled *The Gauḍī Rīti in Theory and Practice* in *IHQ.*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 388 ff., may be consulted with profit.

style, even in prose, can be pushed back, beyond any doubt, to at least the first century of the Christian era, if not much earlier.

This high-flown, artistic, and sophisticated prose style was introduced into drama as well. Bharata in his *Nāṭyā-śāstra* unambiguously lays down that the language of dramas should be easily intelligible to all—it should be *janapada-sukha-bodhya* and should eschew rare grammatical forms and recondite vocabulary. Ānandavardhana, with his characteristic keen critical sense, categorically enjoins that long compounded expressions should be avoided by all means in drama as they impede the development of the emotion (*rasa*) which is the quintessence of dramatic art, and particularly in cases where *śṛṅgāra* (love) and *karuṇa* (pathos) are the principal emotions.[39] The prose style of earlier dramatists like Bhāsa and Kālidāsa faithfully keep up to these norms. That the language used by different types of characters in the dramas of these two great writers is always easy to understand, though dignified, is certainly beyond dispute. But as the centuries rolled on, the prose style cultivated by the great masters became gradually more and more sophisticated and endowed with all the characteristic features of ornate poetic art. Dramatic prose correspondingly became more and more heavy, artificial, and burdened with long compounds that could be thought hardly befitting even a regular prose narrative. This can be seen in the dramas of Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Kṣemīśvara, and others.[40] This artificiality of Sanskrit prose influenced the speeches of Prakrit-speaking characters as well and the Prakrit dialogues in the dramas of Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, and their contemporaries are as ornate and difficult to understand (due to abundance of long compounds and obscure vocables) as the Sanskrit spoken by characters of high rank. But in the dialogues of the available dramatic pieces of the earlier period, we find a form of simple unaffected Sanskrit prose that might reflect the popular spoken form of Sanskrit of the times.[41]

PHILOSOPHICAL PROSE LITERATURE

We have already noticed in brief the employment of Sanskrit prose in the various *bhāṣya* texts. Almost all of them are couched in a medium that is characterized by clarity (*prasāda*) and depth (*gāmbhīrya*) at the same time. But in the later exegetical works affiliated to different disciplines like philosophy, logic, poetics, jurisprudence and so on, Sanskrit prose was variedly employed. Though it was chiefly expository and polemical in character, founded on incisive dialectics, some of the works of this *genre* had grace and dignity mixed with admirable

[39] Cf. Ānandavardhana's *vṛtti* on *Dhvanyāloka*, III. 6.

[40] Consult Dr S. K. De's *HSL*, pp. 275-76, 283 ff., on the prose style—both Sanskrit and Prakrit, of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa and Bhavabhūti.

[41] See Renou, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

literary flavour, which would befit even a purely poetical product. Just as the poets made use of their wide learning in different *śāstras* to enrich the contents of their works, in the same way these authors of exegetical texts belonging to various *śāstras* wrote with a view to making dry philosophical and scientific subjects attractive and persuasive to the readers. To that end they utilized their literary abilities to the full, making their prose full of verve, humour, wit or satire, as occasion demanded by virtue of their mastery of the Sanskrit idiom. As illustrations, we may mention the *bhāṣyas* of the great Śaṅkarācārya, the prose of Maṇḍana Miśra in his *Brahmasiddhi*, Vācaspati Miśra's incomparable prose in his masterly commentaries like *Bhāmatī*, *Tattva-vaiśāradī*,[42] *Sāṁkhya-tattvakaumudī* and *Nyāyavārtika-tātparyaṭīkā*, Jayanta's graceful, dignified, and almost poetical exposition of the dry topics of logic and metaphysics in the *Nyāyamañjarī*, Śrīharṣa's terse and polemic prose style as evidenced in his *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya*, Udayana's masterly idiom and succinct expressions full of suggestiveness, Ānandavardhana's measured and dignified exposition of the theory of suggestion in his *Dhvanyāloka*, and Abhinavagupta's incomparable commentary *Locana* thereon, to cite only a few instances, are notable specimens of exegetical prose composition in Sanskrit. According to Rājaśekhara, *śāstra* and *kāvya* must stand in helpful, but not intrusive, alliance to each other so that one might fruitfully enhance the effects aimed at by the other.[43] In keeping with this wise maxim, our *śāstrakāras*, poets of no mean order as they themselves were, did not hesitate to use their poetic skill in order to make their arguments convincing as well as attractive.

BUDDHIST PROSE LITERATURE

Before we conclude, a few words ought to be spoken about the peculiar Sanskrit prose style cultivated by the Buddhists of the Sarvāstivādin, Mūla-sarvāstivādin, and Mahāsāṅghika schools in their extra-canonical texts. The *Avadānaśataka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, and the *Mahāvastu* are remarkable prose narratives. Their style is simple, graceful, and much nearer to a spoken idiom than the ornate artistic prose of classical Sanskrit. The language of the *Mahāvastu* is not pure Sanskrit, but a sort of hybrid Sanskrit that was much in vogue among the Buddhist communities. In it popular elements of speech and various sorts

[42]On the prose style of Vyāsa's *bhāṣya* on Patañjali's *Yoga-Sūtras* as also Vācaspati Miśra's gloss thereon, see Woods, *The Yoga System of Patañjali*, Preface, p. ix. (*HOS*, Vol. XVII). Similarly, for a critical appraisal of Dharmakīrti's prose style, see Raniero Gnoli, *The Pramāna-vārttikam of Dharmakīrti*, Ch. I (Text with Critical Notes), Serie Orientali, Roma, XXIII, Introduction, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; also Renou, *HLS*, p. 210. See also Winternitz's *HIL*, Vol. II, p. 364, on the style of Vasubandhu, Candrakīrti, Śāntarakṣita, and other Buddhist thinkers.

[43]Cf. *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, V: '*Upakāryopakārakabhāvaṁ tu mithaḥ śāstra-kāvyakavyor anumanyāmahe, yacchāstra-saṁskāraḥ kāvyam anugṛhṇāti śāstraikapravaṇatā tu nigṛhṇāti, Kāvyasaṁskāro'pi śāstravākyapākamanurunaddhi kāvyaikapravaṇatā tu virunaddhi.*'

of Prakritism got mixed with the Sanskrit, evolving direct from the Vedic prose of the Brāhmaṇas. There are a good many examples of solecism noticeable in the prose of these Buddhist narratives, that can by no means be justified by the norms laid down by classical grammarians. Prof. Edgerton's pioneering works in the fields of grammar and lexicography relating to Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit have opened up new vistas for students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. It is of great help in forming an idea about the widespread use of Sanskrit among the masses and the aberrations introduced therein through the centuries.[44]

It may, however, be noted in this connection that even among the orthodox Brāhmaṇic schools, ritualists and philosophic thinkers, Sanskrit as a spoken language did not always strictly conform to the rigid norms laid down by grammarians. Various solecisms were also tolerated outside the jurisdiction of ritual performances. This is attested by the reference in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* to a group of *ṛṣis* nick-named *'Yarvāṇastarvāṇaḥ'* because of their peculiar pronunciation of the expression *yadvā-nas-tad-vā naḥ* based upon a defective euphonic combination. But such solecisms were never tolerated in ritual acts proper.[45] Thus, it is no wonder that the Buddhists would adopt a form of popular Sanskrit, easily understandable to the masses, even though it did not faithfully conform to the rigid norms formulated by grammarians of old. But as Buddhism declined and as linguistic standards, specially those set down by the Pāṇinians, gradually gained ascendancy and came to be looked upon as inviolable, the so-called Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit disappeared from the linguistic map of India.

CONCLUSION

This brief and rapid survey of Sanskrit prose literature in its widest connota-

[44]Edgerton thus summarizes broadly the peculiar traits of this hybrid dialect in one of his lectures: 'Let me summarise the results of this lecture. The Buddha commanded his disciples to use only popular dialects in reciting his teachings. They followed his instructions for a time. Many dialects all over North India were thus used by local schools of Buddhists. One such dialect, perhaps originally spoken at Ujjain, was Pali, which was carried to Ceylon, Burma etc., and became the canonical language of Southern Buddhism. Another such dialect, of unknown original location, began after a time to be modified by the local Buddhists to make it look more like Sanskrit, the socially respected language of their Brahman neighbours. This Sanskritization was at first slight and partial. As time went on it increased, but it never became complete. Prakritic forms continued to be used, and many forms were mixed or hybrid, neither genuine Prakrit nor standard Sanskrit. The vocabulary, especially, remained largely Prakritic. Thousands of words were used which are unknown in Sanskrit, or not used there with the same meanings. To this curious language, which became wide-spread in North India, I have given the name Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. After more than twenty years of research I have published, in 1953, the only complete Grammar and Dictionary of the language ever attempted.'—F. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, Lecture I, p. 7.

[45] Cf. *Mahābhāṣya*, *Āhnika* I (*Paspaśā*):

'Evaṁ hi śrūyate—Yarvāṇastarvāṇo nāma ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ pratyakṣadharmāṇaḥ parāparajñā viditaveditavyā adhigata-yāthātathyāḥ, te tatrabhavanto yadvānastadvāna iti prayoktavye yarvāṇastarvāṇa iti prayuñjate, yājñe punaḥ karmaṇi nāpabhāṣante.'

tion would, we think, help us in forming an unbiased opinion as regards its infinite variety and inherent possibilities. It would not be just if an appraisal of Sanskrit prose is made purely on the basis of the prose of the *Pañcatantra* and similar books of fables on the one hand and the ornate and artificial prose of such master stylists as Daṇḍin, Bāṇa, and Subandhu on the other. We must take into account the varied ramifications that Sanskrit prose underwent in diverse fields like popular fables, romances, various technical disciplines, philosophical and exegetical treatises, royal edicts and inscriptions, in Buddhist extra-canonical works, dramatic dialogues and epistles, and numerous other domains since its dim beginnings in the *nivids* and *yajus*. Only thus can we gain a comprehensive and dispassionate view about its wealth, range, variety, richness and wonderful capacity to adapt itself to the topics under discussion.[46]

[46]See, however in this connexion, Dr S. K. De's observations: 'In practice, certainly, if not in theory, the separate existence of prose as a vehicle of expression is sparingly recognised, the writers fancying that prose is but a species of verse itself and of poetry which is conveyed in verse, and making their prose, endowed with florid rhetorical devices, look as much as possible like their own verse and poetry.'—*HSL*, p. 418.

16

SANSKRIT AND SANSKRITIC FABLES

ALTHOUGH no actual animal fable is found in Vedic literature, in the *Ṛg-Veda* itself there is a wealth of material with the characteristics of the fable, and this indicates the fondness of the Vedic Aryan for tales of all sorts. Thus in the *Ṛg-Veda* there is a frog song in which Brāhmaṇas singing at a sacrifice are compared to croaking frogs. Besides, this throws light on the fact that the attitude of seeing kinship between men and animals belonged to the early Aryan. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* goes one step further and introduces a satirical account of dogs moving in a procession and howling for food, the object of this idea being that it might serve as a standard of comparison with the Brāhmaṇas engaged in the performance of sacrifices and the chanting of hymns. In the same *Upaniṣad* the young Satyakāma is instructed first by a bull, then by a flamingo, and subsequently by an aquatic bird. These examples show that the early Indian was able quite easily to transfer the habits and behaviour of men to his neighbours, the animals; the teachings of the Upaniṣads helped to a considerable extent in the formation of this attitude.

In the *Mahābhārata,* the fable leaves its embryonic stage and becomes more full-bodied. Thus we hear of the naughty cat who deceived the little mice by appearing so virtuous, and they ultimately delivered themselves unto her power. Then there is the crafty jackal who cheated his allies and enjoyed alone the booty won previously with their aid. This developed form of the fable is found even more in the literature of the Buddhists who believed in the doctrine of transmigration into animal as well as human forms, and in the *Jātaka* tales they took recourse to beast stories in order to demonstrate the greatness of Buddha. Besides these, there are the stories which constitute the *avadānas*, stories depicting those pious deeds by which one becomes a Buddha. Sanskrit poetics does not draw a distinction between a *jātaka* and an *avadāna*, but both are ignored possibly because of their religious objectives. What the curious reader misses most is an attempt to discriminate between the fable and the tale. A rigid differentiation between the two is possibly not practicable, however, since the characteristics of one cannot be entirely excluded from the other. While the fable becomes enriched by the folk-tale or spicy stories of human adventure, the tale becomes complex by assimilating the features of beast stories and also their didactic motive.

THE PAÑCATANTRA AND THE HITOPADEŚA

Absorbing into its frame the elements of the fable and of the tale, the

Pañcatantra is apparently the creation of a great artist who reveals himself as a master of narrative as well as the perfect man of the world. At its outset the *Pañcatantra* claims to be a work specifically intended to teach practical wisdom to princes. In doing this it shows its connection with the Nīti-śāstra and the Artha-śāstra, two important branches of study which deal with action in practical politics and in the conduct of the ordinary affairs of everyday life. Nevertheless, there lingers round the *Pañcatantra* the definite influence of the Dharma-śāstra, the code of morals, for the fable never extols cleverness and political wisdom divorced from morality. This didactic nature of the work explains its peculiar pattern, the pattern of emboxing stories within a main tale, developed, possibly, on the model of the method of presenting narratives found in the *Mahābhārata*. As the *Pañcatantra* is intended mainly as a book of instruction, the moral of the story is conveniently summed up in a concluding para. The characters usually try to support their maxims by allusions to other fables, and this naturally results in the insertion of a tale within a tale. It requires, of course, the superb skill of a great literary artist to interweave the fables in such a manner that the whole becomes a unit and completeness of effect is obtained. In this task the author of the *Pañcatantra* gives evidence of his superior skill and profound genius.

The *Pañcatantra*, it is said, emanated from the pen of one Viṣṇuśarman to whom the sons of King Amaraśakti were entrusted on his promising to teach them polity within six months. As its name suggests (*pañca*, five), the *Pañcatantra* is divided into five parts, each of which deals with an aspect of practical wisdom. The first book, entitled *Mitrabheda*, handles efficiently the theme of the separation of friends. The frame-story relates how a wicked jackal brings about the estrangement of the lion Piṅgalaka from the bull Sañjīvaka. Piṅgalaka treats Sañjīvaka as a dear friend, to the absolute disgust of the sly jackal, Damanaka, and his mate. Ultimately the lion is made to distrust the bull and slay him. As Piṅgalaka, feeling penitent, laments the death of his one-time faithful attendant, Damanaka refers to the principles of polity to console him. Polity, he says, recommends extermination of even the nearest and dearest, if he endangers the stability of the administration. Statecraft, Damanaka adds, is sometimes false and sometimes true, sometimes harsh and sometimes soft, sometimes marked by ferocity and sometimes by compassion, sometimes bestows pain and sometimes profit; and in all this, he says, it may be compared to a clever courtesan who presents herself in different forms. Damanaka then cites from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* the memorable teaching of the Lord never to lament the living or the dead. Finally Piṅgalaka is consoled; he continues to administer his forest domain with the help of his jackal minister Damanaka.

Then there is the story of the crow-couple and the cobra, which shows the advantage of clever ruse over force. The cobra has slain the offspring of the

crows. To punish him the female crow puts into his hole a golden chain stolen from the prince. The chain is found there by the king's men, and they kill the cobra. The next story, about the heron and the crab, demonstrates the error of over-greed. The heron deceives the fish into trusting him to remove them from their lake to another in order to save their lives from the fisherman. Each day, however, he eats the fish he carries away. When it is the crab's turn to be saved he discovers the heron's trick and with his nippers cuts off the heron's head. That intelligence leads to success and folly to ruin is proved by the tale of the lion and the old hare. The hare kills the lion by persuading him to leap into a well in order to attack and kill his rival. The lion he sees there, however, is only his own reflection in the water. Another interesting story emboxed within other stories concerns two friends, the sons of merchants. Their names are Honest-wit (Dharmabuddhi) and Evil-wit (Pāpabuddhi), also translated as Right-mind and Wrong-mind. Together, the two friends bury a sum of money under a tree, but it is removed by Evil-wit who then charges Honest-wit with the theft. In the court Evil-wit mentions the tree as the witness to the crime; he then persuades his father to conceal himself in the hollow of the tree. In the presence of the magistrate the tree-spirit declares the guilt of Honest-wit. But Honest-wit sets fire to the tree, and Evil-wit's father comes out and confesses everything. Evil-wit is punished. This story is intended to be a warning against embarking upon a project without knowing the various effects that are likely to follow from it.

With the winning of friends as the topic of its central theme, the second book, *Mitra-samprāpti*, tenders the advice to have friends and deal with them fairly; as it says at the end, one with a rich collection of sincere allies is never put to difficulty by his antagonists. The frame-story opens with a description of the way the clever king of the doves, Bright-neck (Citragrīva), with his whole retinue fell into the hunter's net. Bright-neck makes all the doves fly up together, carrying the net with them; and ultimately he has the bonds cut by the mouse Goldy (Hiraṇyaka), being careful to see that he himself is released last of all. A crow, Light-wing (Laghupatanaka), who watches Goldy as he helps the doves, succeeds in making friends with the mouse and is introduced by him to his old friend the tortoise, Sluggish. A fifth friend is added in the shape of a deer who, in the course of his wanderings, is caught in a snare but is released finally by his comrades. The slow-moving tortoise is also taken by the hunter, but by a clever stratagem his friends rescue him. This frame-story provides ample scope for the introduction of a number of tales, each of which is incorporated in order to substantiate a point raised by one of the characters.

The third book, *Kākolūkīya*, illustrates the theme of war and peace, using a frame-story about the crows (*kākāḥ*) and the owls (*ulūkāḥ*). The king of the owls, Foe-killer (Arimardana), destroys the retinue of the king of the crows, Cloud-

colour (Megha-varṇa), who summons his ministers and seeks their advice on the steps to be taken against Foe-killer. This gives the author an opportunity to discuss the six expedients recommended in the treatises on polity and also to throw light on the relative strength of these expedients. At last, on the advice of the old minister, Firm-life (Sthirajīvī), Cloud-colour decides to apply the policy of dissension. Firm-life presents himself to the owls as a suppliant for help, saying that he has been cast out by the crows for offering good counsel to the king. He expresses a desire to burn himself and become an owl in his next birth. The owl-minister, Red-eye (Raktākṣa), warns the foolish sovereign, but Foe-killer persists in permitting his enemy to live within the gates. Finally at an opportune moment, the stronghold of the owls is set on fire by Cloud-colour and his retinue and, as a result, the entire host of owls perish.

The fourth book has for its central theme *Labdha-praṇāśa*, the loss of one's gettings, and this is illustrated by a frame-story about a monkey and a crocodile. The monkey and the crocodile are friends, and every day the monkey entertains the crocodile with delicious fruits. The friendship between the two grows so strong that the crocodile's wife is jealous. She begins a fast, saying that she will be content with nothing save the monkey's heart. The crocodile invites the monkey to his home and they set out together. On the way, however, the crocodile reveals his purpose; but the monkey declares that his heart has been left behind on the fig tree, and together they go back for it. As soon as they reach the bank of the river, however, the monkey takes shelter in the tree and tells the crocodile that, following in the footsteps of Gaṅgadatta, he will never return. Thus starts the story of the king of the frogs, Gaṅgadatta, who to have his enemies destroyed invites a serpent into the stronghold. The serpent destroys the enemies but eats the frogs themselves as well, whereupon Gaṅgadatta escapes never to return. The monkey tells the crocodile further that he is not a fool like that ass, Long-eared (Lambakarṇa). This introduces the story of the lion, the jackal, and the ass. Long-eared is persuaded by the jackal to visit the lion who is old and feeble. The lion tries to jump upon Long-eared but misses, and Long-eared escapes. A second time, however, Long-eared is persuaded to return and is killed. Before eating Long-eared, the lion goes to bathe; but the jackal eats the heart and the ears and then convinces the lion that the ass had had neither. The story praises the cunning of the jackal and blames the stupidity of the ass and of the lion who is no less a fool.

The theme of the fifth book, *Aparīkṣita-kāraka*, is hasty or ill-considered action. The frame-story opens with the young merchant Maṇibhadra mourning over the loss of his fortune. In a dream he is bidden to slay a monk who will visit him in the morning; the monk will then turn into his lost treasure. The merchant does as he dreamt and gets back his wealth. A barber, having seen all this, clubs to death several monks, expecting a lot of treasure. Instead, he

receives the death sentence at the hands of justice. The fate of the barber reminds the merchant of the tale of the Brāhmaṇa and the mongoose, and he relates the tale to the judges. The Brāhmaṇa leaves the mongoose to guard his sleeping child. On his return, however, the mongoose runs to greet him with paws red with blood. Thinking that the mongoose has killed his child, the Brāhmaṇa kills the mongoose. He then discovers the mutilated body of a snake, while his child is safe. The Brāhmaṇa is filled with remorse for his thoughtless action in killing the mongoose who had actually saved his child's life.

The tone of this book is rather unhappy since the different tales are intended to demonstrate the bad effects of diverse types of human weakness. There is, for example, the story of the goblin and the weaver. The goblin offers to give the weaver anything he wants. The weaver hurries home and consults first the barber and then his own wife. The barber tells him to ask for a kingdom, but his wife says that that would involve a lot of trouble. Instead, he should ask for a second pair of arms and a second head, for then he would be able to double his weaving. The weaver follows his wife's advice and the goblin grants his wish. On the way home, however, the weaver is mistaken for a fiend and killed by the villagers.

Thus ends the *Pañcatantra*, all five books of which are interspersed with verses containing maxims which deal with moral, religious, philosophical, and political ideas and also with general codes of conduct.

Among the numerous treatises which have descended from the *Pañcatantra* is the *Hitopadeśa* which has currency mostly in Bengal. Emanating from the pen of one Nārāyaṇa, whose patron was King Dhavalacandra (date not known), it is an independent work intended for instruction in Sanskrit. At the outset, however, Nārāyaṇa admits that his purpose is twofold and that he also intends instruction in a code of conduct. His sources are the *Pañcatantra* and another book, which is anonymous. Like the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa* cites maxims relating to political thought; and the copious citations from the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* which are incorporated into it show that the work is intended mainly as instruction in the principles of polity.

The *Hitopadeśa* consists of four books entitled 'The Winning of Friends', 'The Loss of Friends', 'War', and 'Peace'. Thus we find that the order of the first two books of the source book has been reversed, while the third has been divided into two. Into these two, much of the contents of the fifth book have been inserted. The *Hitopadeśa* includes a number of new tales; the majority of these are fables, some being fairy tales, a few tales of intrigue, and others edifying stories. The sources of much of the new matter in the third and fourth books are not known. One fine tale, among the new ones, is the story of Vīravara, in which Nārāyaṇa comes out very well as a painter of human character. Vīravara approaches King Śūdraka and demands a fabulous sum as his daily wages. The

ruler readily agrees, and appoints him. Vīravara spends one-fourth of his wages on himself, and three-fourths he gives away in charity. One night the king hears a pitiful cry and asks Vīravara to find out what it was. Vīravara goes out and meets the Goddess of Fortune; from her he learns of the king's impending death. In his bid to save the life of his royal patron he ultimately sacrifices his only son Śaktidhara. But Śūdraka had followed Vīravara, keeping himself concealed, and now he tries to put an end to his life before the image of Goddess Sarvamaṅgalā. She at last intervenes and prevents the king from committing suicide; at his request she brings Śaktidhara back to life. The tale ends happily with the coronation of Vīravara as the king of the Karṇāṭa region. Thus Vīravara is a fine piece of characterization, showing the faithful servant ready to sacrifice himself for his master. In another story a sharp contrast to the character of Vīravara is provided by that of a mouse. A pious hermit changes a mouse successively into a cat, a dog, and a tiger, but reduces him to his original form when, as a tiger, he seeks to destroy his benefactor. This story, which is perhaps a revised version of a similar anecdote in the *Mahābhārata*, shows how a mean person behaves when he obtains an exalted position.

TALES AND FABLES IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

While in the *Mahābhārata* fables and fairy tales are introduced for the purpose of propagating religious, philosophical, and political ideas, in Buddhist literature they are introduced in order to establish the supremacy of Buddhist thought and philosophy over other parallel systems. This is in evidence in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the Sutta Piṭaka. One of the most interesting sections of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* is the collection of stories known as the *jātakas*, stories relating to the former births of Buddha. In Buddhist ideology, a Bodhisattva is a person who is destined to obtain enlightenment. Consequently, Gautama the Buddha is competent to be regarded as a Bodhisattva not only in his last earthly existence, but in all the countless existences which he experienced as a man, an animal, or a god before he was reborn for the last time as the son of the Śākya prince A tale in which this Bodhisattva, in one of his former existences, plays a part whether as the central figure or as a minor character or as a neutral spectator is, in the terminology of the Buddhists, a *jātaka*. The Buddhist monks took full advantage of the fondness of ancient Indians for anecdotes, and they converted into a *jātaka* any story, however worldly and however far removed from the sphere of Buddhist thought it might be. The *Jātaka* collection therefore becomes a storehouse of fables, fairy tales, moral narratives, romantic tales, and pious legends; and the majority are not of Buddhist origin, for there are popular tales and anecdotes, heroic songs and ballads, and sacred legends and myths of the Brāhmaṇas and forest hermits.

The *jātakas* are composed in a mixture of prose and verse. The verse enlivens

the prose and the prose provides passages to explain and expound the moral teaching of the verse. In content, form, and extent, the *jātakas* are greatly varied. Side by side with short stories they may contain an extensive composition capable of being regarded as an independent work. There are numerous fables which occur in different recensions of the *Pañcatantra* which are also found in the *Jātaka*. Many of these stories have passed out of India into the literatures of other countries. The *Pañcatantra's* frame-story of the lion and the bull, between whom estrangement is brought about by the sly jackal, reappears in the *Jātaka*. Here, too, we have several variants of the delightful story of the monkey who outwits the crocodile by saying that his heart is left behind on the fig tree. The tale of the hypocritical cat who devours the mice while pretending to be a pious ascetic is a recast of the story in which the cat, pretending to be highly religious-minded, swallows up the young ones of the birds kept in the care of the old vulture. While in the *Pañcatantra* the ass clothes himself in a tiger's skin, in the *Jātaka* he appears in a lion's skin.

Among other well-known fables to be found in the *Jātaka* are those of the jackal who praises the crow's beautiful voice, thereby gaining some nice fruit for himself; the ox who envies the pig's good food until he hears that the pig is being fattened only for slaughter; the parrot sets to watch over the doings of a faithless wife, who finally kills the bird for being so watchful. In some fairy tales relating to animals and human beings, it is the animals, as a rule, who come out better than the men and women. One such fairy tale describes how an ascetic saves in turn a snake, a rat, a parrot, and a prince from the surging waves of a turbulent river. They all promise their undying gratitude to the ascetic. Ultimately, the prince tries to execute the sage, whereupon all the people gathered there seize the tyrant and put him to death. Some of the tales are intended to bring home this or that point relating to the code of ordinary conduct; thus they bear testimony to the popularity of the story as a means of religious instruction. One such tale narrates the experiences of a lover. Although he saves his wife's life by giving her his own blood to drink, the wife falls in love with a wretched cripple and pushes her husband down from a hill. However, the husband is saved in a strange way by a lizard, and ultimately he becomes king and punishes his faithless wife. Another story explains the necessity of scolding an inquisitive wife. By virtue of a spell, a king is able to understand the language of beasts, but he is forbidden to betray the secret on penalty of death. The over-inquisitive queen presses the king to tell her his secret, whereupon Śakka, the king of the gods, appears in the form of a goat and advises the king to give his wife a thrashing. The king does so and the desired effect is produced. A third story censures the common weakness of men for women and money. A monkey returns from the palace of the king and is asked by his fellows to describe life in the world of human beings. The monkey

speaks of men's love for women and money, whereupon all the monkeys cover their ears and run away. A whole chain of stories laughs at man's folly. Thus we hear of the son who shatters the skull of his sleeping father in his attempt to kill a mosquito sitting there; of the monkeys who, while watering the plants, pull up every plant by its roots; and of the monk who meets a fighting ram—the monk expects the ram to show him honour and make room to let him pass, but the ram just knocks him down.

THE POPULAR TALE

Another widely admired book of stories is the *Bṛhatkathā*, 'The Great Story', written by Guṇāḍhya; it epitomizes the 'popular tale'. Bāṇa and Subandhu both refer to its importance; and Daṇḍin records that Paiśācī Prakrit was the language of this storehouse of wonderful tales. It was most probably written between the first and fourth centuries A.D. The original is lost, but its contents can be known through two main sources, one from Kashmir, the other from Nepal, each of which employs a different medium of expression. Two metrical Sanskrit adaptations of the *Bṛhatkathā* were written in Kashmir: the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* written by Kṣemendra; and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* written by Somadeva. Both were written in about 1050. The adaptation written in Nepal is the *Bṛhat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha* written by Budhasvāmin, whose date is assigned by tradition to the eighth or the ninth century.

Guṇāḍhya had the unique advantage of having before him the epics and also the Buddhist legends. While the epics provide the decisive element of the plot, the Buddhist legends give him the conception of his central figure. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* he obtains the motif of a husband searching for a wife cruelly stolen from him soon after marriage. Guṇāḍhya describes the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana. He is a man of pleasure and of many loves. His chief love is Madanamañcukā whom he discovers after she has been carried off by force by Mānasavega. He makes her his bride and the land of the Vidyādharas his empire. In the course of this achievement he visits many countries and marries a number of women. In the two Kashmir works the narrative is interrupted by countless tales and legends, and there is such a mass of diverse stories that it is very difficult to maintain the continuity, although in the hands of Somadeva the effect of the main story is retained to a considerable extent. Somadeva's composition also possesses another merit: it presents a large number of stories of great variety and thus justifies the title 'Rivers of Stories Forming an Ocean'. There is, for example, a series of tales recording the acts and words of fools: the foolish servant who keeps the trunks open in an attempt to protect the leather from the rain; the silly person who eats seven cakes and then, feeling distressed, thinks he should have eaten the seventh one first; and the simpleton who repeatedly declares himself to be a 'mind-

born son' because, as he says, his father would have nothing to do with a woman.

Another series records the achievements of rogues. A rogue dressed as a rich merchant enters into a contract with the king to present him with five hundred gold coins every day instead of appearing daily at the king's reception. The courtiers, thinking the man to be all-powerful with their master, bribe him and make him the proprietor of fifty million pieces. In another story a rogue is suffering in hell on account of his misdeeds. A single gift, however, entitles him to become Indra for one day, whereupon he visits all the sacred places and through the merit thus acquired he remains Indra for ever.

In these stories women are usually presented as being vicious in their propensities, but a third series is comprised of exciting tales relating to the loyalty and disloyalty of women. There is the faithful wife who follows her husband in death; but there is also the murderous wife who mutilates her husband in revenge for a beating; another wife regularly betrays her husband, but insists on burning herself on his funeral pyre. There is the episode of the woman who gets rid of ten husbands and apparently meets her match in the man who has repudiated ten wives; but she becomes annoyed with him also and ultimately turns to the ascetic life. Another story is of a king with a white elephant. The elephant is ill and can only be healed by the touch of a chaste woman. Such a woman, a poor young wife, is found, whereupon the king marries her sister, only to be betrayed by her in the end. How many of these numerous tales of fools, rogues, and naughty women belong to the original *Bṛhatkathā* and how many are an accretion appended to the original, it is difficult to determine. It is possible, however, to assert that they combine to form an unrivalled repository of stories of distinctive quality and vigour, presented in an attractive, elegant, and unpretentious form.

More racy stories find place in the next oldest collection of popular tales. This is a work entitled *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, a number of versions of which are available. Of these, the most popular is the recension by Śivadāsa, which is in prose interspersed with verse. Another version is the prose recast by Kṣemendra; and a third is a textually poorer work by Vallabhadeva. The frame-story, in which twenty-five tales are dovetailed, concerns King Trivikramasena or Vikramasena who in later accounts becomes Vikramāditya. An ascetic brings to the king every day a fruit containing a concealed gem. To oblige the ascetic, the king agrees to go to a cemetery and bring down from a tree a corpse which has been put there for the purpose of some magic rites. But the corpse is already possessed by a *vetāla*, a ghost, and he agrees to give up the body only if the king can answer certain questions he will put to him. The Vetāla relates a story, and at the end poses a question which is in the nature of a puzzle. The stories are extremely enigmatic and to furnish replies to the riddles is no easy task.

With great ingenuity, however, Vikramāditya solves them and comes out triumphant. One of the problems is to determine the relationship *inter se* of children whose father marries the daughter of a widowed lady whom his son marries. Another problem is to ascertain the best lover among three: the one who burns himself on the funeral pyre with the body of the dead girl; the one who builds a hut in the crematorium and lives there; or the one who, after much suffering, brings the dead girl back to life by means of a charm. A similar problem is to find out the noblest among these three: the husband-to-be who allows his *fiancée* to keep her last tryst with her lover; the robber who lets her pass him unscathed; and the lover who returns her untouched to the prospective husband. The stories show great cleverness and much knowledge of life's possible problems, and are certainly very pleasing.

ETERNAL MAN, ETERNAL WOMAN

The ancient Indian beast fables and similar stories in Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrit have great human value in their penetrating knowledge of the human character. We see before us the eternal man and the eternal woman. These stories show men and women, their virtues and vices, their strengths and weaknesses, their wisdom and folly. By introducing beasts and birds who act as people would, the stories become allegories which provide moral instruction through amusement. This deep insight together with an abiding social awareness, conferred on the authors of these books of stories a keen sense of realism and an almost uncanny power of penetration into people's actions and the motives behind those actions. Thus they were able to sum up the social experience of their own and other ages. Saints and devils, fools and knaves, the wise and the unwise, the honest and the dishonest, the unwisely honest and the dishonestly wise, the righteous and the evil-doer, the innocent and the ruffian, all rub shoulders together, whether as birds and beasts or as men and women. In and through them all we can easily recognize eternal man and eternal woman.

These stories thus have much to offer us today. To know this multi-minded person, the human being, and to discern the maladies of our own society, it would be helpful to pay attention once more to our storehouse of the wonderful tales and fables from ancient India.

17

SANSKRIT HISTORIES AND CHRONICLES

THE charge often levelled against Indians, on the strength of the testimony of Alberuni (A.D. 1030), that they lacked historical sense is but partially true. Though we do not find actual chronicles for the ancient period, lists of teachers in the Vedic texts, dynastic lists in the Purānas (ancient tales), church history and biographies in the Buddhist works, and the *paṭṭāvalīs* (narratives) of the Jains indirectly postulate the existence of chronicles of some sort even in remote antiquity. The royal and dynastic chronicles composed by Bāṇa (seventh century), Kalhaṇa (twelfth century), and subsequent writers, and the regional chronicles in medieval times prove the continuation of the practice for a long time.

VEDIC TEXTS

There are references of some historical significance in the Vedic literature from the earliest times, of which mention may be made of the *vaṁśas* (lineages) and lists giving the *gotra-pravara* (race and the sages contributing to the family) which, as Ghoshal says, 'have a substratum of historical reality' and 'would form at best a skeleton of historical composition properly so called'. There are also the *gāthās* (songs) and the *nārāśaṁsīs* (songs in praise of heroes), which are 'the precursors of epic poetry' and 'forerunners of the Indian historical *kāvya*' (poetical class of literature); and the *itihāsas* (histories) and the Purāṇas, which as yet had 'no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references, such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later Purāṇas, according to the standard definition'.[1]

Ākhyāna (tale), *itihāsa*, and *purāṇa* in the Vedic literature constituted the rudimentary specimens of history. The terms have been indiscriminately used as synonyms or as distinct words, sometimes each individual word implying the other two or one of them. The ancients did not clearly distinguish between the three. The same account was designated as *ākhyāna*, *itihāsa*, and *purāṇa* in different places, while different kinds of narratives were styled *ākhyānas*, *itihāsas*, and *purānas*. The *Mahābhārata* calls itself, besides the best of *itihāsas*, an *ākhyāna* and a *purāna*, and both the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas appear to have treated these three terms as identical.

[1] Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta, 1957), Chapter I, especially pp. 7, 8, 15, 17-18.

ITIHĀSA AND PURĀNA

In Kauṭilya's time (fourth century B.C.), *itihāsa* occupied an important position and comprehended six branches which comprised *purāṇa* (in its earlier form dealing with cosmogony, cosmology, and divine pedigree), *itivṛtta* (probably dynastic chronicles and events of the past), *ākhyāyikā* (historical narrations and anecdotes), *udāharaṇa* (illustrative stories, biographies, or events), *dharma-śāstra* (works on law), and *artha-śāstra* (political science). This shows Kauṭilya's comprehensive conception of history which incorporated, besides historical chronicles in their widest significance, law and legal institutions, and social, moral, and economic theory and practice.

Originally comprising *sarga*, *pratisarga*, and *dharma-śāstra* matters, the Purāṇas later became *pañcalakṣaṇa* (having five characteristics): *sarga* (original creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and recreation), *vaṁśa* (divine genealogies), *manvantara* (ages of Manu), and *vaṁśānucarita* (genealogies of kings). The Purānas themselves state that the ancient sage, Vyāsa, compiled a Purāna Saṁhitā from the material supplied by *ākhyānas*, *upākhyānas* (episodes), *gāthās*, and *kalpajoktis* (descriptions of the aeons or cycles) and *kalpaśuddhis* (descriptions of the correct systems and customs for each *kalpa*). The nucleus of the political history in the Purāṇas was thus supplied by the genealogies of gods, sages, and kings, and by the traditions of great men culled from Vedic texts.

Scholars hold divergent views regarding the historical importance of the Purānas. The present writer considers that there is no material difference or contradiction between the data offered by the Vedic texts and the data offered by the Purāṇas; the apparent differences or contradictions can be satisfactorily explained on the basis of differences regarding aims and objects, the sphere and region of influence, and the circumstances surrounding the origin of these two. The omission of particular persons or events in one text is explicable on the ground of the comparative unimportance or the insignificance of those persons or events in the view of that text, or of their mention in both under different names. Some of the Ṛg-Vedic kings can be fitted into the gaps in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. The proper procedure for the writing of traditional history is to base the account on the joint testimony of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, wherever available, to harmonize the conflicting texts as far as possible, and to give very careful consideration to the evidence of the Purānas before rejecting it.

The *sūtas* (professional bards) were entrusted with the task of preservation and transmission of the traditional lore incorporated in the Purāṇas. The genealogical accounts in the Purāṇas ended with the period of the Guptas (A.D. 320-467), probably on account of the proper organization of royal archives which rendered these lists unnecessary. Also, the inclusion of fresh matter in

sacred works of hoary antiquity, as the Purāṇas were regarded in those days, was deemed sacrilegious. Purāṇic genealogies have their counterparts in later days in the *vaṁśāvalīs* (genealogies) of Nepal, the Jaina *prabandhas* (collections of historical narratives) of Gujarat, and the *buranjīs* (Assamese records).

THE HISTORICAL KĀVYAS : FUNDAMENTAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited India in the seventh century, testifies to the existence of an official for each province whose task was to maintain written records of 'good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences';[2] and, curiously enough, we find a contemporary literary record in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. Apart from the historical material found in the Vedic texts, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas, some kind of historical information can be found in literary works of a subsequent period—the so-called historical *kāvyas*. But the concept of *kāvya* that prevailed assigned a superior place to the characteristics of the form, so that in historical *kāvyas* history occupies but a minor place.

Before turning to these historical *kāvyas*, a reference should be made to the basic or fundamental presuppositions which operate as conditioning factors not only in literary productions in general, but also in the earlier specimens mentioned above. The Indian mind, permeated by religion and philosophy, is ingrained with the peculiar theories of time, *avatāra* (incarnation), destiny, Karma (results of action), Māyā (the basic principle of creative power), and so on. The Purāṇas evolve a cosmic framework of time and a cyclic conception of history in their theory of *yugas* (ages), *caturyugas* (cycles of four *yugas*, also called *mahāyugas*), and *kalpa* (2,000 *mahāyugas*). Within the *caturyugas* the four *yugas* are repeated in the same order, each succeeding *yuga* being a progressive deterioration. The theory of *avatāra* propounded that when deterioration reached its extreme limit the omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent God would descend to this earth and rescue the world from all calamities. The Golden Age would then be ushered in, followed, in due course, in subsequent *yugas* by a return to the utmost limit of deterioration when once more God would come to the rescue of humanity, and the cycle would continue. The theory of fate or destiny regards everything as predestined and considers that a cosmic purpose eggs the individual on to a predestined goal, whether he wills it or not. The doctrine of Karma holds that all human actions are the results of actions done in previous births. Two other presuppositions were: belief in transmigration and belief in the divinity of kings.

PRAŚASTIS

The beginnings of the historical *kāvyas* can be traced, as we have seen, to the

[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1906), I, p. 78.

gāthās and *nārāśaṁsīs*, and in the *praśastis* (eulogies) we get the earliest specimens of them. The main aim of the author or poet in composing the historical *kāvya* was to create a piece of aesthetic literature conveying the Indian ideals of life. Historical accuracy being but of secondary importance, there is in these compositions a curious mixture of history, myth, legend, and imagination.

Praśastis, both in prose and verse, which possess poetic merit of a modest kind, constitute historical documents. Besides the usual benedictions and invocations, the description of the donation and the condition and privileges accompanying it, the names of the architect, priest, poet, and scribe connected with the memorial, and also the date, the historically important part is the genealogy and the account of the donor and of the ruling prince. The genealogies are generally correct. These *praśastis*, written from the first century B.C. onwards, may be regarded as the first step towards recording history.

Historical works can be divided into two categories: *caritas* or biographies, not only of kings but of other important historical personages, and *prabandhas* or collections of historical narratives which were akin to chronicles.

THE HISTORICAL WORKS

The *Harṣacarita*: Chronologically after the *praśastis* comes the *Harṣacarita*, a prose romance by Bāṇa who lived in the seventh century. Though called a *mahākāvya* (epic) in the colophon, the *Harṣacarita* is styled by Bāṇa an *ākhyāyikā* (a work based on fact) as distinguished from *kathā* (fiction). The work does not give the history of the reign of Harṣa (first half of the seventh century), but deals with a particular episode in his life, working it out as a literary masterpiece. Starting with a description of his capital, Sthāṇvīśvara, and an account of his predecessors, the *Harṣacarita* describes the marriage of Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman who belonged to the Maukhari dynasty, and goes on to narrate the death of Harṣa's father, Prabhākaravardhana, the self-immolation of Harṣa's mother, the sudden murder of Grahavarman, the imprisonment of Rājyaśrī, the murder of Harṣa's brother, Rājyavardhana, Harṣa's expedition in search of his sister, the escape of Rājyaśrī, and her rescue from the funeral pyre by a Buddhist monk. The story ends abruptly with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyaśrī.

Though intended to be a romantic story rather than sober history, the *Harṣacarita* has been a valuable corrective and supplement to the data supplied by Hiuen Tsang and the inscriptions, and gives a cultural picture of the life of the society of the period.

The *Gauḍavaho*: Vākpatirāja, who describes himself as a pupil of Bhavabhūti, probably composed the *Gauḍavaho* in A.D. 725, before the defeat of his patron Yaśovarman at the hands of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir. The *Gauḍavaho*, which describes in a more or less conventional manner Yaśovarman's victorious

campaigns of conquest, is more of a panegyric than the historical poem it claims to be. The fact of Yaśovarman's campaigns in the east finds confirmation in inscriptions, while that of those in the west and south is partially supported by indirect evidence. Kalhaṇa refers to Yaśovarman, the patron of Vākpati and Bhavabhūti, as being defeated by Lalitāditya.[3]

The *Bhuvanābhyudaya*: According to Kalhaṇa, the *Bhuvanābhyudaya* by Śaṅkuka (ninth century) described the battle between Manma and Utpala of Kashmir,[4] but it is not extant now.

The *Kavi-rahasya*: Halāyudha's *Kavi-rahasya* (tenth century), while illustrating the grammatical formations of the present tense of roots, incidentally eulogizes Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. Bhandarkar[5] identifies Halāyudha with the author of the *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*.

The *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*: Padmagupta or Parimala, the court poet of Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka of Mālava, wrote the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* in A.D. 1050. Dealing, as it does, with the marriage of Sindhurāja with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā, it has not much value as history, though it stands fairly high as a *kāvya*.

The *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*: Bilhaṇa (eleventh century), the Kashmiri, who became the *vidyāpati* (director of education) of Cālukya Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, purports to give the history of the Cālukyas in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*. Starting with the mythical origin of the Cālukyas, the work attains historical character with Tailāpa (tenth century), of the restored dynasty, whose victory is recorded, but not his defeat by the king of Mālava. The exploits of Vikramāditya's father are followed by his conquests before accession, which are described with conventional embellishments. Then follow the marriage of Vikramāditya with a Coḷa princess, his campaigns in the south, and his accession after supplanting his elder brother Someśvara II. Then are narrated the defeat and capture of his younger brother Jayasiṁha, and his several wars with the Coḷas.

The *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* deals, in the traditional *kāvya* style, with royal wars and royal marriages and includes all the conventional amplifications. The intervention of Śiva is brought in at crucial moments to tide over inconvenient situations for the hero and in order to whitewash him and blacken his enemies. Though the poet could not give a full historical narrative of Vikramāditya's life on account of the restrictions of traditional form and method, the account in the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, divested of poetic exaggerations, is corroborated by inscriptional evidence.

The *Karṇasundarī*: During his stay at the court of King Karṇadeva

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 144.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV. 704-5.
[5] *Collected Works*, II (Poona, 1928), p. 71.

Trailokyamalla of Aṇahilavāḍa, Bilhaṇa wrote the semi-historical drama *Karṇasundarī*, dealing with the marriage of his patron with Mayaṇalladevī. Though of little historical importance, the drama may have been based on a contemporary incident.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*: Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (twelfth century) is the nearest approach by an Indian author to the writing of history according to modern conceptions. Divided into eight chapters of unequal length, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* deals in the first three chapters with fifty-two fabulous kings of whom all record had been lost. The next two chapters cover the Kārkoṭa (or Nāga) and Utpala dynasties. Though the Kārkoṭa dynasty has been assigned a mythical origin, Kalhaṇa's chronology of this dynasty is found to be wrong by only about thirty years. The concluding chapters deal with the two Lohara dynasties, of whom a complete account has been given from almost first-hand information.

According to Indian standards, which require a poet to be an adept in several arts and sciences, Kalhaṇa may be said to have been well equipped for his task. He was well versed in *mahākāvyas* and historical *kāvyas*, works on astrology, polity, administration, law, poetics, geography, economics, erotics, and also the epics and legendary lore. He utilized for his *Rājatarangiṇī* not less than eleven historical chronicles besides the still extant *Nīla-mata Purāṇa*. Of the authors mentioned, we know only Kṣemendra (eleventh century) and Helārāja who are stated to have been the authors of the *Nṛpāvalī* and the *Pārthivāvalī* respectively, though these works are not available to us. Besides these, Kalhaṇa drew upon not only literary texts, living traditions, and folklore, but also coins, inscriptions, and records of land grants, wherever available. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* supplies valuable data for reconstructing the cultural life of Kashmir through the ages.

Kalhaṇa believed in the omnipotence of fate ruling historical events, and in the operation of supernatural forces in shaping them. This belief Kalhaṇa shares with many who preceded and followed him, and, by modern standards of historiography, it constitutes a defect. Also, it is found that Kalhaṇa neither properly assesses his sources, nor substantiates his statements by citing authorities; nor does he differentiate between the sources for ancient and recent periods. He believes, moreover, in the epics and the Purāṇas, and in the traditional lore.

Continuations of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*: Jonarāja, Śrīvara, and Prājya Bhaṭṭa continued Kalhaṇa's work. Jonarāja (fifteenth century), in his *Dvitīyā Rājataraṅgiṇī*, intended to bring the history of Kashmir up to the time of his patron Zain-ul 'Abidin, but he died before completing the work. His pupil Śrīvara started his *Tṛtīyā Rājataraṅgiṇī* from the period where Jonarāja left it and completed it in four chapters covering the period, 1459 to 1486. Prājya Bhaṭṭa

(sixteenth century) and his pupil Śuka, in their *Rājāvalī-patākā*, carry the account up to 1586 when Kashmir was annexed by Akbar.

The *Rāmacarita*: Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāmacarita* (eleventh-twelfth centuries) is a *śleṣa-kāvya* (the stanzas having double meaning). It gives simultaneously in four cantos, the story of Rāma and a detailed history of Rāmapāla (*c.* 1084-1130). It speaks of the revolution in North Bengal, the murder of Mahīpāla II, the restoration of the kingdom by Rāmapāla, and his eventful and remarkable reign. The story continues even after the reign of Rāmapāla and ends with Madanapāla (who reigned 1140-55). It possesses great historical values as a contemporary record, but fails as a poetical composition.

The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*: Probably a product of Kashmir, the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* (authorship not definitely known), which is available as an unfinished fragment, was commented on by Jonarāja. The work deals, in a conventional manner, with the victories of the Cāhamāna king, Pṛthvīrāja of Ajmer (twelfth century), who fought with Shihab-ud-din Mohammed. A short account is given of the ancestors of Pṛthvīrāja who appears in this poem as an incarnation of Rāma.

Though it is not possible to state the extent of the story in the absence of the concluding portion of the work, which is not available, it appears that the work was written during Pṛthvīrāja's lifetime to celebrate his victory over Shihab-ud-din Mohammed in the battle of Tarain. Several incidents in the work have been corroborated by independent evidence, and it constitutes a valuable source for the history of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.

The *Hammīra-mahākāvya*: Another work dealing with the Cāhamānas is the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* by Nayacandra Sūri, the spiritual grandson of Jayasiṁha Sūri. In fourteen cantos the work describes the heroic deeds of Hammīra, the last ruler of the Cāhamāna dynasty at Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor), who was killed in an encounter with the Muslims, and the self-immolation of the womenfolk before he met his heroic end. Contemporary Muslim chronicles establish the general accuracy of the historical events recorded in this work.

THE GUJARAT CHRONICLES

We now turn to the Gujarat chronicles. There are about half a dozen chronicles and some dramatic works dealing with Kumārapāla (twelfth century) and his reign.

The *Kumārapāla-carita*: This work is a *dvyāśraya-kāvya* (a poem in two languages), partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit; it proves its author, the celebrated Jaina polymath Hemacandra (1088-1172), to be at one and the same time a poet, a historian, and a grammarian of two languages. Comprising twenty cantos in Sanskrit, of unequal length running into 2,439 verses, and eight cantos in Prakrit, the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* simultaneously gives an account

of the Cālukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla and illustrates the rules of the author's grammar, the *Siddha-haima-vyākaraṇa*. The first seven cantos of the Prakrit portion of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* illustrate the first seven chapters of the *Siddha-haima-vyākaraṇa*, and the eighth illustrates the rules of Prakrit grammar. The main interest of the work lies in its learned and propagandist object, and with its emphasis on Kumārapāla's efforts to turn Gujarat into a model Jaina State, it cannot be called history or even a good chronicle.

The *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*: Written in Prakrit by Somaprabha (twelfth century), the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* is of little value as history. It gives the teachings of Jainism as preached to Kumārapāla by Hemacandra, resulting ultimately in the former's conversion to Jainism.

The *Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-carita*: Only the first canto of the *Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-carita*, written by Jayasiṁha Sūri II (thirteenth century), has some historical interest; it deals with the origin of Mūlarāja, giving a different version which is partially supported by an inscription. The other cantos, which are about Kumārapāla and Hemacandra, are a mixture of fact and fiction.

The *Kumārapāla-prabandha*: Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, lacking any critical merit, is but a loose compilation of material collected from unreliable sources.

The *Mudrita-kumudacandra*: A drama in five acts, the *Mudrita-kumudacandra* by Yaśaścandra (probably twelfth century), deals with the controversy between two Jaina teachers, the Śvetāmbara Devacandra and the Digambara Kumudacandra, which took place in 1124 at Siddharāja's court, in which the latter was completely overcome (*mudrita*, literally 'sealed up'), his defeat resulting ultimately in the expulsion of Digambaras from Gujarat.

The *Moharāja-parājaya*: Written in the thirteenth century, Yaśaḥpāla's *Moharāja-parājaya* is an allegorical drama in five acts. Mixing allegory with reality, it describes Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism and his marriage with Princess Kṛpāsundarī, Hemacandra acting as the priest.

The *Kīrtikaumudī*: This work by Someśvara (1179-1262) gives an account of the Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarat. The author's ancestors were *purohitas* (priests) to the successive Cālukya rulers. The narrative in the second canto up to the death of Mūlarāja II (who reigned 942-97) provides 'possibly the best history of the Cālukyas up to the period'.[6]

The *Surathotsava*: Another work by Someśvara, the *Surathotsava* is a political allegory depicting the changing fortunes of Cālukya Bhima II. The concluding verses of the last canto give the history of the poet's family and also eulogize Vastupāla, a well-known minister of the princes of Gujarat.

The *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*: Arisiṁha (thirteenth century) wrote the *Sukṛta-saṅ-*

[6] A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1956), p. 413.

kīrtana which speaks of the pilgrimages and religious and charitable activities of Vastupāla. It gives the genealogy of the Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvḍā kings right from Vanarāja, the founder of Anahilapattana. This is followed by an account of the reigns of the Cālukya kings from Mūlarāja to Bhima II, leading up to the advent of Vastupāla and another minister, Tejaḥpāla.

The *Vasanta-vilāsa*: Bālacandra Sūri's *Vasanta-vilāsa,* written soon after Vastupāla's death (1242) for the delectation of his son Jaitrasiṁha, treats of the same subject.

The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī*: Another eulogy of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, composed on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya, is Udayaprabha Sūri's *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī*. It is a *praśasti* of the *sukṛtas* (pious deeds) and *kīrti* (glory) of these heroes, and contains, besides the genealogy of Vastupāla, the genealogy and a eulogy of the Cāpotkaṭa family and the Cālukyas.

The *Vastupāla-carita*: Jinaharṣa eulogizes Vastupāla in the *Vastupāla-carita* as a statesman, warrior, philanthropist, constructor of temples, poet, patron of poets, and founder of big manuscript libraries.

The *Hammīra-mada-mardana*: Jayasiṁha Sūri wrote the *Hammīra-mada-mardana,* a drama in five acts, to describe the alliances of Vīradhavala, the greatness of Vastupāla as a politician, and the defeat of a Muslim prince.

The *Prabhāvaka-carita*: Prabhācandra's *Prabhāvaka-carita* is a continuation of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-carita* and *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan*. It contains biographies of twenty-two Jaina *ācāryas* (preachers), and gives accounts of several kings as a background to the activities of the *ācāryas*. Prominent among the kings dealt with are Paramāra Bhoja, Cālukya Siddharāja, and Kumārapāla, the last two receiving detailed treatment in connection with the life of Hemacandra.

The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*: Of the five *prakāśas* (sections) of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* by Merutuṅga (fourteenth century), the first gives the legends of Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana and accounts of the Cālukya kings of Anahilavāḍa and of Paramāra Muñja and Bhoja of Dhārā. The second, third, and fourth *prakāśas* continue the account of Bhoja, and this is followed by an account of the Cālukyas up to Kumārapāla. The concluding *prakāśa* contains miscellaneous stories including those of Śīlāditya, Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Jayacandra, Umāpati, and Bhartṛhari. Curiously enough, Merutuṅga writes nothing about the contemporary Vāghelās, of whom he had personal knowledge, except to say that Vīradhavala came after Bhima II. Merutuṅga usually gives a continuous account in chronological order; and the portion dealing with the time nearer the author's own has some historical value.

The *Prabandha-koṣa*: Written in Delhi in 1348, Rājaśekhara Sūri's *Prabandha-koṣa* is a collection of twenty-four stories. Ten of the stories refer to religious

teachers; four refer to the poets Śrīharsa, Harihara, Amaracandra, and Digambara Madanakīrti; seven refer to kings, and three to laymen in the royal service.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

The *Jagaḍū-carita*: Sarvānanda's *Jagaḍū-carita* (fourteenth century) is perhaps the earliest of the cycle of stories and legends that gathered round its hero, Jagaḍū, who instead of being the usual king or minister, is a simple merchant. Jagaḍū does much for his native town in Gujarat by building the city walls anew and by mitigating widespread distress in the terrible famine of 1256-58.

The *Rājavinoda*: Udayarāja was a poet at the court of Sultan Mohammed of Begarha of Ahmedabad. His *Rājavinoda* deals with the life of the Sultan and, in complete disregard of facts, depicts him as if he was an orthodox Hindu king.

The *Guru-guna-ratnākara*: Somacaritragaṇi's *Guru-guṇa-ratnākara* mentions the Prāgvāṭa dynasty and also describes the life of Lakṣmīsāragaṇi of Tapāgaccha. It is a work of considerable importance for the history of Gujarat.

The *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṁśa*: Written in the sixteenth century, Rudra's *Rāṣṭrauḍha-vaṁśa* gives the story of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri from Rāṣṭrauḍha, the founder of the dynasty, to Nārāyaṇa Sāhā, the patron of the poet.

The *Mathurā-vijaya*: Also known as the *Vīrakampa-carita*, the *Mathurā-vijaya* is by Gaṅgādevī (fourteenth century), queen of Kampana or Kamparāya. In it she narrates her husband's conquest of Mathurā, which he took from the Muslim Sultan.

The *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya*: Tirumalāmbā's *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya* (sixteenth century) is a *campū*. It tells of the love of Varadāmbikā for Acyutarāya and of their marriage.

The *Raghunāthābhyudaya*: Rāmabhadrāmbā was a mistress of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. Her *Raghunāthābhyudaya* is a semi-historical poem which describes some incidents that took place in the hero's life in 1620.

18

SANSKRIT POETICS

THE beginnings of Sanskrit poetics or *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* may be discovered in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata which is a monumental treatise on dramaturgy. In it we find an aphorism which purports to enunciate the soul or essence of all aesthetic experience, i.e. *rasa* experience. Succeeding generations of writers on poetics have based on it their views on the psychological process involved in the enjoyment of a drama or a piece of poetry. The growth and development of poetics, however, cannot be traced back beyond the seventh and the sixth centuries of the Christian era. The literature on this subject from that time till the eighteenth century, is extremely rich in its contents. Sanskrit poetics embraces within its scope a variety of topics including dramaturgy. The theory of poetry, the purpose of poetry, the types of poetry, the equipment of a poet, the styles of poetic composition, the embellishments and defects of word and import as the constituents of poetry, the inherent marks of poetry and nature of aesthetic experience—these are the various subjects which have been discussed in different works on poetics.

In this context it is necessary to explain why Sanskrit poetics which deals with so many topics has been called the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. Great importance was attached to *alaṅkāra* or figure of speech in the early days of Sanskrit poetics. When *rasa-dhvani* came to be looked upon as the soul of poetry, *alaṅkāra* was considered the source of poetic grace. But it is, after all, only one of the many branches of poetics. It is suggested that the name *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* for a work on poetics has its justification in the fact that poetics inquires into and lays down the principles and canons of beauty in a work of poetry. Further, unlike other branches of poetics, *Alaṅkāra* has held a unique position in the domain of poetics from the earliest times when the ālaṅkārikas were not aware of a soul of poetry till the days of the neo-ālaṅkārikas. These latter ranked *dhvani-kāvya*, in which the suggested sense is predominant, as higher than *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, in which the unexpressed plays a subordinate part. They unequivocally declared that figures of speech are included in the first category of poetry. It will not be out of place to mention here that even the sponsors of the *dhvani* theory were constrained to admit that a few figures of speech have the characteristics of *dhvani-kāvya*, in view of the fact that in their opinion it is the suggested sense which is of more importance than the denoted meaning. It is therefore understandable how the science of poetics has been designated as *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. In this connection, it may be pointed out that quite a number of earlier works on poetics have been called *Kāvyālaṅkāra*.

ORIGIN

Even the earliest recorded specimens of Indian literature manifest the instinctive love of the ancient Indians for graceful speech. There are several hymns in the *Ṛg-Veda*, which may be looked upon as genuine specimens of fine poetry. Some monologues and the dialogue-hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* are characterized by poetic fervour and dramatic verve. A study of the Ṛg-Vedic hymns at once reveals the various rhetorical devices so aptly employed by ancient poets to add grace and grandeur to their expressions. *Upamā* (simile), *rūpaka* (metaphor), *atiśayokti* (hyperbole), etc. are some of the figures freely used by these poets who also appear to be quite alive to the effect of the repetition of the same letters or words. Some Ṛg-Vedic stanzas contain evidence to show that sweet and charming expressions as distinguished from ordinary speech were aspired after even in that hoary past of Indian civilization. It is noteworthy that the words *kāvya*, *gāthā*, etc. in their usual import occur in the *Ṛg-Veda*. Poetic elements of delightful variety are easily traceable in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads as well. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are monumental works of wisdom and imagination, showing at the same time rare poetic skill. We have reason to believe that there existed a class of literary compositions called the *ākhyāyikā* long before Patañjali who quotes from many earlier works. All this shows that the origin of Indian poetry may be traced to a very remote antiquity. But it is yet to be proved that a science of poetics was in the making in that ancient period of Indian poetry.

The study of a number of Pāṇinian *sūtras* and Kātyāyana's *vārttikas* as discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali enables us to understand the concept of comparison. The genesis of a scientific search into the nature and constitution of the figure *upamā* and its varieties is discernible in linguistic and grammatical dissertations beginning from the days of the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta*. So it appears that the entire superstructure of Indian poetics which assumed magnificent dimensions in later years has its foundation laid in the grammatical speculations of earlier times. Stalwarts like Bhāmaha, Ānandavardhana, and others rightly recognize the supreme importance of grammar in the growth of the science of poetics. It is also interesting to note that Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, in a chapter on the mode of writing *śāsanas*, mentions among other things the ideal qualities of *mādhurya* (sweetness), *audārya* (loftiness), etc. to be observed in a composition.

POETICS AND LITERATURE

It is well-nigh impossible to assign a definite date when Sanskrit poetics got its first recognition as a distinct system of study. It may be noted that poetics as a subject is not included in the list of the various branches of study as enumerated in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* or in the treatises of Āpastamba and Yājñavalkya or

in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. There are references, however, in the *Lalitavistara*, the *Śukranīti*, and some old Pali texts, which include or imply poetics and in some places dramaturgy too as among the several sciences for cultivation. Epigraphical researches have provided us with a number of inscriptions in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit which are obviously composed in a literary vein and contain unmistakable marks of poetic craftsmanship deliberately employed to make the language forceful, sonorous, and pleasing. These inscriptions indicate the existence and progressive cultivation of certain theories and standards of poetry, whether the form is prose or verse, extending from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The *Buddha-carita* and the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa of the first century A.D. are distinctly composed in accordance with some set principles of poetry. These poems, which are termed *mahākāvya* in the technical sense of the word, containing the use of some important figures of speech like *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā* (poetical fancy), *aprastuta-praśaṁsā* (indirect description), etc. stand out as clear evidence of the existence from an earlier period of a regular system of poetics with which the poets were in all probability perfectly acquainted. The works of Kālidāsa are endowed with the exquisite grace and polish of a highly finished literary art, the prose-romances of Subandhu and Bāṇa display skill in the use of rhetorical devices, often appearing as a *tour de force* of puzzling verbal jugglery, and the poetic achievements of Bhāravi are outstanding. All these evidently leave no room for doubt in the presumption that there had been remarkable progress in the cultivation of poetics during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era.

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* assigns a remote antiquity to the origin of the science of poetics. He tells us that the science was propagated by Śiva to Brahmā and from Brahmā it came down to others and was divided into eighteen chapters (*adhikaraṇas*) each of which was taught by a particular teacher. About the many pioneers in the various branches of the science, as named by Rājaśekhara, we are absolutely in the dark, except that Suvarṇanābha, Kucumāra, Bharata, and Nandikeśvara are now more than mere mythical names to us.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE ON POETICS AND DRAMATURGY

Classical Sanskrit is conspicuously rich as regards literature on poetics and dramaturgy. With the advance of study and speculation on the subjects, there came into being, together with various other matters of kindred nature, four main schools of thought which maintain different views with regard to the essential characteristics of poetry. Thus from time to time, *alaṅkāra*, *rīti* (style), *rasa*, and *dhvani* (suggestion) have been declared to be the essential factors of poetry.

Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* is the earliest extant work on poetics and dramaturgy.

Although the text itself is the source of much controversy and the date of the work is uncertain, being variously assigned by scholars to periods ranging from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., it has a legitimate claim to be regarded as the oldest available record comprising a systematic exposition of a tradition which has preceded it by at least a century. We have reference in Pāṇini to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin who were writers on dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers also to a *Naṭa-Sūtra*. In the extant version of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which existed in the eighth century A.D., we find together in crystallized form the views of several authorities on the subject including predecessors of Bharata as well as his successors like Kohala and others. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* is a work of encyclopaedic character, embodying an elaborate analysis of the sources of aesthetic pleasure and detailed instructions regarding all matters relating to drama and allied topics. Abhinavagupta of the tenth century commented upon this work, and his commentary is known as *Abhinava-bhāratī*. There were also many other commentators, e.g. Mātṛguptācārya, Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Harṣa, Kīrtidhara, etc. whose actual treatises are unfortunately lost to us.

Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* is one of the earliest works on the science of poetry, which took up a systematic discussion of poetic embellishments after Bharata's treatment of figures. Bhāmaha is thus rightly deemed to be the oldest exponent of the Alaṅkāra school of poetics. He flourished probably towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. His work is divided into six chapters and contains about four hundred verses. He treats of the qualifications of a poet; the various forms and types of *kāvya*; the *Vaidarbhī* and the *Gauḍī* styles of composition; the three *guṇas*, viz. *mādhurya*, *prasāda* (clarity), and *ojas* (force); *doṣas* or the defects in poetry; and other subjects of kindred nature. These are in addition to the figures of speech, as many as thirty-nine in number, which he discusses mainly in the third chapter of the book. Bhāmaha had a predecessor in Medhāvin whose work has not come down to us. Udbhaṭa had written a commentary on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, which is now lost.

Daṇḍin is another great name in the history of Sanskrit poetics, often pronounced in the same strain with the name of Bhāmaha. The relative priority of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is still an unsettled controversy. The majority of scholars, however, regard Bhāmaha to be prior to Daṇḍin who is generally assigned to the seventh century A.D. It is supposed that Bhāmaha was a senior contemporary of Daṇḍin who appears to have been greatly influenced by the theories current in his time and specially by the Alaṅkāra school having its first forceful exponent in Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* is a very popular and useful work which comprises three chapters and about six hundred and sixty verses. Various topics on poetry including the two *mārgas*, styles or ways of com-

position (*Vaidarbha* and *Gauḍa*) and ten *guṇas* pertaining to them have been discussed here. It also deals with thirty-five *arthālaṅkāras* as well as varieties of *śabdālaṅkāras*, ten *doṣas* or faults of composition, and so forth. Daṇḍin is the precursor of the Rīti school which was developed by Vāmana. His most outstanding contribution to poetics is the concept of *guṇa*. His definition of poetry puts more emphasis on the word-element than on the sense-element. There are numerous commentaries on the *Kāvyādarśa*, most of which are comparatively modern except the commentary of Taruṇavācaspati who probably belonged to the eleventh century A.D.

Udbhaṭa is another rhetorician and a poet too, who adorned the court of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir and must have therefore flourished in the eighth century A.D. Udbhaṭa probably wrote a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. He is also reported to have written a commentary named *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, a *vivṛti* on Bhāmaha. We are further informed that he wrote a poem called *Kumāra-sambhava* which is extant only in the illustrations quoted in his well-known treatise on poetry, namely, the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṅgraha* or *Sāra-saṅgraha*. The *Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṅgraha* consists of six chapters, defining and delineating forty-one figures of speech. Udbhaṭa has followed in the line of Bhāmaha, but he omits a few *alaṅkāras* of Bhāmaha and adds some new ones not found in Bhāmaha. Udbhaṭa's work was commented upon by Pratihārendurāja, a pupil of Mukula, to whom is attributed the authorship of a grammatico-rhetorical work called *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā*. Pratihārendurāja flourished in the middle of the tenth century A.D. He appears to be conversant with the *dhvani* theory as explained by Ānandavardhana, but he does not favour it and remains an adherent of the Alaṅkāra school.

Vāmana, probably a contemporary of Udbhaṭa, is supposed to have lived about the end of the eighth century A.D. His *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra* with his own gloss, divided into five chapters and twelve sections, embraces the whole sphere of poetics. Vāmana asserts that *rīti* (style) is the soul of poetry and that the ten *guṇas* are important in so far as they constitute *rīti*. Although his theory was not completely a new one in the field, it was indeed he who clearly propounded and boldly defended it, bringing into being a distinctive school of poetics. Vāmana's work earned for him a wide popularity, though his views were adversely criticized by many later writers on poetics. There are a few commentaries on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra*. Sahadeva, the earliest known commentator, tells us that Vāmana's work had gone out of use until it was restored by Mukula Bhaṭṭa. The *Kāmadhenu*, which is a lucid commentary on the work, is by one Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla who probably belonged to the sixteenth century A.D.

Rudraṭa, who may be assigned to the period between the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. and its end, is the author of a comprehensive work called

Kāvyālaṅkāra. The work has sixteen chapters and is in seven hundred and thirty-four verses, covering almost the whole range of poetics. He treats of sixty-six figures as against the maximum number of about forty that was available until his advent in the field. As the very name of his work signifies, Rudraṭa was a defender of the Alaṅkāra school. A special importance of his work lies in the rational method he has adopted in classifying the *alaṅkāras*. The classification has necessarily caused some changes over earlier authorities in respect of the names and the relative position of certain figures. We know of three commentaries on Rudraṭa, viz. those by Vallabhadeva, Namisādhu, and Āśādhara. The commentary of Vallabhadeva is yet to be discovered, and that of Āśādhara is rare. Namisādhu's commentary, already a published work, is undoubtedly very important. Rudraṭa should be distinguished from Rudra Bhaṭṭa of uncertain date, author of a work called *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*. While Rudraṭa is a teacher of poetics, Rudra is chiefly a poet. Unlike Rudraṭa's work which is concerned with a systematic study of the discipline, Rudra's treatise apparently intends to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science of erotics.

OTHER TREATISES ON SANSKRIT POETICS

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, a minor Purāṇa, which is supposed to have been compiled not later than A.D. 500, has devoted as many as twenty-eight chapters to poetics and dramaturgy. The materials contained therein are in the nature of a compilation presenting no definite system. The *Agni Purāṇa*, a major work of its kind, encyclopaedic in character, contains also a section dealing with various topics relating to poetics, rhetoric, and dramaturgy. This section, as many scholars contend, may be assigned to a period not later than the middle of the ninth century A.D. The treatment of *alaṅkāras* etc. in the *Agni Purāṇa* is more comprehensive and scientific than it is in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*; but it is chiefly a compilation with no obvious doctrinal background behind it.

One of the very famous works in the domain of Sanskrit poetics, is the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana of the court of Avantivarman of Kashmir (A.D. 855-84). It opened up a new arena of speculations by expounding an important doctrine, viz. the doctrine of Dhvani. The work named above is also called *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*. It is divided into four chapters called *uddyotas*, containing a number of *kārikās* and a *vṛtti*. Scholars are inclined to make a distinction between the author of the *kārikās* and that of the *vṛtti*. Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the *kārikās*, was therefore different from and anterior to Ānandavardhana, author of the *vṛtti*. If Dhvanikāra is deemed to be the founder of the Dhvani school, Ānandavardhana may be described as the earliest to have introduced the theory successfully, countering the arguments of the previous schools of thought. According to the doctrine of Dhvani, 'suggestion' is the essence of poetry. This doctrine, as Ānandavardhana informs

us, is really very old with its dim beginnings now lost in obscurity. According to the theory of *dhvani* as formulated in the *Dhvanyāloka*, word is endowed not only with the two powers of *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, but also with the power of *vyañjanā* through which either a fact (*vastu*) or a figure (*alaṅkāra*) or a sentiment (*rasa*) is revealed.

In Abhinavagupta we have a forceful and erudite commentator on Ānandavardhana. A rare personality endowed with outstanding talent and scholarship, Abhinavagupta flourished in Kashmir during the period from the last quarter of the tenth to the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. His commentary called *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* is admittedly a work of extraordinary merit, wherein the views of Ānandavardhana have assumed a large and definite shape. Abhinavagupta thinks that all suggestion must be of sentiment to which, according to him, may ultimately be reduced the suggestion of fact or the suggestion of figure. There was also another commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka* which was called *Candrikā*, written by some ancestor of Abhinavagupta.

Here we may recall the famous Lollaṭa who is supposed to be the earliest interpreter of Bharata's aphorism on *rasa*. Lollaṭa flourished in the eighth century A.D. Another interpreter of this *rasa* theory is Śrī Śaṅkuka who has criticized the views of Lollaṭa. He is believed to have been a junior contemporary of Lollaṭa. Bhaṭṭanāyaka is the most celebrated commentator of the Rasa school. He is said to have flourished between the last quarter of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Bhaṭṭanāyaka has rejected the views of Lollaṭa and Śrī Śaṅkuka. It is interesting to note that Bhaṭṭanāyaka has recognized two additional powers of words, viz. the power of *bhāvakatva* and the power of *bhojakatva*. The works of these interpreters, as already noticed, are all lost to us, but their views may be partially gathered from other sources. It is worthy of notice in this connection that it is Bhaṭṭanāyaka who for the first time explained and elucidated the psychological process of *rasa* experience and held firmly the view that the aesthetic experience is purely subjective in character. The view of Bhaṭṭanāyaka was accepted by Abhinavagupta who, however, differed from his predecessor by pointing out that *rasa* experience is possible through the instrumentality of the suggestive power of word and meaning and that the assumption of any other power, viz. *bhojakatva* is hardly warranted for that purpose.

Rājaśekhara, author of a number of celebrated works, lived in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. His *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* is a hand-book for poets. It is held to be a uniquely interesting work of literary discipline and tradition. The work quotes extensively, gives many fine verses and anecdotes and 'is usually lively if pedantic'. It has been used to great advantage and held in esteem by many later writers including Kṣemendra, Bhoja, and Hemacandra. Rājaśe-

khara's conception of poetry is in accord with the traditional view. He supports Vāmana's doctrine of style and defines a *kāvya* as an expression in words possessing *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*.

Kuntaka or Kuntala, as he is otherwise called, flourished in the middle of the tenth century. He belonged to a school antagonistic to *dhvani*, upholding *vakrokti* (figurative speech) as the essence of poetry. He is thus known to be the founder of the Vakrokti school, an offshoot of the Alaṅkāra school, which is of a definitely earlier origin. Kuntaka's work *Vakrokti-jīvita* profusely quotes Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and Udbhaṭa. The book is in four chapters. It consists of *kārikās* along with their explanations and illustrations. Later writers have mostly been critical of Kuntaka's theory of poetry.

Dhanañjaya of the tenth century A.D. composed a work called *Daśarūpaka*, which in four chapters deals with various theoretical and practical aspects of dramaturgy including the *rasa* theory. Dhanañjaya's brother, Dhanika, wrote a commentary on the *Daśarūpaka* which is entitled *Daśarūpāvaloka*. There were also some other commentaries on the *Daśarūpaka*. The *Daśarūpaka* became very popular in later times. Viśvanātha and Vidyānātha depended largely on it in handling the subject of dramaturgy.

Aucitya-vicāra-carcā and *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, two important works in the realm of Sanskrit poetics, are by the polymath Kṣemendra of the eleventh century A.D. Of these the *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* discusses propriety as essential to sentiment and as the soul of poetry. The *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* treats of such topics as the possibility of becoming a poet, the borrowing from other poets, etc.

Bhoja of the first half of the eleventh century is the author of the renowned works *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. The first-named treatise is a voluminous compendium, divided into five chapters, dealing with the various traditional topics of poetics and dramaturgy. He takes into account as many as six *rītis* (styles of composition) and speaks of eight *rasas* putting the greatest emphasis on *śṛṅgāra*. The work has a number of commentaries including the *Ratna-darpaṇa*. *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* is a supplement to this work and contains a section on dramaturgy.

Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa of the second half of the eleventh century A.D. owes his celebrity to his *Vyakti-viveka*, a work composed in the context of the theory of *dhvani* as expounded by Abhinavagupta with reference to Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*. The work is divided into three chapters and contains sagacious discussions on the possibility of including *dhvani* under inference. Ruyyaka of the first half of the twelfth century wrote a commentary on the work. It may be stated that Mahimabhaṭṭa's critique failed to impress later writers.

Mammaṭa, the great rhetorician of Kashmir belonging to the middle of the eleventh century, has left in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* a singular stamp of his profound knowledge of the subject as well as his originality of outlook. It is contended

that the whole of the work was not written by Mammaṭa. Scholars think that Mammaṭa wrote up to the *Parikara-alaṅkāra*, and the remaining portion was written by Allaṭa or Alāṭa. The *Kāvya-prakāśa* is divided into ten chapters and covers the whole range of poetics. Mammaṭa seems to have been highly influenced by the writings of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. He upholds the importance of *dhvani* for poetic composition. He criticizes many of the renowned forerunners in the field, e.g Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Vāmana, Mahimabhaṭṭa, etc. Mammaṭa is thus both an ideal compiler and a sound critic. The extreme popularity of his work is proved by the numerous commentaries that were written on it in the course of time.

Ruyyaka composed his *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*, an authentic treatise on figures of speech, probably not earlier than A.D. 1150. The work consists of *kārikās* and a *vṛtti*. According to some scholars, Ruyyaka wrote the *kārikās* and Maṅkha, his pupil, wrote the *vṛtti*. Ruyyaka compiles the views of older writers some of whom he also chooses to criticize on certain points. He discusses the importance of *dhvani* in so far as it embellishes the expressed meaning. Ruyyaka's work afforded a great stimulus to many of his successors, viz. Viśvanātha, Vidyādhara, and others. The work was commented on by Jayaratha, Vidyācakravartin, and others.

The *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemacandra of the twelfth century A.D. is a compilatory work written in the form of *sūtra* and *vṛtti*. It contains eight chapters and discusses several topics of poetics. The author owed a great deal to Rājaśekhara, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, and others from whom he had borrowed freely and profusely. He, however, failed to leave any abiding influence on his successors.

OTHER IMPORTANT WORKS

The twelfth century also witnessed the production of the following notable works: *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*, *Candrāloka*, *Rasa-mañjarī*, *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, and *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*. The *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*, a work in verse, by Vāgbhaṭa I, is divided into five chapters containing two hundred and sixty *kārikās*. All the usual topics including *Alaṅkāra*, *Rīti*, etc. are explained and illustrated in the work. It has a commentary by Siṁhadevagaṇi. The *Candrāloka* by Jayadeva is a convenient manual of figures of speech with good illustrations. The *Rasa-mañjarī* and the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, written by Bhānudatta, treat of *rasa* and allied topics. The *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, jointly authored by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, is a work on dramaturgy differing widely from the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata.

During the thirteenth century of the Christian era there came out some other works deserving of notice. They are: (*i*) *Kāvyānuśāsana* by Vāgbhaṭa II, (*ii*) *Kavitā-rahasya* or *Kāvya-kalpalatā* by Arisiṁha and his pupil Amaracandra,

(*iii*) *Kavi-kalpalatā* by Deveśvara, (*iv*) *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-koṣa*, a work on dramaturgy, by Sāgaranandin.

The fourteenth century is specially remarkable on account of three reputed works which came out during this time. The works are: (*i*) *Ekāvalī* by Vidyādhara belonging to the Dhvani school and commented on by Mallinātha in his *Taralā*; (*ii*) *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* by Vidyānātha, a voluminous treatise containing various information about poetics and dramaturgy; (*iii*) *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha. This work, in ten chapters, contains discussions of both poetics and dramaturgy. The author upholds *rasa* as the soul of poetry, fully acknowledging, however, the importance of any kind of *dhvani*. He criticizes the views of Mammaṭa.

Rūpa Gosvāmin of the sixteenth century composed a work entitled *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* where it is asserted that the erotic is only a different name of the devotional. The work had its commentary in the *Locana-rocanī* of Jīva Gosvāmin who flourished in the same century. There is a work called *Alaṅkāra-śekhara* by Keśava Miśra who also belonged to the sixteenth century. It is a short treatise on poetics.

Citra-mīmāṁsā and *Kuvalayānanda* are two rhetorical works by the noted Appaya Dīkṣita of the seventeenth century. Jagannātha of the same century is a notable name in Sanskrit poetics. His famous work, the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, an outstanding study in the dialectics of Indian poetics, ranks with *Dhvanyāloka* and *Kāvya-prakāśa*, evincing the author's superb power of criticism and presentation. The treatise contains *kārikās*, *vṛttis*, and illustrations which are all by the author himself. The book is abruptly cut short in the second chapter. It seems that Jagannātha could not find time to complete it. According to Jagannātha, poetry consists not in *rasa* but in *ramaṇīyakatva* (charmingness). Studies in poetics went on unabated even after Jagannātha and the total output during the succeeding centuries is considerable.

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SANSKRIT METRES : THEIR EVOLUTION AND PRINCIPLES OF DIVISION

SAṄGĪTA—MĀTRĀ—VṚTTA

A metrical composition is distinguished from prose by means of some kind of music or rhythm with which it is associated. In ancient India three different kinds of music are found to be underlying a metrical composition. They are: (1) the music of voice-modulation or the *svara-saṅgīta,* (2) the music of sound-variation or the *varṇa-saṅgīta,* and (3) the music of time-regulated accent or the *tāla-saṅgīta.* The first variety depends upon the modulation, i.e. raising or lowering of the human voice (or the corresponding sound of a musical instrument) so as to produce different tones. The second variety is produced by a pleasant variation of short and long sounds which are employed in the composition of a metrical line. In this variety, the first kind of music is present in its elementary stage where there exist only three broadly distinguished tones, namely, high, low, and middle; but the chief pleasure is derived from the fixed arrangement of short and long sounds and the music which it produces. On the other hand, short and long syllables do exist in the first variety of music; but their succession is not fixed and they occur at random, being thus unable to strike the mind with a peculiar sensation which is possible only when their succession follows a definite order. As against these two, however, the music in the third variety is produced neither by a skilful modulation of the voice, nor by the fixed succession of short and long sounds, but by means of stressing the voice or sound after the lapse of a definite period measured by time-moments called the *mātrās,* i.e. *kāla-mātrās.* To produce the musical effect, this stressing has to be prominently done and so it is made to accompany the strokes of the palms one upon another or of the palms or sticks upon a time-keeping instrument like a hand-drum. The Sanskrit name for these strokes is *tāla,* derived from the root *taḍ,* to strike. The variety of music is essentially based on the well-regulated time-element and is wholly absent in the first two categories. This third variety or the *tāla-saṅgīta* is undoubtedly popular in origin. It appears to have been developed by the people from the regularized movements of their bodies and limbs required in a dance which usually accompanies popular music.

VEDIC METRE—VOICE MODULATION

The first of these three varieties of music lies at the base of the Vedic metres.

Ṛg-Vedic music is a music of voice-modulation which is still in its elementary stage, being based upon the three broadly distinguished accents or rather tones, namely, the *udātta*, the *anudātta*, and the *svarita*; or the high, low, and middle. The tones are still closely associated with the letters of a word and generally influence its meaning, though their chief value is musical. The *varṇas* or letters are not yet mutually distinguished as regards their musical value. No difference is made between short and long sounds so far as metrical music is concerned, and a letter, whether short or long, is considered as the metrical unit in the Ṛg-Vedic metres. The chief representatives of the Vedic metres, which may thus be called *akṣara-vṛttas* in view of this principle, are three, namely, the *gāyatrī-anuṣṭubh*, the *triṣṭubh* and the *jagatī*. They respectively contain eight, eleven, and twelve letters in each of their lines. The *anuṣṭubh*, the *triṣṭubh*, and the *jagatī* have four lines each in their stanzas, while the *gāyatrī* has only three. The *gāyatrī* is evidently the oldest of these and the *anuṣṭubh* represents only an attempt to bring the *gāyatrī* to the level of the *triṣṭubh* and the *jagatī*, by having four instead of three lines. Similarly, a *jagatī* line seems to have originated as an extension of the *triṣṭubh* line by a single letter where, however, the monotony of the two long letters at the end of the *triṣṭubh* line was sought to be broken by the introduction of a penultimate short in the *jagatī* line. But the introduction of a *jagatī* line of twelve syllables may have also an additional reason, namely, the extension of the *gāyatrī* line by a half. This newly invented line could thus be freely mingled with the *gāyatrī* line, while the older *triṣṭubh* lines would not so easily mingle with it. We actually find many a *jagatī* line which, by the construction of its last part of four letters, indicates unmistakably that it was but an extension of an original *gāyatrī* line augmented by four letters. It thus paved the way for the introduction of strophes and particularly of mixed metres. It is noteworthy that the real mixed metres, i.e. those that were really intended to be such and not those that were unconsciously turned into such ones, are generally based on a combination of these two types of lines, namely, the *gāyatrī* and the *jagatī*. Thus we have the *bṛhatī* and the *satobṛhatī* of four lines each and the *uṣṇik*, the *kakubh*, and *pura-uṣṇik* having three lines each.

NEW RHYTHM BASED ON SOUND-VARIATION

The musical difference between a short and a long letter was not made use of in the Vedic metres as said above. But since short and long letters had to be used in different orders in a line in actual practice, the consciousness of this musical difference could not be avoided for long. Very likely, it was first perceived in the process of extending the *triṣṭubh* into a *jagatī* line. The penultimate of a *jagatī* line is always short while that of a *triṣṭubh* line is generally long. This music produced by the alternation of short and long letters at the end of the *jagatī* line was gradually carried a little further back, i.e. up to the second

metrical break in the line and the last four or five letters of the *triṣṭubh* and the *jagatī* lines were unconsciously or at least without any idea of compulsion, adapted to this music which is known as the Iambic rhythm. This same tendency is seen in the latter part of a *gāyatrī* line, but usually in the second line of a hemistich. It will thus be clear that the Vedic poets were gradually becoming conscious of a different kind of music which could be produced by the alternation of short and long letters. By the end of the Saṁhitā period the older music of voice-modulation seems to have been generally given up in preference to this new kind of music based on sound-variation. The older music, however, was taken up for special treatment and development by the schools of the *Sāma-Veda* and the growth of the different *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* (modes in music) of the later days must be traced to their early and original efforts.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT: VARṆA-VṚTTAS

The three main Vedic metres, namely, the *anuṣṭubh,* the *triṣṭubh,* and the *jagatī,* must have naturally been adapted to this new music in the early stages of the growth of the classical *varṇa-vṛttas.* Actually, we have a larger number of the *varṇa-vṛttas* having eight or eleven or twelve letters in each of their four lines than those having more or less. But the Prātiśākhyas must have helped in the origin of longer metres containing thirteen or more letters in each of their four lines. They had already devised class names like the *ati-jagatī,* the *śakvarī,* the *ati-śakvarī,* etc. to signify Vedic metres whose lines together contained more than forty-eight letters in them. Thus a metre containing fifty-two letters in it, regardless of the number of lines it contained, was called the *ati-jagatī* and that which contained one hundred and four letters was called the *utkṛti.* The classical poet took his clue from this and devised new metres of different length, adapting them to the new music, namely, the *varṇa-saṅgīta,* yet deviating from the Prātiśākhyas in one important respect. He made it a rule that all his metres shall consist of four lines each, and further that these lines shall be equal in length and exactly similar to each other in respect of their structure based upon the alternation of short and long letters. The lines of the Vedic metres were not necessarily of the same length, nor was their structure of an identical pattern. This is why the classical *gāyatrī* stanza as understood by Piṅgala and others has twenty-four letters in it like the Vedic one, but has four lines of the same length and structure instead of three. Naturally, owing to the many different ways in which the *varṇa-saṅgīta* may appear in lines of the same length, the *gāyatrī,* the *śakvarī,* the *utkṛti,* and the like came to be employed as class-names of groups of metres. There are twenty-six classes of such metres. In theory, each of these twenty-six classes was capable of yielding a very large number of metres owing to different variations of long and short letters in the lines; but in actual practice, a few only were selected by the classical poets. Some-

times, a few metres containing more than one hundred and four letters, that is longer than the *utkṛti*, or less than twenty-four letters, that is shorter than the *gāyatrī*, are recorded by Sanskrit prosodists. These two are based on the same, i.e. the *varṇa-saṅgīta*, but they are not mentioned by Bharata or Piṅgala, whose treatment begins with the *gāyatrī* class and ends with the *utkṛti* class.

CHARACTERISTICS OF VARNA-VṚTTA METRES

This metrical music, namely, the *varṇa-saṅgīta*, to which the classical Sanskrit metres are adapted, is based upon the essential difference between a short and a long letter in respect of the three things, viz. (1) sound-value, (2) syllabic quantity, and (3) the time taken up by their utterance. A long letter is double the short one in respect of these three and the music is produced not by their mere presence but by the order of their succession. This is why a new scanning unit had to be devised for their sake whether for defining or for measuring a given line. The older unit was a single letter and the lines were defined in terms of the number of such single letters, short or long, which were used in them. The sequence of letters was of no account for the Vedic metres and had not to be mentioned in their definitions. But in the new metres, not only the number, but more especially their sequence also was important. Hence a new unit which would describe this sequence, but would not be too short or too long was discovered. It was found out that the sequence could be mentioned only with the help of groups of letters containing a particular sequence and that the group of three letters would be the most suitable one, being the smallest among the big ones and the biggest among the small ones. In ancient India this unit of three constituents had been adopted in many spheres for developing multiplicity, which was supposed to have started with number 3 and not with number 2. In view of the different order of short and long letters this unit of three letters is of eight kinds. Piṅgala is undoubtedly the earliest prosodist who had used this unit and was very probably the originator of it. He calls the eight *trikas* (triplets) by the different letters of the alphabet such as *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *sa*, *ta*, *ja*, *bha*, and *na*, and he is followed by the later writers.

An important feature of the *varṇa-vṛttas* is the *yati* or the metrical pause introduced in the middle of a line. This is regularly admitted at specific places as against the irregular pause which is noticed in the case of the Vedic metres. Its origin has of course to be traced to the ease of recitation; but gradually it first became conventional and then compulsory. It is interesting to note how the introduction of the *yati* in the metrical lines helped the formation and fossilization of many different metrico-musical units of different length. The music of these units became popular with the poets as well as the listeners, and so these units in their turn guided the structure of newer metrical lines.

Among the *varṇa-vṛttas* there are some which are known as the *ardha-sama-*

vṛttas. The first and the third lines of these as also the second and the fourth are exactly similar to each other. As a matter of fact, these metres consist of two halves, each of which is divided into two unequal lines exactly at the same place. This, however, is a peculiarity of the Prakrit metres and it need not be doubted that the Sanskrit *ardha-sama-vṛttas* have originated from their Prakrit prototypes. The starting point seems to have been the *vaitālīya* and the *aupacchandasika,* which in their garb of a *varṇa-vṛtta* are known as the *viyoginī* or the *prabodhitā* and the *mālabhāriṇī*, respectively. They are employed for the composition of the main part of the canto by Aśvaghoṣa as early as the second century A.D. There are also a few *viṣama-vṛttas* among the Sanskrit *varṇa-vṛttas* and the most ancient among them is the *udgatā*, similarly employed by Aśvaghoṣa.[1]

CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀTRĀ-VṚTTA METRES

We have thus seen that the Vedic metres are based on a music which is founded on voice-modulation and that the classical metres are similarly based on a music of sound-variation, or alternation of short and long sounds. Both these are Sanskrit metres, even though the latter, especially those which are amenable to *tāla* and constructed with identical and recurring *trikas,* are freely adopted by the Prakrit and particularly the Apabhraṁśa poets. Among the Sanskrit metres there is one more class called the *mātrā-vṛttas.* In these there does not appear to be any definite kind of music as the basis, except the negative type of the *varṇa-saṅgīta* where a long letter has to be avoided at the junction of the *mātrā-gaṇas* of which a line in the *mātrā-vṛttas* is made up. The *mātrā-gaṇas* have to be kept separated from each other and this can be done only by avoiding a long letter at their junction. This means that a long letter must not be used so as to combine the last *mātrā* of an earlier *gaṇa* with the initial *mātrā* of the later *gaṇa*. In a *gāthā,* for example, the line is not made up of thirty *mātrās* employed at random, but it must be divided into seven and a half *mātrā-gaṇas* kept separate from each other. If this is not done the *gāthā* will surely lose its peculiar rhythm.

Sanskrit *mātrā-vṛttas* are of three kinds: (1) the *āryā* group, (2) the *mātrā-samaka* group, and (3) the *vaitālīya* group. The *āryā* seems to be the oldest among these and evidently was a *geya-vṛtta* meant for singing as against the *varṇa-vṛttas* which are *pāṭhya-vṛttas* meant for reciting for a long time in the early days of its career. In Sanskrit dramas the *naṭī* or the actress is often made to sing and the metre is the *āryā.* The difference between the *gāna* (song) and the *paṭhana* (recitation) is that the former is a *tāla-vṛtta* while the latter is not so. But in the course of time the *āryā* must have lost this characteristic when it was abundantly used by Sanskrit pundits for their manuals of the different Śāstras

[1] For details see *Jayadāman* (Published by the Haritosha Samiti, Bombay, 1949), General Introduction, paras 12-16.

or scriptures, since they had no ear for the *tāla*. The origin of the *āryā* and particularly its fourth shorter *pāda* is shrouded in mystery, at least at the present stage of our knowledge. But the other *mātrā-vṛttas* which are not amenable to *tāla*, whether in Sanskrit or Prakrit, are mostly the product of the efforts of learned men who tried their hand at a metrical composition but had no ear for any music. They could not follow the intricacies of *tāla*, particularly when they stuck to their correct pronunciation of short and long letters. They equated the *kāla-mātrā* required for the *tāla* with the *varṇa-mātrā* and carried on with the latter, neglecting the former. The equation of *kāla-mātrā*, on the other hand, is of no account to the Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa poets, who would pronounce letters short or long according to the necessity of their *tāla*. This was unbearable to the Sanskrit pundits who were, at their best, expert versifiers. This is why the *mātrā-vṛttas* in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit, i.e. those that are not amenable to *tāla*, are devoid of any definite music. The *tāla-saṅgīta* could not be used owing to the difficulty mentioned above. The *varṇa-saṅgīta* was too complicated owing to the restriction of the sequence of short and long sounds, while the *svara-saṅgīta* had already fallen into disuse so far as metres were concerned. The Sanskrit pundits, therefore, whether they wrote in Sanskrit or in Prakrit, devised a new variety of metres which they called the *mātrā-vṛtta* as it was founded on a new unit, namely, the *varṇa-mātrā*, the counterpart of the *kāla-mātrā* required for the *tāla-vṛttas*. From the Sanskrit *varṇa-vṛttas* they adopted the idea of groups and thus we have the *mātrā-gaṇas* of two, three, four, five, and six *mātrās* employed in the composition of lines.[2]

TĀLA-SAṄGĪTA AND METRICS

The third main variety of music is the *tāla-saṅgīta* which is explained in the first paragraph. It is produced by stressing the voice or the sound by means of strokes after the lapse of a definite period measured by time-moments or the *kāla-mātrās*. This stressing is done either after the fourth or fifth or sixth or seventh *kāla-mātrā* or their multiples; in other words, there are four different basic *tālas* of four, five, six, and seven *mātrās*.

The commonest *tāla*, however, is the *tāla* of eight *mātrās* which is double the *tāla* of four *mātrās*. These *tāla-gaṇas*, too, like the *mātrā-gaṇas* must be kept separated by avoiding a long letter at their junction which might combine in itself the last *mātrā* of an earlier and the first *mātrā* of a later *tāla-gaṇa*. For it is impossible to represent separately these two *mātrās*, pronouncing the former without the stress and the latter with the stress, which indicates the commencement of a fresh *tāla-gaṇa*. These *tāla-gaṇas* representing four, five, six, seven *kāla-mātrās*, or their multiples are necessarily made up of letters which can or

[2] *Ibid.*, paras 17-23.

must be pronounced so as to cover the period of their *mātrās*. Usually a short letter takes up one *kāla-mātrā* while a long one takes up two, and a *tāla-gaṇa* of five *mātrās* shall consist of five short letters or two long and one short letters or one long and three short letters in it. Sometimes, however, this conventional time-value of letters is disregarded by the poets and the *tāla-gaṇas* are filled up by improperly pronounced letters to which time-value is attached by the poets according to their sweet will or sometimes even by a silent rest in which no letters are pronounced at all. Popular bards, who are the real custodians of the *tāla-vṛttas*, are generally negligent about the conventional time-values of letters, caring only for their *tāla* which must not be disturbed at any cost, and so sometimes they squeeze any number of letters within a *tāla-gaṇa*, pronouncing them quickly or slowly according to the needs of the *kāla-mātrās* of the *gaṇa*.

The *tāla-vṛttas* may be of the *dvipadī* (two-footed) or *catuṣpadī* (four-footed) or *ṣaṭpadī* (six-footed) type; but the last two types are very common. In a continuous narrative, however, a stanza whether of four or six lines has no importance whatsoever. In it the unit is a couplet of lines which are parallelly constructed and rhymed; many such couplets held together by a common topic or an aspect of it as also by the common metre and the *tāla* are used to form a *kaḍavaka* and several *kaḍavakas* form a *sandhi*. Sometimes single unrhymed lines are added to these couplets here and there; but every line whether belonging to the couplet or not must obey the particular *tāla* which is prevalent in the *kaḍavaka*. *A mixture of different tāla-gaṇas is never permitted in the same line or couplet or even kaḍavaka.* The *kaḍavaka* is preceded and followed by a *ghattā* which is either a *dvipadī* or a *ṣaṭpadī* stanza. A *dvipadī-ghattā* appears to have been without a *tāla* and sung with appropriate modulations of voice in prose, the time-keeping instrument being held silent for a while. This must have served as a transition to the next *kaḍavaka* which may be sung in a different *tāla*. It must have also given a breathing time to the singer. The *ṣaṭpadī-ghattā*, on the other hand, was sung in the same *tāla* as the main *kaḍavaka* and generally came at its end. In narrative poetry the most general *tāla-vṛtta* that is employed is the *pajjhaṭikā* which is sung in the *tāla* of eight *mātrās*. But sometimes, even the *varṇa-vṛttas* whose lines are made up with identical *trikas* being repeated a number of times are employed, the *tāla* in this case being the *tāla* of that number of *mātrās* which the *trika* contains. The poets, however, take liberties and often substitute two short letters for a long one in any of the *trikas*. This disturbs the *varṇa-saṅgīta* of the original metre, but keeps up its *tāla-saṅgīta* which is not concerned with the order of short and long letters. Stanzas of four and six lines sung in the *tāla* of five, six, or seven *mātrās* are sometimes employed for stray and lyric poetry. But on the whole they are very rare. The following examples are few, but I hope convincing: The *dīpaka* (*Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, I.181), the *jhullaṇā* (*Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, I.156), the *madanāvatāra* (*Haima*

Chando'nuśāsana, IV. 83) are sung in the *tāla* of five or ten *mātrās*; the *hira* (*Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, I.199) is definitely sung in the *tāla* of six *mātrās*; and the *hari-gīta* or *gīta* (*Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, I.191) is undoubtedly sung in the *tāla* of seven *mātrās*. The *tāla-vṛtta* of five *mātrās*, however, is employed by Apabhraṁśa poets for their narrative poems now and then. Thus the *madanāvatāra* is employed for his *kaḍavakas* by Puṣpadanta in his *Jasaharacariu* (I.16-17; II.16-17; III. 13, 27). Similarly, the *varṇa-vṛtta-bhujaṅgaprayāta* and *sragviṇī*, both sung in the *tāla* of five or ten *mātrās*, are used by him for a *kaḍavaka* at I.18, IV. 17, and III.3. In the same work (I.10; III.2, 15-16), he employs for his *kaḍavakas* two or three *varṇa-vṛttas* which are sung in the *tāla* of six *mātrās*. But on the whole, the *tāla* of eight *mātrās* is very common.

MĀTRĀ-VṚTTA METRE IN PRAKRIT AND APABHRAṀŚA

In many of the metres which are adapted to *tāla*, a silent pause of two to five *mātrās* has sometimes to be adopted at the end of each line in a stanza for the smooth running of the *tāla*. This becomes clear when the stanza is sung or heard.[3] The ancient metricians do not mention the *tāla* at all in respect of their metres. Accordingly, they do not divide or classify the metres on the basis of the *tāla* with the result that the *tāla-vṛttas* are defined side by side with the pure *mātrā-vṛttas* which do not obey any *tāla* in treatises like the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*, the *Svayambhu-chandas*, the *Kavi-darpaṇa*, Hemacandra's *Chando'nuśāsana*, and such others. Yet the distinction between the metres which can be sung properly only with the help of the *tāla*, and others which can be merely recited and do not obey any *tāla* is quite obvious to any one who hears these metres sung or sings them himself. The music of the former is absent in the latter, which may be called the pure *mātrā-vṛttas* like their prototypes, namely, the classical Sanskrit *mātrā-vṛttas*. As in the case of these latter, their lines are made up of the *mātrā-gaṇas* which must be kept separate by avoiding a long letter at their junction. They thus possess only a negative kind of the *varṇa-saṅgīta* and nothing more. Like the Sanskrit *mātrā-vṛttas* these also must have originated from the enjoyment of a poetic licence which craved for freedom from the restrictions either of the *varṇa-saṅgīta* or of the *tāla-saṅgīta*.

It is obvious that Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa poetry must have originally consisted of the *tāla-vṛttas*; but an unskilful handling of these and an external imitation gave rise to the several *mātrā-vṛttas* which are in no way amenable to *tāla*. On the other hand, the early and original *tāla-vṛttas* must have been developed independently by a school of bards and poets, who specialized in the *tāla-saṅgīta* and produced a large number of popular songs and the verses or poems (*padyas*), intended to be sung to the accompaniment of dances or other

[3] See 'Apabraṁśa Metres (I)' in the *Bombay University Journal*, May, 1933.

kinds of bodily movements and gestures. We should remember how the early *svara-saṅgīta* of the Ṛg-Vedic days was developed in the schools of the *Sāma-Veda* and gave rise to the different *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* of the later day. Ultimately, at some time in the middle ages, these two streams of our music, viz. the one of voice-modulation and the other of time-regulated stress, came to be combined into a harmonious whole by music enthusiasts. This combination enhanced the charm of the music; but it totally neglected the poetical side of the composition itself Besides, it became too complicated to be utilized in their poetical works by bards and poets for whom, naturally, poetical merit was more important than music.

20

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

THE origin of Sanskrit grammar is shrouded in mystery. The first-ever mention of it by name is found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] in which various grammatical terms also occur. Earlier, the urge to analyse speech, which is the basis of all grammatical literature, was alluded to in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[2] One of its oft-quoted passages relates the myth of how the gods went to Indra and requested him to split up speech. Indra obliged them by parting it in the middle, thus splitting it up.

PĀNINI : HISTORY AND TRADITION

The earliest extant systematic treatment of grammar is Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with its 3,995 *sūtras* (formulas), divided into eight *adhyāyas* (chapters) of four *pādas* (quarters) each. There were, however, grammarians before Pāṇini, for the great grammarian himself mentions by name many of his predecessors[3] and hints at the existence of many more.[4] Thus he testifies to considerable grammatical activity having taken place before him. This fact is also borne out by the various older technical terms he uses,[5] and also the discrepancies and the promiscuous use of some expressions in his work.[6] Pāṇini deals with both Sanskrit and Vedic grammar and mainly Vedic accent, though he deals more fully with Sanskrit grammar.

According to tradition, Pāṇini lived in the fifth century B.C., although critics like Keith would like to place him about 350 B.C. He was a native of Śālātura, near Attock, now in Pakistan; Hiuen Tsang records that he saw a statue there to his memory. Pāṇini, as his name would suggest, was the son of Paṇina, although the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[7] would have us believe that his father's name was Sāmana. Pāṇini's mother, Dākṣī, was the sister of Vyāḍi who composed *Saṅgraha*, said to have contained a hundred thousand verses on Sanskrit

[1] I. 24.
[2] VI. 4.7
[3] *Vide* Pāṇini's reference to earlier *ācāryas* in IV. 1.17; IV. 1.157; VII. 3.46; etc.
[4] Āpiśali (VI. 1.92), Kāśyapa (VIII. 4.67), Gārgya (VII. 3.99; VIII. 3.20; VIII. 4.67), Gālava (VI. 3.61; VII. 1.74; VIII. 4.67), Cākravarmana (VI. 1.130), Bhāradvāja (VII. 2.64), Śākaṭāyana (III. 4.111; VIII. 3.18; VIII. 4.50), Śākalya (I. 1.16; VI. 1.127; VIII. 3.19; VIII. 4.51), Sphoṭāyana (VI. 1.123).
[5] M. D. Shastri, 'The Relation of Pāṇini's Technical Devices to his Predecessors', *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, 4th Session, Vol. II, 1928, pp. 465-74.
[6] I. S. Pawate, *The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Chapters VIII and IX, pp. 93, 109.
[7] II. 31.2.

grammar and, more particularly, grammatical philosophy.[8] Tradition regards Pāṇini as the pupil of the sage Varṣa who was the brother of the sage Upavarṣa. A legend ascribes Pāṇini's death to an encounter with a lion.[9] Pāṇini lived after Yāska, the author of *Nirukta* (a work on Vedic etymology), and, according to some texts, was a contemporary of Mahāpadma Nanda in the fifth century B.C.[10] Highly scientific and precise in his treatment, which won him well-deserved praise,[11] Pāṇini was greatly concerned with the economy of words. To effect this economy he adopted many devices in which, in the words of Keith, 'the cases are used pregnantly, verbs are omitted, leading rules are understood to govern others which follow; above all algebraic formulae replace real words'. The whole scheme of his work covering the eight *adhyāyas*, as described by Keith, comprised the treatment of 'technical terms and rules of interpretation (*i*), nouns in composition and case relations (*ii*); the adding of suffixes to roots (*iii*) and to nouns (*iv, v*), accent and changes of sound in word formation (*vi, vii*) and the word in the sentence (*viii*). But this scheme is constantly interrupted, rules being interpolated illogically because it was convenient to do, or because space could thus be saved, for the whole book is dominated by the aim to be as brief as possible'.[12]

KĀTYĀYANA, PATAÑJALI, AND BHARTṚHARI

Many grammarians followed Pāṇini during the next two centuries, but their works are no longer extant; we know of them because their names and quotations from their works are found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. Some of these names are: Kātyāyana, Bhāradvāja, Sunāga, Vyāghrabhūti, and Vaiyāghrapadya. All these grammarians wrote *vārttikas* (aphorisms) on Pāṇini's work. Among them, Kātyāyana wrote *vārttikas* on 1,245 of Pāṇini's *sūtras* and these were incorporated and commented upon by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*.

Patañjali is believed to be an incarnation of the Serpent Śeṣa, who is Viṣṇu's resting place. He may be said to belong to the second century B.C., a contention that is supported by the fact that he refers in his *Mahābhāṣya* to the Mauryas (V. 3. 69), to Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty (III.1.26), and to a Greek invader, identified as Menander (III.2.3). In addition to his comments upon Kātyāyana's *vārttikas*, Patañjali deals with some of the *sūtras* in Pāṇini's work not taken up by Kātyāyana, explaining and justifying them, and occasionally rejecting them.

[8] Bhartṛhari, *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, MS , p 30, Punyarāja, *Vākyapadīyaṭīkā*, Benares Sanskrit Series, Benares, p. 383; Nāgeśa. *Mahābhāṣyapradīpoddyota*, Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1917, p 55

[9] *Vide*: *Siṁho vyākaranasya kartur aharat prānān priyān pānineḥ–Pañcatantra*, II 36.

[10] *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, 427; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 4.

[11] Cf. *Itipānini. Tatpānini Pāṇiniśabdo loke prakāśata* .and ..*ākumāraṁ yaśaḥ pānineḥ.—Kāśikā* under the *sūtras* II. 1.6, 13.

[12] A. B. Keith, *HSL*, pp. 423-24.

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is one of the most important treatises on Sanskrit grammar; it influenced later grammatical works to a very great extent. It is written in a pleasant and lively conversational style, while the proverbial expressions which occur in it and its references to matters of everyday life serve both to enliven the discussion and to provide valuable hints regarding the conditions of life and thought in Patañjali's time. According to a tradition recorded by Bhartṛhari[13] and by Kalhaṇa (twelfth century),[14] the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* at one time fell upon bad days; it was, however, later revived by scholars such as Candrācārya (fifth century A.D.). There are numerous *vṛttis* (commentaries) on this work, and a good number of them are still in manuscript form. One commentary is *Pradīpa*, written by the pre-thirteenth century Kashmirian scholar, Kaiyaṭa; the seventeenth century critic Nāgeśa wrote a commentary on *Pradīpa*, which he called *Uddyota*. Bhartṛhari's commentary was called the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*; Helārāja, however, referred to it as *Tripadī*,[15] suggesting that it covered only the first three *pādas* of the first *adhyāya*. Its only available manuscript, now in Berlin, is but a fragment; it goes up to the fifty-third *sūtra* of the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*.

The three great grammarians we have so far referred to, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, are called collectively the *munitraya* (the three sages). After them came Bhartṛhari, although his date is very uncertain. He is usually assigned a date between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and according to the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, he died about A.D. 615. Some scholars, however, place him in the fifth century between A.D. 450 and 500,[16] while others place him in the third century, or even earlier.[17]

Bhartṛhari is the author of two works, the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*, already mentioned, and the *Vākyapadīya*, a grammatico-philosophical work in three *kāṇḍas* (sections) called the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* (dealing with supreme Logos), the *vākya-kāṇḍa* (dealing with sentences), and the *pada-kāṇḍa* (dealing with words), the last being styled the *prakīrṇaka-kāṇḍa* (miscellaneous section). Since it consists of these three books, the *Vākyapadīya* also carries the alternative name of *Trikāṇḍī* (the three-sectioned book). Altogether it has 1,966 *kārikās* (comment in metrical form). Of these, 1,323 are found in the *pada-kāṇḍa* divided into fourteen *samuddeśas* (chapters). A commentary on the first and second *kāṇḍas* was written by Bhartṛhari himself, while commentaries were written on the third *kāṇḍa* by Helārāja and another Kashmirian scholar, Puṇyarāja. An

[13] *Vākyapadīya*, II. 4.89.

[14] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 176.

[15] Being published serially in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

[16] *The Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari*, University of Poona Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Vol. II, 1965, Introduction, p. xiii.

[17] Sadhu Ram, 'The Date of Bhartṛhari', *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. IX, Part II, 1952.

unidentified later commentator, probably of the North, condensed and simplified Bhartṛhari's own commentary, while Vṛṣabhadeva, probably hailing from the South, wrote *Paddhati* in which Bhartṛhari's commentary was explained at length.

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ : COMMENTARIES AND REARRANGEMENTS

The first extant *vṛtti* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, the Banaras commentary, written jointly by Vāmana and Jayāditya, who are usually regarded as having lived in the seventh century. The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* is presumed to be a Buddhist work on account of the complete absence in it of *maṅgala* (benedictory verse) and also because of the liberty with which it handles the text, for it shows as many as fifty-eight variations from the original. The writers are also credited with the authorship of an independent treatise, the *Vṛtti-Sūtra*. Among other prominent commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is *Bhāga-vṛtti* by Bhartṛhari or Vimalamati, although this work is now no longer available. There is also the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* by Puruṣottamadeva (sixteenth century A.D.) who drew inspiration from both the *Kāśikā* and the *Bhāga-vṛttis*. *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, a work on some selected *sūtras* from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, was written by the Buddhist scholar, Śaraṇadeva; he mentions the date of his work as Śaka era[18] 1095, which is A.D. 1172. The name of this work is derived from the fact that it seeks to offer justification for *durghaṭas*, i.e. points which are normally difficult to justify by grammar. The last of the important commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is *Sūtra-prakāśa* by the well-known sixteenth century South Indian writer Appaya Dīkṣita.

The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* has two important commentaries. In the seventh century was written *Nyāsa* or *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* by Jinendrabuddhi,[19] and in the eleventh century was written Haradatta's *Pada-mañjarī*.[20]

In about the eleventh century, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was given a new form by the Buddhist scholar, Dharmakīrti. He rearranged some of the useful *sūtras* topicwise. In about the fourteenth century[21] another Buddhist scholar, Vimalasarasvatī, did precisely the same thing in a work called *Rūpamālā*. About a century later, the Andhra scholar Rāmacandra, in his *Prakriyā-kaumudī*, followed the same pattern but extended the scope of his work by including some of the *sūtras* left out by his predecessors. Two commentaries were written on this work:

[18] An era founded by a Śaka king Śālivāhana approximately in A.D. 78.

[19] Shrish Chandra Chakravarti assigns *Nyāsa* to A.D. 725-50. See Introduction to his edition of the *Nyāsa*, Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi, 1913, p. 26.

[20] *Ibid.* Yudhisthira Mimamsaka places Haradatta Miśra in A.D. 1058, *vide Saṁskṛta Vyākarana Śāstra Kā Itihāsa*, Second Edition, Vol. I, Samvat 2020, p. 473. On the authority of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Jacobi believes that Haradatta died by about A.D. 878—*JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 31.

[21] K. P. Trivedi takes Dharmakīrti and Vimalasarasvatī to be contemporaries. According to him, the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Rūpamālā* were composed about the same time, *vide* Introduction to his edition of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXXIII, 1925, p. xxxiii.

the *Prakriyā-prakāśa* by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (sixteenth century A.D.), the teacher of the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; and *Prasāda* by Viṭhṭhala (sixteenth century A.D.). Next came *Siddhānta-kaumudī* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (A.D. 1600-1650), which, in arrangement, closely followed *Prakriyā-kaumudī* and the earlier works, but differed from them in that it incorporated all of Pāṇini's *sūtras*. *Siddhānta-kaumudī* is the most popular extant manual on Sanskrit grammar. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita himself wrote a commentary on this work, which he called *Prauḍha-manoramā* and his grandson Hari Dīkṣita wrote a commentary on it called *Śabda-ratna*. His principal aim in writing *Śabda-ratna* was to refute what he regarded as unfair criticism of *Prauḍha-manoramā*, which occurred in *Prauḍha-manoramākuca-mardinī* by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, a contemporary of his father, Bhānuji Dīkṣita.

Another commentary on *Siddhānta-kaumudī* was written by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa (eighteenth century A.D.), a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita. He wrote his commentary in two versions, the longer being called (*Bṛhat*) *Śabdendu-śekhara*, and the shorter *Laghu-śabdendu-śekhara*. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa wrote another work in three versions, the *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjūṣā*. The longer version was called simply *Mañjūṣā*, the shorter version *Laghu-mañjūṣā*, and the still shorter version *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*. This work was an independent treatise on grammatical philosophy and semantics in the Navya-Nyāya style (neo-logical style of argumentation). The author based his discussion mainly on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, but not unoften he differed from them, showing remarkable originality. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa also wrote *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*, a gloss on the *paribhāṣās* (grammatical dicta). This was in line with such treatises as the *Paribhāṣā-vṛtti* by Sīrodeva.

A work by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita which deserves special mention is *Śabda-kaustubha*, although now it is available only in two fragments; one fragment comprises the first portion of the work, from the beginning to the end of the second *pāda* of the third *adhyāya*; the other fragment contains the fourth *adhyāya*. *Śabda-kaustubha* is an independent commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and is based primarily on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as the author himself expressly states[22] and as Haradatta Miśra also states in his *Pada-mañjarī*. *Śabda-kaustubha* was written earlier than *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, for it is referred to there, and it is in this work that the true greatness of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita as an original thinker is revealed. He summarized the main conclusions of his work in seventy-four *kārikās*. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's nephew, embodied and expounded these seventy-four *kārikās* in his *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa* which he wrote in three versions: the longer, (*Bṛhat*) *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*; the shorter, *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*; and the still shorter, *Laghu-vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*. Like the later work, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa's *Mañjūṣā*, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's work deals with

[22] *Phaṇibhāṣitabhāṣyābdheḥ śabdakaustubham uddhare* – verse 3.

grammatical philosophy and semantics. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa lived in the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Varadarāja, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's pupil, evolved from *Siddhānta-kaumudī* two school manuals, *Madhya-kaumudī* and *Laghu-kaumudī*. These two manuals, especially the shorter one, *Laghu-kaumudī*, are very popular in *ṭols* (traditional Sanskrit schools) and *pāṭhaśālās* (primary schools) even to this day.

Among the works which are ancillary to Pāṇini's *sūtras* is the *Uṇādi-Sūtra* which is presupposed by Pāṇini; it is ascribed to Śākaṭāyana. A later work, *Dhātu-pāṭha*, which is in substance that of Pāṇini, was the source of inspiration for three works: *Dhātu-pradīpa* by Maitreyarakṣita (A.D. 1165); *Daiva* by Deva on which Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Muni wrote a commentary, *Puruṣakāra*; and *Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti* by Sāyaṇa (thirteenth century A.D.). *Gaṇa-ratna-mahodadhi* by Vardhamāna (1140) does not seem to be based on the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, for Pāṇini's work itself has not been handed down in its authentic form, since it has additions and alterations made in the light of the *Gaṇapāṭhas* of other grammatical treatises. A post-Patañjali writer, Śāntanava, composed the *Phiṭ-Sūtras*, in which he dealt with the rules of accent, Vedic and classical.

POST-PĀṆINIAN SCHOOLS

The Kātantra school: The earliest of the post-Pāṇinian schools is the Kātantra ('little treatise'). It is also known by two other names, Kaumāra and Kālāpaka according to two traditions associated with its origin. The author of *Kātantra*, Śarvavarman, is said to have propitiated Lord Śiva who in turn ordered Kumāra-Kārttikeya, his son, to give instruction to Śarvavarman; thus the work came to be called *Kaumāra*. Kumāra-Kārttikeya is said to have inscribed it in the first instance on the tail (*kalāpa*) of his peacock and thus the work came to be called *Kālāpaka*, or because of the incorporation into it of some parts from a bigger treatise,[23] an obvious reference to brevity, for it is the shortest extant grammar. *Kātantra* was composed by Śarvavarman in about the first century A.D.[24] for a Sātavāhana king,[25] as a tradition recorded in an old text would have us believe.[26] A *vṛtti* on it was written by Durgasiṁha in the eighth century; and on the *vṛtti* a *nyāsa* (an elaborate commentary) called *Śiṣyahitā*, was written by Ugrabhūti in the eleventh century. A number of other commentaries on *Kātantra* were also written. *Kātantra* also appears in Tibetan translation

[23] *Vide* Hemacandra: *Bṛhattantrāt kalā āpibati*, Yudhisthira Mimamsaka, *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa Śāstra Kā Ithāsa*, Second Edition, Samvat 2020, p. 502.

[24] Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 439.

[25] The king was not well versed in Sanskrit. To instruct him within six months, Śarvavarman composed *Kātantra* grammar.

[26] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 6-7.

with a supplement and Durgasiṁha's commentary. *Kātantra* had a considerable influence on the Pali grammarian Kaccāyana and also on the Dravidian grammarians, and is still popular in Bengal.

The Cāndra Vyākaraṇa school: *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* by the Buddhist scholar Candragomin (fifth century) is a work longer than *Kātantra* but shorter than *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, its length being three-fourths of the length of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It was once popular in the Buddhist countries of Kashmir, Tibet, and Nepal. According to internal evidence, it was composed in about A.D. 470, the reference in the text being to the victory of a Jarta king over the Hūṇas. 'Jarta' is taken to be a corruption for 'Gupta', and the king was, most probably, Skandagupta. From external evidence, however, its date of composition seems to be A.D. 600, the date mentioned in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Candragomin, who is also called Candrācārya, mentions in the beginning of his own *vṛtti* on *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* that the special characteristics of his grammar are brevity, lucidity, and comprehensiveness. He was deeply versed in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and was associated with the revival of its study, as Bhartṛhari and Kalhaṇa (twelfth century) testify.

The Jainendra Vyākaraṇa school: Although the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is considered to be the work of Jina Mahāvīra himself, it was actually composed by Pūjyapāda Devanandin (*c.* sixth century). The colophons in the manuscript itself testify to this. It is a sort of condensation of the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali; it has a recast, meant for beginners, which is called *Pañca-vastu*. Two recensions of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* are extant, the northern and the southern. There is wide divergence between the two texts, for the northern recension has about three thousand *sūtras* while the southern has three thousand seven hundred. There are also many variations in expression in the *sūtras*. There are two *vṛttis* on the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*: the *Mahāvṛtti* by Abhayanandin and the *Laghu-jainendra* by Mahācandra. There is also a *nyāsa*, *Śabdāmbhoja-bhāskara*, by Prabhācandra (A.D. 1075-1125).

The Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa school: The *Śabdānuśāsana* by Pālyakīrti (ninth century) now goes by the name of *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*. It was composed during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814-77). The evidence for this is furnished by the fact that he gave the name *Amoghā* to the extensive commentary he wrote on his own work, and also by the actual mention of the name of the king in one of the illustrations.[27] Prabhācandra wrote a *nyāsa* on the *Amoghā-vṛtti*. Yakṣavarman wrote a commentary, *Cintāmaṇi* on the *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*, in which he alluded to its all-comprehensive nature; the *sūtras*, he said, included what in other grammars would be conveyed by *iṣṭis* (grammatical principles) or by *upasaṁkhyānas* (additional grammatical rules).

[27] *Adahad amoghavarṣo'rātīn.*

The Siddha-Hemacandra school: The *Siddha-Hemacandra*, or simply the *Haima Vyākaraṇa*, was based on the *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa* and was written by Hemacandra Sūri for King Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. The king procured from Kashmir eight older works for Hemacandra Sūri's use. The *Haima Vyākaraṇa* is a grammar of Prakrit as well as of Sanskrit; 3,566 *sūtras*, constituting the first seven *adhyāyas*, deal with Sanskrit grammar, while 1,119 *sūtras*, constituting the eighth *adhyāya*, deal with Prakrit grammar. The work is a good manual, practical in arrangement and terminology—an aspect in which it agrees mainly with *Kātantra*. It omits Vedic grammar and accent. Hemacandra Sūri wrote his work in two versions called *Laghvī*, the shorter, and *Bṛhatī*, the longer. He also wrote a *vṛtti* on his work, and an extensive treatise called the *Bṛhannyāsa*.

The Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa school: The most extensive of the grammars is the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* written by the Paramāra king Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.). The total number of *sūtras* in it is 6,421, which is 2,426 more than even the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has. This is because, included in the very *sūtras* are the *uṇādis* (the suffix *uṇa* etc.), the *paribhāṣās*, and the *gaṇas* (groups of words). The work deals with Sanskrit and Vedic grammar. The first seven *adhyāyas* are devoted to Sanskrit grammar, while the eighth deals with Vedic grammar and accent. Three commentaries have been written on the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*: *Hṛdayahāriṇī* by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; *Puruṣakāra* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Muni; and *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Rāmasiṁhadeva.

OTHER WORKS

Grammars continued to be written in later centuries too, but they could at best find only local acceptance. Of these, the following four are of some importance:

The *Saṁkṣipta-sāra*: Kramadīśvara wrote the *Saṁkṣipta-sāra* after 1150. In its first seven *adhyāyas* it deals with Sanskrit grammar, and in the eighth with Prakrit grammar. This work is also known as *Jaumāra* after its redactor Jumaranandin. In the colophons of many of the manuscripts Jumaranandin is styled *Mahārājādhirāja*. Goyīcandra Autthāsanika, a later writer, appended supplements to this grammar and wrote commentaries on its *sūtras*, *uṇādis*, and the *paribhāṣās*. The *Saṁkṣipta-sāra*, however, was popular only in the western part of Bengal.

The *Mugdha-bodha*: Among the works written by Vopadeva (thirteenth century), who flourished under King Mahādeva of Devagiri, was the *Mugdha-bodha*, a small manual on grammar. Many commentaries have been written on it, the best known among them being the one by Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa (seventeenth century A.D.). The *Mugdha-bodha* attained great popularity in Bengal, and it is still in use there. Two other works by Vopadeva are the

Kavi-kalpadruma, a work on roots, and a commentary on this called the *Kāma-dhenu*.

The *Supadma Vyākaraṇa*: Written in 1375 by Padmanābha (fourteenth century A.D.), the *Supadma Vyākaraṇa* was popular in the eastern part of Bengal. Five commentaries have been written on it, including the *Pañjikā* by the author himself and the *Supadma-makaranda* by Viṣṇu Miśra.

The *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa*: This grammar is traditionally ascribed to Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, although it might actually have been composed by Narendrācārya, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya being merely a *prakriyākāra*. As Vopadeva does not mention this work, it was probably written after him but before the Mohammedan ruler Ghiasuddhin Khilji (A.D. 1469-1500), since one of his ministers, Puṇyarāja, wrote an extensive commentary on it called *Prakriyā*. This grammar has been widely commented upon; in fact, it has as many as eighteen commentaries and two recasts.

The *Liṅgānuśāsanas:* Of some grammatical importance are the treatises on gender known as the *Liṅgānuśāsanas*. Some of them are ascribed to Pāṇini, Vararuci, Śākaṭāyana, and Hemacandra (twelfth century). There are two about whose date and authorship there is no dispute. These are by Harṣadeva (A.D. 606-47) and by Vāmana (*c.* A.D. 800).

21

THE SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

WE shall surely do grave injustice to the grammatical literature of India, if we are inclined to look upon grammar only as a number of aphorisms serving no other useful purpose than the formation and analysis of words with which people are generally acquainted. In ancient India no enquiry was ever made that did not directly or indirectly aim at a higher realization of truth and a greater fulfilment of life. And no department of study seems to have been more fruitful than grammar in this respect.

The grammatical dissertations of the Hindus were not confined to a narrow fold, nor were the Hindu grammarians content with mere formulation of rules for the guidance of words. It must be said to the credit of the *śābdikas* (grammarians) that they succeeded in discovering a path of spiritual discipline even through the labyrinthine mass of grammatical speculations. Enquiries into the ultimate nature of *vāc* (speech) led them to a sublime region of *sādhanā* (spiritual discipline)—a region of perfect bliss and joy. The cultivation of grammar gave rise to a spiritual vision which, so to speak, enabled the *vāg-yogavid* (knower of the secret of speech) to visualize Brahman in the *varṇamālā* (wreath of letters). Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (*akṣara*) as is often applied to Brahman. A glance into the words in which *akṣara* has been interpreted by grammarians of old will serve to open our eyes to the supreme importance of *varṇas*[1] (letters). To the spiritual insight of Patañjali, *varṇas* were not only phonetic types but glowing sparks of Brahman illumining the entire sphere of existence.

Besides its spiritual significance, Sanskrit grammar seems to be the only branch of study that can claim a sufficient degree of scientific precision in its procedure. It is a unique record of the development of Indian mind in the domain of linguistic pursuit. It is not too much to say that the science of grammar deserves a prominent place in the world of *śāstras* (scriptures). It is called the 'mouth of the Vedas' and is intimately connected with the Vedas as one of the six Vedāṅgas. Grammar derives its importance from the fact of its being indispensable for understanding the Vedas. It is held that the study of grammar is a kind of religious penance (*tapas*) the result of which is immediately perceived.[2] It is stated further that the cultivation of grammar is a path which ultimately leads to the Pure Light of God.[3] This is why Patañjali eulogized gram-

[1] *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1. 2. Also *Vārttika*.

[2] *Vākyapadīya*, I. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

mar as the most important member of the Vedāṅgas. Bhartṛhari, the philosopher-grammarian, has not only raised the status of grammar to the dignity of the Smṛti and the Āgama, but went to the length of asserting that 'Grammar is veritably the door leading to final beatitude.'[4] Grammar is also said to be the purest of all branches of learning.[5]

The study of grammar represents a remarkable phase of Indian culture. No other country can boast of having produced such an extensive literature in the field of grammatical speculations, and in no part of the world was the study of grammar carried on with so much zeal and assiduity. According to the custom prevalent in ancient India, the Brahmins used to read grammar as soon as the sacrament of *upanayana* (investiture of holy thread) was over; and it was only when they became considerably conversant with grammar that they took to the study of the Vedas.[6] The necessity of making a thorough study of grammar was even felt by the gods. Tradition runs that Indra took up the study of grammar under the tutorship of Bṛhaspati.

We should not, however, forget the main issue. While paving the path for one's admission into other departments of study, the study of grammar used to serve a still more beneficial purpose. Grammar in its religious and mystical speculations has been in line with the teachings of the Upaniṣads, reinterpreting the same doctrines of *yoga* and *upāsanā* as are found in the sacred texts of India.[7]

In reviewing the history and development of grammatical speculations, the basic issue that often needs elucidation is the question of spiritual significance of the study of grammar: How may the study of grammar be of any direct help to the spiritual inspiration of man? Those who are trained to suppose that grammar has nothing to do with the highest problem of our life labour under a pitiable delusion. It was left to Patañjali and his followers to unlock the portal of a new kingdom of thought, so as to throw light upon the ultimate end of all enquiries into words. The *Mahābhāṣya* portended the birth of a form of *sādhanā* in which *śabda* as *sphoṭa* or eternal *verbum* had to be worshipped with all the reverence of a divinity.[8] In order to attain union with Brahman or to get oneself completely merged in the Absolute, one is directed to take up the mystic path of *śabda-sādhanā*.[9]

Patañjali seems to have been the first among the Indian grammarians to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar. The *Śabdabrahmo-*

[4] *Ibid*

[5] *Ibid*

[6] *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1 1.

[7] *Vide Yoga-Sūtra*, I. 27-28.

[8] Patañjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining equality with the great God

[9] While commenting on the *ṛk* (*R.V.*, X 6 71), Patañjali has laid stress on the necessity of making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders one capable of attaining union with Brahman.

pāsanā (the worship of Brahman as Logos or Word), as is depicted in the Upaniṣads, had undoubtedly influenced his trend of religious thought. Then came Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, who brought his robust genius and spiritual discipline to bear upon the problems of grammar. A purely Vedāntic outlook permeates all his interpretations. We find in the *Vākyapadīya* the emergence of a developed form of *sādhanā* where the dominant note is more philosophical than grammatical. The last of the trinity is Nāgeśa who, following in the wake of Patañjali and Bhartṛhari, made an elaborate attempt to elucidate the philosophical side of grammatical dissertations.[10]

The mysticism underlying the phenomena of speech was undoubtedly the aspect which made the deepest impression upon the grammarian. The utterance of sound is to him a vivid materialization of consciousness. To the grammarian *śabda* (word) is not a lifeless mechanism invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. It is consciousness that splits itself up into the twofold category of *śabda* (word) and *artha* (meaning), and what we call *vāc* as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an outer expression of *caitanya* (spirit) that is lying within.[11]

Patañjali has taken notice of two kinds of words, namely, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (created). By the former he understands the supreme Reality that transcends all limitations of time and space. The attributes whereby the Vedāntins describe Brahman or the Absolute have all been used by Patañjali in his interpretation of *nitya-śabda*.[12] He has more than once drawn our attention to this eternal character of *śabda*. This will give us some idea of the magnitude in which *śabda* was understood by the reputed grammarian whom tradition makes an incarnation of the Lord. His poetical description of *varṇas* (letters), to which we have already referred, best illustrates the spiritual outlook of his mind. From what he has quoted from the Vedas in laudation of *vāc* and *vyākaraṇa* (word and grammar), it is sufficiently clear that he was an ardent and devout worshipper of *vāc*,[13] belonging to that class of mystics who in their spiritual experience make no distinction between *Parā Vāc* and *Para* Brahman. Patañjali used to look upon *śabda* as a great divinity (*mahān devaḥ*) that makes its presence felt by every act of utterance. He was a *yogin* whose inward intuitive vision (*prātibha-jñāna*) permitted him to have a look into that 'eternal flow of Pure Consciousness undisturbed from outside'.[14] He was a true type of Brahmin who visualized the ultimate nature of *vāc* by dispelling the darkness of ignorance through the aid of his illuminating knowledge of *śabda-tattva*. The worship of

[10] Cf. his *Śabdendu-śekhara*.

[11] Punyarāja under *Vākyapadīya*, I 1.1.

[12] *Mahābhāṣya*, I.1 1.

[13] Punyarāja has alluded to that subtle and invisible form of *vāc* which is undifferentiated from meaning.

[14] Helārāja under *Vākyapadīya*, III 32.

vāc with its origin in the Upaniṣads[15] which found so prominent an expression in the Āgamas, was earnestly followed up by the *śābdikas*, particularly by Patañjali and Bhartṛhari. *Śabdabrahmopāsanā* as we find in grammatical dissertations, is only a reproduction of the teachings of the Upaniṣads.

A flash of divine light is said to dawn upon a man who knows the secret relation between the denoted thing (*vācya*) and the denoting word (*vācaka*). Patañjali has quoted a verse which enjoins that he who knows the proper use of words is allowed to obtain eternal bliss in the next world.[16] This is the consummation pictured to himself by a *vāg-yogavid*; and this is all that he longs to attain as the highest reward of his lifelong pursuit. The conception of *vāc* as a powerful deity (*vāg-devī*) and the glorification of the same as *akṣara* or *udgīta* resulted in most important consequences for the spiritual discipline of life. This is a mode of *upāsanā* (worship or meditation) from which the grammarians of India drew all their spiritual inspirations.

Words are not mere sounds as they ordinarily seem to be. They have a subtle and intellectual form within. The internal source from which they evolve is calm and serene, eternal and imperishable. The real form of *vāc*, as opposed to the external sound, lies far beyond the range of ordinary perception. We are told that it requires a good deal of *sādhanā* to have a glimpse of the purest form of speech. The Vedic verse (*ṛk*) to which Patañjali has referred bears evidence of this fact. *Vāc* is said to reveal her divine self only to those who are so trained as to understand her real nature.[17] Such was the exalted nature of *vāc* upon which the grammarian used to meditate.

Patañjali has also shown the religious consequence resulting from the study of grammar. The application of words in conformity with the rules of grammar is considered to be a kind of *dharma* (religious duty). Though correct and corrupt words are equally significant in ordinary parlance, he strongly believes that the use of correct words is alone attended with religious merits.[18]

Having regard to the facts under review, one may be led to believe that the science of grammar belongs to the class of religious texts and it has actually received the same treatment at the hands of Bhartṛhari and others. It may, however, be asked how a matter-of-fact science like grammar could come to be regarded as such. An answer to this riddle is suggested by the author of the *Śabda-kaustubha*. Just as one, he observes, is said to have received through accidental fortune the much-coveted jewel (*cintāmaṇi*)[19] in his search after shells (*śukti*), so the grammarians, while dealing with the nature of words, preached

[15] *Chā. U.*, VIII.2
[16] *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1. 1.
[17] *R V.*, X.6.71.
[18] *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1. 1
[19] A fabulous gem believed to fulfil any wish of its possessor.

the doctrine of absolute monism of the Upaniṣads and ultimately found Brahman as the essence of *vāc*. Grammarians, as we all know, started with the physical analysis of words and conceived sound as that which clothes itself with *varṇas*. They did not, however, rest there but proceeded still further and on minute examination of the internal phenomena, grasped the remotest form of sound, i.e. *sphoṭa*, the eternal *verbum*, indivisible and really significant unit of speech, which is manifested outwardly by letters and words.

The doctrine of *sphoṭa*, as expounded and nourished by the grammarian, marks the climax of mysticism reached by Sanskrit grammar. The assumption of a spiritual phenomenon like *sphoṭa*, to which all sounds are reducible and from which all meanings follow, furnishes a clue to the origin of sound. To the grammarian *sphoṭa* is indivisible (*akhaṇḍa*) and represents consciousness (*caitanya*) in its purest form. Its sacred and lofty nature was so much exaggerated by the grammarians that it was finally identified with Brahman (cf. *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*). The conclusion at which the grammarians had arrived after all their speculations on *śabda-tattva* is the supreme identity of *vāc* and Brahman.

Bhartṛhari, as a staunch advocate of *sphoṭa-vāda*, started with the proposition that *śabda-tattva* and *Brahma-tattva* are interchangeable.[20] Though their procedure is secular and artificial to all appearance, the grammarians, says Bhartṛhari, had an eye to the reality of things. He has more than once sought to impress upon us how *avidyā* or negation of truth has always been resorted to by all departments of study in their respective manners of presenting facts. But the grammarian succeeded by the grace of intensive meditation (*sādhanā*) in grasping the supreme truth though walking along the bewildering track of illusion. This was the triumph of their spiritual experience.

No grammarian seems to have gone farther than Bhartṛhari in harmonizing grammatical speculations with the sublime teachings of Advaita philosophy. All words and meanings, he holds, are but the apparently different aspects of one and the same thing. He was thus conscious of that *mahāsattā* or Highest Universal which permeates all. He makes his Vedāntic position perfectly clear when he says: *sattā* represents the real essence of all things; it seems to be manifold in consequence of the diversity of objects; it is to be regarded as the *summum genus* which is denoted by all words, all *prātipadikas* (basic nominal stems), verbal roots and suffixes like *tva* and *tal*.[21] It goes without saying that *sattā*, as spoken of above, is the eternal supreme Self of the Vedānta.

[20] *Vākyapadīya*, I 1
[21] *Ibid.*, III. 33-34.

22

SANSKRIT LEXICOGRAPHY

ONE of the most important branches of technical literature in Sanskrit is lexicography. At the same time, however, lexicography is its most neglected branch. Yet, a knowledge of vocables is as necessary as a knowledge of grammar for a systematic study of Sanskrit words, their origin, and development. Information regarding words and their usage in the space-time context can be gathered only from the Sanskrit lexicographical works which have been composed over centuries. Such a study is, however, impossible unless the student knows the extent of this lexical literature. Sanskrit lexical literature is so vast, and the published works so few, that a student of philology, especially one who wishes to study the history of words in chronological order and solely from Sanskrit lexicons, can hardly gather sufficient knowledge of the history of words from the material now available. We know very little about the chronology and content of numerous lexicons which still exist only in manuscript form. All we have now are standard lexicons such as the *Amarakoṣa* by Amarasiṁha, the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* and the *Anekārtha-saṅgraha* by Hemacandra, the *Medinī-koṣa* by Medinīkara, some commentaries on them, and a few other works. In the present article, therefore, an attempt is made to give a brief survey of the Sanskrit lexical works composed down the centuries.

The history of Sanskrit lexicographical literature can be divided into four periods: (*i*) up to A.D. 500; (*ii*) from 500 to 1000; (*iii*) 1000 to 1500; and (*iv*) 1500 to about 1820.

FIRST PERIOD

The first period covers those works, including commentaries, which were composed prior to Amarasiṁha's *Amarakoṣa*. The starting point in the compilation of works on lexicography may be said to be the *Nighaṇṭu*, a vocabulary of Vedic words and thus the oldest lexicon so far known. According to the derivation of the word *nighaṇṭu*, as given by Aupamanyava and accepted by Yāska, it comprises a list of Vedic words. As it has come down to us, the *Nighaṇṭu* consists of five chapters, the first three of which form the main body of the book and are called *naighaṇṭuka-kāṇḍa*. The fourth is called *naigama-kāṇḍa* and the fifth *daivata-kāṇḍa*. The first *kāṇḍa* deals with synonyms, the second with homonyms, while the third gives the names of deities. The topics include: (*i*) physical things such as earth, air, and water; (*ii*) objects of nature such as clouds, dawn, day, and night; (*iii*) the human body and its limbs such as arms and fingers; (*iv*) objects and qualities associated with people such as wealth and prosperity or

anger and fighting; and (*v*) physical abstract qualities such as heaviness or lightness.[1]

Two commentaries on the *Nighaṇṭu* are known to us: the *Nirukta* by Yāska (800-700 B.C.) and the *Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana* by Devarāja Yajvan (twelfth century A.D.).

The *Nirukta* is a thorough commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*. Instead of merely explaining the words or passages occurring in the text, the *Nirukta* gives, besides the meanings of the words, the references to the terms as they are used in the Vedic literature. Yāska, the celebrated author of this work, quotes Vedic passages and tries to give the derivation of every word found in the *Nighaṇṭu*. On the *Nirukta* two commentaries are known to us. One is by Durgācārya who, according to Rajwade,[2] lived before the tenth century; the other is by Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara, who are believed to have lived between A.D. 1060 and 1350. The former is important from the textual point of view, for it repeats every word used by Yāska. Thus the whole text of the *Nirukta* could be reproduced from this work alone.

The second commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana* by Devarāja Yajvan, was composed with a view to supplying all that was wanting in Yāska's commentary. The *Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana* is an important text as it gives a collation of a number of manuscripts of the *Nighaṇṭu* consulted by Devarāja Yajvan before writing his commentary.

Only a few lexical works seem to have been composed between the compilation of the *Nighaṇṭu* and the fifth century A.D. when Amara flourished. Among the predecessors of Amara to whom lexicons are attributed are Vyāḍi, Kātya, Utpala, and Dhanvantari, but at present nothing is known about these lexicons or their authors. The existence of the lexicons is known only through citations in later commentarial literature. Vyāḍi is very often quoted by well-known authors like Hemacandra, and was apparently a renowned lexicographer. Vyādi is also quoted in the commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* written by Rāyamukuṭa and Maheśvara. From all these quotations it appears that Vyāḍi's lexicon was arranged in groups of synonyms and also contained a chapter on homonyms. Kātya's lexicon, too, seems to have contained both synonyms and homonyms. The *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu* attributed to Dhanvantari is a glossary of *materia medica* and is believed to have existed in three different recensions. It gives a vocabulary of medicinal herbs and plants including their properties.

SECOND PERIOD

The second stage in the history of Sanskrit lexicography begins with Amarasiṁha's *Amarakoṣa*, the standard and the most popular work, which was com-

[1] L Sarup, *The Nighantu* (1920), Introduction, p 13

[2] *Nirukta* (Marathi translation), p 1278

posed in about A.D. 500. Other works of this period include the lexicon of Rabhasapāla, *Anekārtha-samuccaya* by Śāśvata, *Anekārtha-dhvani-mañjarī* by Mahākṣapanaka, and the *Vaijayantīkoṣa* by Yādavaprakāśa.

Among the lexicons, the *Amarakoṣa* is regarded as a work of paramount authority. The commentaries on numerous Sanskrit works frequently quote Amarasiṁha's lexicon. It has the widest circulation, and in all the schools and in every sect it is regarded as a work of unquestionable authority.[3] The popularity of the *Amarakoṣa* can also be determined from the fact that in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Aufrecht records not less than forty commentaries on this work.

Amarasiṁha's lexicon is popularly known by the name of *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* which means 'a work which deals with vocables and their genders'. It is also known as *Trikāṇḍī*, since it is divided into three books or *kāṇḍas*: (*i*) *svarga-kāṇḍa*, dealing with heavenly matters; (*ii*) *bhūmi-kāṇḍa*, dealing with earthly matters; and (*iii*) *sāmānya-kāṇḍa*, dealing with general matters. The whole work is written in metrical form in *anuṣṭubh* metre. The major part of the work deals with synonyms and only a small section, which is called the *nānārtha-varga* (miscellaneous section), is devoted to homonyms; this section is arranged after the final consonants. The indeclinables are treated in one chapter, while the last section is devoted to the general rules for determining gender. However, the arrangement of the work is faulty, for one finds it extremely difficult, without the help of an index, to trace a particular word in the lexicon. The genders of the words are indicated in some cases by inflectional endings, while in other cases they are recorded with such words as *strī*, *puṁs*, or *klīva*, which are indicative of gender.

In addition to Amarasiṁha's *Amarakoṣa* and the commentaries on it, a number of other lexicons were written in this period. Among them a lexicon written by Rabhasapāla between A.D. 500 and 900 is not now available and is known to us only through citations. These citations are found, however, in many works. He is one of the most oft-quoted authorities of Sarvānanda, and he is also quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin, Medinīkara, Rāyamukuṭa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Bhānuji Dīkṣita, and many others. This wide range of quotations by later writers is sufficient indication of the great popularity attained by Rabhasapāla's lexicon.

The *Anekārtha-samuccaya* by Śāśvata (about the sixth century), which is popularly known as the *Śāśvatakoṣa*, is a dictionary of homonyms, but is not a complete *koṣa* (dictionary). The words are not arranged alphabetically, nor are they arranged according to syllables, as found in many lexicons. The work consists of 807 verses and is divided into six sections, the last two of which deal with indeclinables. It is arranged in full verses, half verses, and even in quarter

[3] Wilson, *Collected Works*, III, p. 166.

verses. Although it is a small work, it seems to have attained celebrity in later years.

The *Anekārtha-dhvani-mañjarī* by Mahākṣapaṇaka was written before A.D. 925. It is a dictionary of homonyms and consists of three chapters which repeatedly devote a quarter, one-half, or the whole of a stanza to the meanings of words.

The *Paryāya-ratna-mālā*, written in about A.D. 700, is a synonymous glossary of botanical terms. It contains the names of plants and herbs which were generally used by physicians at that time for medical purposes. It is not, however, a purely medical dictionary like the *Rāja-nighaṇṭu* of the thirteenth century, for in it we also find synonyms for other terms such as *pārvatī*, *jayanta*, *brahmā*, *viṣṇu*, and *bhṛtya*.

Another medical glossary, and one written on the model of *Paryāya-ratna-mālā*, is the *Paryāya-muktāvalī* by Hariṣeṇa. It is written in metrical form and is divided into twenty-three sections.[4]

The *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā* was written by Halāyudha in about A.D. 950. It is a small vocabulary of about 900 verses and deals mainly with synonyms, while the last chapter is devoted to homonyms and indeclinables. Although in most respects it follows the *Amarakoṣa*, it does not treat of genders so strictly as the *Amarakoṣa* does, and it is composed in a variety of metres. Halāyudha is said to have flourished in the middle of the tenth century and is identified with the author of the *Kavi-rahasya*,[5] a grammatical work written in honour of King Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940-70) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.

The last lexicon to be composed during this period was probably the *Vaijayantīkoṣa* by Yādavaprakāśa, written before A.D. 1100. It is a voluminous lexicon in two broad divisions, one dealing with synonyms and the other with homonyms. The distinguishing feature of this work, and one that has considerably increased its bulk, is that it contains numerous words from Vedic literature. For this reason it is looked upon as a work of considerable merit and authority. Yādavaprakāśa, who lived in South India, is identified with the preceptor of Rāmānuja, the celebrated staunch adherent of the Vaiṣṇava school of Vedānta. Yādavaprakāśa is said to have been originally a devout follower of the Advaita philosophy of Śaṅkara, but then, as a result of his discussion with his pupil Rāmānuja, he is supposed to have given up Advaitism in favour of the philosophy of Rāmānuja.[6]

[4] *Sugandhi-varga*, *madhyagandha-varga*, *hīnagandha-varga*, *sāraja-varga*, *ratna-varga*, *dhātūpadhātu-varga*, *madhura-varga*, *amla-varga*, *uttamaśāka-varga*, *tiktaśāka-varga*, *puṣpa-varga*, *līlāphala-varga*, *kanda-varga*, *mahāvṛksa-varga*, *madhyamavrksa-varga*, *hrasvavrksa-varga*, *latā-varga*, *śimbīśukadhānya-varga*, *trnadhānya-varga*, *krtānna-varga*, *pānīya-varga*, *āvaśyaka-varga*, and *bhautikādi-varga*.

[5] R. G Bhandarkar, *Report in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1883-84*, p 9.

[6] *Vaijayantīkosa* (Ed. G. Oppert), Preface, p. vi.

COMMENTARIES ON THE AMARAKOSA

Being so popular, the *Amarakoṣa* naturally attracted the attention of commentators; so far we know of nearly sixty commentaries. Of these, five or six were printed but the rest are known to have existed only in manuscript form and are now lost. The following are some among these known commentaries:

The *Kāmadhenu* by Subhūticandra, written between A.D. 1062 and 1172, is probably the earliest known commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*. The author was a Buddhist. Professor Das Gupta is inclined to identify Subhūticandra with Subhūtipāla who was perhaps a Bengali.[7] As Subhūticandra was a Buddhist, the manuscripts of his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* are found preserved in Tibetan monasteries. The *Kāmadhenu* is an exhaustive and learned work and contains citations from numerous authorities. There are two factors that fix Subhūticandra's possible dates.[8] One is that the *Kāmadhenu* contains a reference to Bhoja and two of his works, the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, and the date of Bhoja's death is given as A.D. 1063. The other factor is a reference to Subhūticandra made by Śaraṇadeva (twelfth century A.D.) in his *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*.

Another early commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* is the *Amarakoṣodghāṭana* written by Kṣīrasvāmin in the latter half of the eleventh century. Kṣīrasvāmin is supposed to have lived in Kashmir; according to some, he was a native of South India, while others believe him to have belonged to Central India. His commentary is a work of considerable merit, being rich in citations from previous works. At times he gives his own interpretations which differ from those given by other commentators. His explanations are very brief and contain the etymology of every word occurring in the text.

A Bengali commentator named Sarvānanda wrote the *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* in A.D. 1159. It is very valuable from the philological point of view as it contains many words which were probably current in Bengal during Sarvānanda's time. It is an exhaustive work and quotes not less than two hundred authorities. The *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* seems to have been the basis of all later Bengali commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* including the one by Rāyamukuṭa, the celebrated commentator who flourished in the fifteenth century.

The *Amarakoṣa-ṭīkā* is attributed to Trilocanadāsa (about twelfth century), a Bengali who has been identified as the reputed author of the gloss on the *Kātantra-vṛtti* by Durgasiṁha.[9]

The *Amarakoṣa-mālā*, dated between 1350 and 1500, is attributed to Paramānanda Śarman who is said to have been an inhabitant of the village of Sailakini

[7] Nalini Nath Das Gupta, 'The Bengali Commentators on the *Amarakoṣa*', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2 (October, 1935), pp. 261-70.

[8] *Kuppuswami Shastri Commemoration Volume* (1935), p. 4.

[9] Nalini Nath Das Gupta, *loc. cit.*, p. 261.

in the Bhawal area of the Dacca district in the eastern part of Bengal. He is identified as Paramānanda who wrote a commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa* by Mammaṭa. Aufrecht records only one manuscript of this commentary, but it is not available to scholars for study.[10]

One of the most important commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* is the *Pada-candrikā* written in 1431 and attributed to a Bengali writer named Bṛhaspati who was known as Rāyamukuṭa. His commentary is exhaustive and is regarded by subsequent writers as a work of great authority. Bṛhaspati was a native of Rāḍha in Bengal. He was a celebrated author and wrote commentaries on other works also. From the Sultan of Gauḍa, that is, Bengal, he obtained the title *paṇḍita-sārvabhauma* (i.e. a polymath). This commentary has recently been published from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

A hitherto unknown commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* was discovered by Das Gupta, although only a fragment of the manuscript was found. This is the *Amarakoṣa-ṭīkā*, written after 1275 by Durlabhavallabha. An account of the author is given in *Indian Culture*.[11]

The *Padārtha-kaumudī*, which is also known as the *Amarakoṣa-pañjikā*, is an exhaustive commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*. It was written in about 1618 by Nārāyaṇa Cakravartin, a Bengali commentator. It is replete with quotations from previous works including the commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* written by Subhūticandra, Sarvānanda, and Rāyamukuṭa.

Among the later commentaries of the Bengal school is *Mugdha-bodhinī* written by Bharatasena between 1650 and 1680. This commentary is the favourite authority of the Bengal school and, in fact, of all other schools in which the grammar of Vopadeva is accepted.[12] Its importance lies in the fact that it discusses different readings according to different authorities. The etymologies are given according to Vopadeva's system of grammar.

The *Vyākhyā-sudhā* was written by Bhānuji Dīkṣita in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Bhānuji Dīkṣita calls himself the son of the celebrated grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, and his work was written at the request of Kīrtisiṁha of the Bāghela dynasty and ruler of Mahīdhara. The *Vyākhyā-sudhā* is among the important commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa*; the interpretations given are complete, and the etymologies are in conformity with the Pāṇinian system of grammar. At times the author improves upon the explanations given by his predecessors, especially Rāyamukuṭa; he also offers his own interpretations whenever he differs from them.

A very late commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* is the *Amarakoṣa-viveka* written by Maheśvara, who appears to have been a resident of Mahārāṣṭra, in the latter

[10] T Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 325*b*.

[11] Nalini Nath Das Gupta, *loc cit*, pp. 263-64

[12] Wilson, *op cit*, V, p. 206

half of the seventeenth century. Besides being exhaustive, this commentary is of philological interest as Maheśvara quotes numerous Marathi words as the equivalents of Sanskrit expressions used in the text. Every now and then he records Marathi words, introducing them with such expressions as *iti prasiddham* (thus it is widely current) or *iti khyātam* (thus it is well known) or *iti laukika-bhāṣāyām* (thus it is in popular language).

The *Amarakoṣa-padavivṛti*, written in the eighteenth century, is a very exhaustive and copious commentary and is attributed to Liṅgabhaṭṭa, about whose personal history nothing is known to us. Aufrecht, however, states that his father's name was Kāmyabhaṭṭopādhyāya.[13] P. P. S. Sastry observes that Liṅgaya Sūri, i.e. Liṅgabhaṭṭa, was a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, and his commentary is the most popular one in South India. Although the author has been placed in the eighteenth century,[14] Dr Raghavan is of the opinion that Liṅgabhaṭṭa must have flourished before Mallinātha, that is, before 1430.

The *Sārasundarī*, written in 1666, is by a Bengali commentator named Mathureśa Vidyālaṅkāra. According to Dr Colebrook, it is a perspicuous piece of work. It abounds in quotations from other commentaries and is, therefore, a rich source of information on interpolations and the various readings of the text.

The *Śabdārtha-sandīpikā* is a commentary written in the eighteenth century by Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda, a famous grammarian belonging to the Jaumara school.

One of the latest commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* is the *Śiśu-bodhinī* written by Maheśvara Sukthaṅkara in the eighteenth century. The author hailed from Goa and belonged to a family of Gauḍa Śārasvata Brāhmaṇas; his family deity was the goddess Śāntādurgā. Like the seventeenth century Maheśvara, this Maheśvara too gives Marathi equivalents for Sanskrit expressions in several places. He also quotes often from previous authorities.

THIRD PERIOD

The third period in the history of Sanskrit lexicography may be looked upon as the Hemacandra era of lexicography. Hemacandra wrote two works, the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* and the *Anekārtha-saṅgraha*, and these became the models for many other lexicons compiled during this period. Among the most important of these, all of which were homonymous lexicons, are: the *Viśva-prakāśa* by Maheśvara; the *Nāmamālā* by Dhanañjaya; the *Medinīkoṣa* by Medinīkara; the *Nānārthārṇava-saṅkṣepa* by Keśava; the *Maṅkhakoṣa* by Maṅkha; the *Anekārtha-tilaka* by Mahīpa; the *Nānārtha-ratna-mālā* by Irugappadaṇḍādhinātha; and the *Anekārthakoṣa* by Ajayapāla.

During this period special glossaries such as medicinal and botanical

[13] *Loc. cit.*, i, 344*b*.

[14] *Tanjore Mss Des. Cat.*, IX, No. 4960.

works were composed. The following are the important ones:

The *Śabda-candrikā* by Cakrapāṇidatta, written in about A.D. 1060, is a medicinal glossary dealing with vegetable and mineral substances. It also contains a chapter on compounds, both in medicine and in dietetics, and is divided into the following nine sections: (*i*) *vṛkṣādi-varga* (section on trees and the like); (*ii*) *suvarṇādi-varga* (section on gold and the like); (*iii*) *ghṛtādi-varga* (section on clarified butter and the like); (*iv*) *bhūmyādi-varga* (section on land and the like); (*v*) *manuṣya-varga* (section on man); (*vi*) *siṁhādi-varga* (section on the lion and the like); (*vii*) *madyādi-varga* (section on wine and liquors); (*viii*) *pañca-kaṣāyādi-varga* (section on five astringent juices and the like); and (*ix*) *triphalādi-varga* (section on three fruits viz. *harītakī*, *bibhītakī*, and *āmalakī* and the like). Cakrapāṇidatta is believed to have lived under the patronage of Sahajapāla and Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty. He was a well-known author and wrote several medical treatises in Sanskrit.

The *Śabda-pradīpa* by Sureśvara, written in 1075, is a dictionary of botanical terms. Naming the different plants, it mentions also their medical properties. The work is divided into two broad divisions: the *svara-kāṇḍa* (section on vowels); and the *vyañjana-kāṇḍa* (section on consonants). Sureśvara was a court physician to King Bhīmapāla who probably belonged to the Pāla dynasty; the *Śabda-pradīpa* was written for him in 1075.[15]

The *Dravyaguṇa-śata-ślokī*, which is also known as the *Pathyāpathya-nighaṇṭu*, was written by Trimallabhaṭṭa between 1383 and 1499. It is a medicinal treatise giving the medical properties of usual articles of diet. Although it thus deals with the medical aspects of food substances, it also gives a classification of these substances. The work consists of 100 stanzas divided into fourteen sections: (*i*) *jala-varga* (section on water); (*ii*) *dugdha-varga* (section on milk); (*iii*) *dhānya-varga* (section on paddy); (*iv*) *māṁsa-varga* (section on meat); (*v*) *patraśāka-phalaśāka-kandaśāka-varga* (section on leaves and vegetables); (*vi*) *ikṣukhaṇḍādi-varga* (section on sugar-cane and the like); (*vii*) *taila-varga* (section on oil); (*viii*) *madhu-varga* (section on honey); (*ix*) *drākṣādi-varga* (section on grapes and the like); (*x*) *śuṇṭhyādi-varga* (section on ginger and the like); (*xi*) *siddhānna-varga* (section on boiled rice or cooked food); (*xii*) *madya-varga* (section on wine); (*xiii*) *abhyaṅgādi-varga* (section on cosmetics); and (*xiv*) *tāmbūlādi-varga* (section on betel leaves and the like).

The *Madana-vinoda-nighaṇṭu*, which is also known by its shorter title, *Madana-vinoda*, was written by Madanapāla in 1374. It is a famous dictionary of drugs and one of the biggest vocabularies of *materia medica* having about 2,250 verses. It is divided into fourteen sections which are more or less common to the medical glossaries. It gives synonyms for the various drugs and, as in the

[15] A. B. Keith, *HSL*, p. 123.

Rāja-nighaṇṭu written about the same time, it also describes the drugs and their properties. One chapter, *anna-varga*, describes different kinds of foodstuffs; while another, *māṁsa-varga*, explains the uses of various kinds of animal flesh and the effect of these foods on the health. The work is ascribed to King Madanapāla of the Ṭāka family; he was a great patron of learning and the author of several treatises.

The *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*, written by Narahari after 1235, is, as we have mentioned, another medical glossary of the names of various herbs and their medicinal properties. It is almost wholly limited to the *materia medica* used by Hindu physicians and gives synonyms for the various vegetable and mineral products considered to possess medicinal value, and describes their properties. The work is divided into the same fourteen sections.

FOURTH PERIOD

The fourth period in the history of Sanskrit lexicography ends with the last days of the Peshwas or Maratha rulers, that is, in about 1820, and this date also marks the beginning of the modern dictionaries. The fourth period is marked by the tendency shown in some of the lexical works to adopt words of foreign origin, particularly Arabic and Persian. This was probably due to the introduction of Arabic and Persian words in everyday speech during the days of the Moguls. In the court language the old Sanskrit words were gradually disappearing, their place being usurped by what was known as *yāvanī*, i.e. Persian and Arabic words. It is surprising to find that in the old documents written at the time of King Śivājī more than half the words are of Persian or Arabic source. The writers of this period were greatly influenced by such foreign words. Consequently they introduced in their lexicons as far as possible foreign equivalents of Sanskrit words. Examples are: *vajira* or *diwan* for *amātya* (minister); *bakshi* for *senāpati* (commander-in-chief); *alaci* or *vakil* for *dūta* (messenger); *munsi* for *lekhaka* (writer); *arajbegi* for *vijñāpaka* (informer); *mir atas* or *topkhane ka daroga* for *analādhyakṣa* (superintendent of armoury); *mir imarat* for *śilpa-śāstra-viśārada* (civil engineer); and *bagait ka daroga* for *udyānapāla* (gardener).

These lexicons may, in fact, be regarded as bilingual glossaries. Among such works are: *Pārasī-prakāśa* by Vihāri Kṛṣṇadāsa; *Pārasī-prakāśa* by Vedāṅgarāya; *Yavana-paripāṭi-anukrama* by Dalapatirāya; and *Rāja-vyāvahāra-koṣa* by Raghunātha Paṇḍita which was composed for the use of King Śivājī.

However, in spite of the influence of foreign words on Indian languages, lexicons devoted purely to the treatment of Sanskrit vocables were not wanting. Indeed, voluminous lexicons comprising 2,000 to 4,000 verses were composed even during this period. Among these are: *Kalpadrukoṣa* by Keśava; *Sarvaratna-samanvaya* attributed to King Shahji of Tanjore; and *Koṣakalpataru* by Viśvanātha composed towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

23

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT*

TO the ancient Indian thinker polity and political economy, as sciences, were not independent disciplines. Society was viewed as an organic whole which was governed by the immutable law of *dharma* (or its Vedic antecedent *ṛta*). The term *dharma* was fairly wide in its connotation. It included codes of socio-economic relationships, and also the relation between the State and the individual, the king and his subjects. Even in describing the four ends of human life as *caturvarga*, it was said that the *summum bonum* of life, *mokṣa* (salvation), could be attained only by the rational pursuit of the other three, *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*, in other words, by a synthesis of the spiritual and material aspects of life. Thus it will be apparent that the ancient thinkers were not oblivious of *artha* and *kāma* as distinct factors in human life. But the sheet-anchor of life was *dharma* which embraced all aspects of life and society and included what we now refer to as politics and economics. This is why there is so little literature in the early period devoted exclusively to the discussion of political theories or economic ideas. These ideas were part and parcel of ideas concerning social well-being, whether this was to be achieved through the conduct of the individual or through the conduct of the king or of the *rāṣṭra* (State).

In the early Vedic texts and even in the later works, the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Āraṇyakas, we find isolated passages with cryptic references which reveal the conceptions of the Vedic Aryans relating to such topics as the origin of kingship (whether from military necessity[1] or from divine dispensation[2]), the status, duties, and responsibilities of the king *vis-à-vis* the various social classes, and other related matters. A significant development in political ideology is seen in the ritual-prescriptions of resplendent sacrifices such as the *rājasūya* or the *aśvamedha* as well as in such expressions as *ekarāṭ* (the sole ruler), *samrāṭ* (the emperor), *viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā* (king of the whole world), all of

*Sanskrit is generally taken as the literature of metaphysics and abstract speculations of the ancient Indian seers. Accordingly, it is held that Sanskrit, which can precisely express the Upanisadic ideas, is 'alien' to economic and political issues. A close study of the extant Sanskrit literature, however, bears out that the Sanskrit literature is replete with economic and political ideas vital for running the State and for determining the relations between the State and the individual. The Dharma-śāstras, Artha-śāstras, and Smṛti-śāstras have already been dealt with as elements of the cultural heritage of India in Volume II of this series. In this article it is proposed to present the political and economic ideas, concepts, and codes as may be found in the Sanskrit literature from the earliest times.
—Editor.

[1] *Ait. Br*, I. 1.14.
[2] *Śat. Br.*, V. 3. 3-12.

which clearly denote imperial status. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Vedic literature was mainly sacerdotal in character, breathing theology and metaphysics even while referring to mundane matters. If any secular literature of the period had been preserved it would have given much more access to whatever practical theories of State and society might have been formulated.

Coming to the age of the Sūtras we are on firmer ground. The early Dharma-Sūtras are usually taken to be pre-Buddhist and are datable to about 600 B.C., while others range approximately between that date and 300 B.C.[3] In the early texts we find political and economic ideas in a more collected form, but there is still no systematic exposition of political doctrines, and the subject is not treated as an independent branch of learning. The Dharma-Sūtras lay down the norm of political organization, and this is chiefly a monarchy. The Sūtras emphasize the reciprocal duties of the king and the people and prescribe the principal function of the king as protection of the subjects and promotion of their all-round welfare; and this function entitles him to receive taxes, more or less in the nature of pay.[4] Stray references to the hereditary nature of succession to kingship, and references to the special status of Brāhmaṇas in upholding the moral order of society and in exercising effective curbs on the king's conduct are among the highlights of the Sūtra literature.[5]

It may be presumed that towards the close of the Sūtra period political theories tended to crystallize and might have developed into the schools of political philosophy and economics alluded to in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and in the *Mahābhārata*. However, in the absence of any extant treatise we have to be content with only quotations and stray references found in the later literature.

KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

The earliest extant treatise on the science of polity in its widest sense, however, is the *Arthaśāstra* written by Kauṭilya who is known as Viṣṇugupta as well as Cāṇakya. Kauṭilya was an astute Brāhmaṇa politician and, according to tradition, he was responsible for the rise of Candragupta Maurya. It is further believed that Kauṭilya was the principal architect of the Maurya administration and also its chief minister. Thus Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* may be taken to be a product of the latter part of the fourth century B.C. This work was long lost and was known only from quotations and from reference to it by later authors. However, thanks to Dr R. Shamasastry, Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore, the full text of the manuscript was recovered and published in 1909.[6] Since then there has been a serious and prolonged contro-

[3] *H Dh*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp 13-14.

[4] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1971), p. 488.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 488-90.

[6] *Bibliotheca Sanskritica*, Vol. XXXVII (Mysore).

versy over the date and authorship of the work. One section of distinguished scholars[7] would like to assign it to a date ranging from the first to the third century A.D. The authorship they would ascribe not to Kauṭilya himself but to his disciples or to successors belonging to the Kauṭilyan school of thought. But another section of equally distinguished scholars,[8] the protagonists of the traditional theory, put forward arguments which emphasize, equally strongly, the antiquity of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and push it back to the Mauryan age. So, without being dogmatic about the date of composition of this work, since with our present knowledge an accurate date is difficult to determine, we may take the *Arthaśāstra* to be the earliest independent book on the subject and regard it as a standard work, the most authoritative compendium in Sanskrit on politics, administration, and economics produced by Indian genius. However, a comparative study of internal evidence in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Manu Smṛti* (*c*. 200 B.C.–A.D. 200) reveals that the *Arthaśāstra* is older than the *Manu Smrti* and must, therefore, be dated before the second century B.C. even if it is not assigned to the Mauryan age, although this does not seem to be an absolutely improbable date.

Kauṭilya's masterly treatment of political and economic ideologies in his *Arthaśāstra* makes it abundantly clear that the science of statecraft must have developed over a long period; the subject must have been assiduously studied even before Kauṭilya's time. Also, Kauṭilya does not take the credit of being a pioneer in evolving the science of polity; rather he is frank enough to make an unequivocal admission of having collected and compiled the then prevalent theories of earlier masters, presenting at the same time his own views on them from the practical standpoint of political and social expediencies. It is interesting to observe that he opens his treatise with salutations addressed to two distinguished political thinkers, Śukra (Uśanas) and Bṛhaspati; he also refers to as many as four (or five ?) well-known schools and more than a dozen celebrated authors including his own revered *ācārya* whom he does not mention by name. These references to so many authorities who held distinct views, or who were authors of independent theories, may naturally be taken as showing the intense intellectual activity of the pre-Kauṭilyan epoch in the field of politics and economics. Unfortunately, however, none of this extensive literature survived after the appearance of Kauṭilya's authoritative compendium. The earlier works were evidently superseded by the pre-eminence of this work and in subsequent ages too it held its ground and continued as the standard text.

The *Arthaśāstra* is divided into fifteen *adhikaraṇas* (books) dealing with important topics and divided further into 180 *prakaraṇas* (sections). The

[7] R. G Bhandarkar, Jolly and Schmidt, Winternitz, Keith, Hillebrandt, etc.

[8] R. Shamasastry, Fleet, Mm G. Sastri, K. P. Jayaswal, N. N. Law, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. K. Mookerji, H. C. Ray, Mm. P. V. Kane, etc.

prakaraṇas again are fitted into a scheme of 150 *adhyāyas* (chapters), some of which extend over more than one *prakaraṇa* dealing with related matters. Probably as a precaution against interpolation, Kauṭilya prefaced Book I with an exclusive chapter enumerating the contents of the volume. The method followed by Kauṭilya reveals his discerning and constructive mind. Collecting relevant data from various sources including the Śāstras and the commentaries on them, he presented these data, after necessary reorientation, in such a way that his work became an instructive manual for an aggressively disposed monarchy. He was well aware of the twofold aspect of the ancient concept of the function of the State, namely, (i) the protection and welfare of the people and (ii) the security and consolidation of the realm. Technically these two aspects were known as *tantra* and *āvāpa* respectively, and it seems that he planned the arrangement of the topics on these lines.[9]

Books I to V, comprising ninety-five *prakaraṇas*, deal with *tantra*. Book I deals with the discipline and training of the king; his daily round of duties, principles for the exercise of *daṇḍa* (the sceptre symbolizing coercive authority); and the qualifications of ministers of different cadres and also of spies (both itinerant and stationary). Book II deals with the bureaucratic set-up of the administrative organization of the State; the duties and responsibilities of the *adhyakṣas* (heads of departments) and of the hierarchy of officials; the lay-out of settlements (old and new) as well as the planning of forts and fortified towns; the assessment and collection of revenue and the maintenance of proper revenue accounts; industrial establishments including State monopoly concerns; and the regulation and promotion of trade and commerce (inland and foreign). Book III deals with civil laws and the administration of justice. Book IV deals with criminal laws and the suppression of anti-social elements. Book V deals with action against sedition and treason; measures to combat a financial crisis; and such matters as the scales of pay of State officials.

Books VI to XIV, comprising eighty-four *prakaraṇas*, deal with *āvāpa*. Books VI and VII deal with the essential characteristics of the State, described as consisting of *saptāṅga* or *sapta-prakṛti* (seven elements); the sixfold political expedients in the field of diplomacy in inter-State circles, described as *ṣāḍguṇya* (six expedients). Book VIII deals with the nature of the dangers and calamities which may befall the king and the body politic from within and without or due to natural disasters such as drought, flood, or pestilence. Books IX and X deal with military campaigns and ancillary problems. Book XI deals with economic guilds and political corporations, and measures for controlling them. Books XII and XIII deal with methods of intrigue and the employment of secret agencies against aggressive enemies and also during military expeditions; and with such topics as ameliorative measures to be taken in a conquered country. Book

[9] Cf. *CHI*, Vol. II, pp. 452-61.

XIV contains secret recipes designed for the destruction of enemies, and others designed to remedy afflictions caused by enemy action.

Book XV, consisting of a single *prakaraṇa*, is of special significance. It is in the form of a glossary of thirty-two technical political terms and verbal contractions used in the text. The author gives their intended import in order to avoid these words being wrongly construed and to avoid also their being given a twisted interpretation by later commentators.

The variety of topics treated in this unique composition makes it clear that Kauṭilya's conception of polity or political science was not simply to theorize on the political expedients confined within the bounds of *rāja-nīti* (politics), *rāja-dharma* (political philosophy), or *daṇḍa-nīti* (laws of punishment). His concept was much wider in content and bearing. A distinguished economic historian very aptly observes that the object of Kauṭilya was to lay down the principles of 'the art and technique of government with its economic basis treated as an integral part of statecraft and social relations. The manner of its specialization in political economy gives it a stamp of individuality, of belonging to a distinct branch of thought and learning'.[10] This attitude on the part of Kauṭilya eminently justifies the nomenclature of the treatise as *Arthaśāstra*. To him *artha* (wealth and its acquisition and distribution, or the financial viability of a State) is of the utmost importance in so far as it enables a king to discharge his duties to the people and achieve the political objectives of the consolidation and expansion of the territory of the State. Kauṭilya thus stands out as the foremost theorist of ancient India and the first to prepare a scientific treatise on statecraft with economics as the basic factor.

Though the language of the *Arthaśāstra* is Sanskrit, it is interspersed with archaic un-Pāṇinian terms. The principal theories are presented in short *sūtras* (aphorisms) and the style is generally simple but pregnant with deep significance. The terseness of expression is often carried to an extreme and this factor, together with the use of obsolete expressions and technical terms of dubious import, poses a difficult problem for the student who wishes to get to the core of the subject. The *sūtras* are followed by discourses known as *bhāṣya* and also short metrical compositions summing up the contents of each *adhyāya*. The purpose of this method is indicated in a colophon at the end of the book. Viṣṇugupta (Kauṭilya), it says, undertook the composition of the *sūtras* and the *bhāṣyas* on them as a safeguard against possible discrepancies in interpretation at the hands of commentators. In spite of the author's noble intention, easy understanding of the text is precluded by his economy in the use of words in the exposition of the *sūtras*, for this makes the work highly enigmatic. Even when declaring his own views against those of the earlier authors, Kauṭilya keeps back

[10] B. C Sen, *Economics in Kauṭilya*, p. 1.

in many cases the arguments or reasoning that prompted him to take the final decision embodied in the text.

The *Arthaśāstra* may be seen as an omnibus volume of instruction for the guidance of a limited circle of students, namely, princes and would-be administrators. This is why Kauṭilya preferred to keep his discourses on a practical plane and did not encumber them with moral maxims or didactic tales. By its comprehensive character and eminent inductiveness it surpassed, as we have said, all previous works and itself became unsurpassable as an authoritative pattern; later periods produced only commentaries or annotations on it.

THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS OR SMṚTIS

While the early Dharma-Sūtras attempted to set out the norm of political organization as an essential part of the social complex, although they did so only inadequately, it is in the Dharma-śāstras that we find the desired elaboration of these early ideas. A floating mass of rules and regulations was codified by the Dharma-śāstra writers as an all-round guide for the life and conduct of the people. Polity or *rāja-dharma* formed a legitimate part of their writings, since upon the king's rule and administration depended the smooth functioning of the social organization.

It is widely believed that the Dharma-śāstras or Smṛtis are metrical versions of the Dharma-Sūtras.[11] The oldest and most popular of the Dharma-śāstras is the *Mānava Dharma-śāstra* which is also known as the *Manu Smṛti.* It is a book of twelve chapters in *anuṣṭubh* (sixteen-syllabled) couplets. Chapters VII and VIII and part of chapter IX of this work deal with *rāja-dharma.* This portion outlines the qualities and duties of rulers and describes the principles of statecraft in peace and in war. Chapter VII deals with the entire range of State activity such as the appointment of ministers and their responsibilities; diplomacy and inter-State relations; the deployment of messengers and spies; the organization of the army; forts; wars and military expeditions; the treatment of a conquered people; internal administration; assessment and collection of revenue; and the eradication of anti-social elements (*kaṇṭaka-śodhana*). In chapter VIII, and to some extent in chapter IX, are discussed the administration of justice and also legal procedures including the laws of evidence in respect of civil and criminal matters.

These *rāja-dharma* chapters of the *Manu Smṛti* might easily have formed an independent treatise on polity. They are in any case a significant contribution to the subject, and regarded as the most authoritative source of laws, both public and private. The *Manu Smṛti,* naturally, lays special emphasis on *dharma.* Sovereignty, it asserts, is vested in *dharma,* and *dharma* thus stands

[11] *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. II (1968), p. 255.

above the ruler and he is its upholder. The ideology of *dhaima* thus breathes into the political conception of the school of Manu an element of spirituality. The views of the *Arthaśāstra*, on the other hand, are based on practical considerations according to the needs of circumstances. Even so, it is interesting to note that the *Arthaśāstra* admits the claim of the precedence of the Dharma-śāstra view in the event of a conflict between the two in any fundamental matter.[12] This shows the popularity of the Dharma-śāstra and the extent of the confidence it enjoyed in society.

There are other later Smṛti works which closely followed the *Manu Smṛti*, not only chronologically but also in content. Among these are the *Smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu (*c.* A.D. 100-300), of Nārada (*c.* A.D. 100-400), of Bṛhaspati (*c.* A.D. 300-500), and of Kātyāyana (*c.* A.D. 400-600).[13] Political theories concerning such matters as the divinity of kingship, the king's authority over all classes of subjects except the Brāhmanas, and questions of internal administration including the system of taxation as expressed in these *Smṛtis* almost echo the *Manu Smṛti* with minor modifications here and there. In matters of law and legal procedure, however, and in the administration of justice, all of which are essential constituents of *rāja-dharma*, the authors of these *Smṛtis* demonstrate their ingenuity. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*,[14] for example, describes the judicial procedure more systematically than the *Manu Smṛti*. It also defines the laws of evidence of all varieties and the laws of prescription and ownership, of partition, inheritance, and *strī-dhana* (the exclusive property of a woman). The *Nārada Smṛti*[15] gives an elaborate description of the courts of justice, together with details of procedural laws. These are the positive contributions of the age to the development of an important aspect of the science of polity.[16]

The two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, are replete with sound political and economic theories for good government. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is the earlier of the two epics, contains reference to principles of good government, diplomacy, war and peace, etc. It contains prescriptions regarding the manner in which the king should consult his ministers, learned men, and the principal officers of the army in formulating State policy on different matters. The *Mahābhārata* contains a *rāja-dharma* section, which is spread over *parvans* XII and XIII. An inherent part of this great epic, it is also an illuminating treatise on the science of polity. Into the mouth of the Kuru patriarch, Bhīṣma, the author puts the traditional theories about such matters as the origin of the State and its organic constituents; the divine source of monarchy; the duties

[12] *A.Ś.*, III. 1.

[13] Dates according to *H Dh.*, II, Pt. I.

[14] *Yāj*, II.

[15] *Nār. Sm.*, Introduction and Chapters I-II.

[16] For detailed study refer to *CHI*, Vol. II, pp. 301-413.

of the ruler, his equipment, and his responsibilities towards his subjects; and the constitutional features of non-monarchical governments.[17]

KĀMANDAKA'S NĪTISĀRA

In the post-Kauṭilyan age the over-riding influence of the *Arthaśāstra* was so striking that, except for the *rāja-dharma* sections of the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find no work on polity or economics worth the name. It seems that Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* cast into the shade all forms of political speculation; so, the theories it propounded reigned supreme. The later Smṛtis and Nīti texts devote their attention to the fineries of the legal and judicial procedures and treat theories of polity and economics in a more or less conventional manner; thus the sparkle of individuality or of an independent spirit is conspicuously lacking.

The most important political treatise of this age is Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* (or *Kāmandakīya*). The dates assigned to it by different scholars range from the third century A.D. to the end of the seventh century. It would perhaps be reasonable to hold that the available text is a composition of the sixth or the seventh century. In any case, the text is principally based on the *Arthaśāstra*, and the author acknowledges Viṣṇugupta (Kauṭilya) as the innovator of the science of polity.[18] Kāmandaka attempted to elucidate the teachings of Kauṭilya, his master, to facilitate wider consumption and easier understanding; and with this end in view he used the *kāvya* style as his medium. In his endeavour to present a faithful commentary on the original work, Kāmandaka avoided demonstrating his own individuality; but he did not have that degree of penetrating insight born of practical experience which the master possessed in an abundant measure.

The *Nītisāra*, a metrical composition, is divided into twenty cantos and thirty-six *prakaraṇas*. The classification of topics under titles more convenient than Kauṭilya's is indeed commendable. Cantos I and II deal with the discipline and training of the king and the princes, the institutions of *varṇāśrama* (the four castes and the four stages of life), the usefulness of *daṇḍa*, and the general rules of conduct. Cantos IV to VII deal with *saptāṅga* (the seven elements of the State and their functions including that of the king), removal of anti-social elements, and the personal safety and security of the king. Cantos VIII to XII deal with the inter-State *maṇḍala* (circle), types of treaties, the nature of different kinds of hostilities, and diplomatic moves to be taken after due deliberation. Canto XIII deals with the employment of envoys, ambassadors, and spies. Canto XIV describes the glorious results of strenuous action and of initiative taken and the reactions on the constituent organs of the body politic. Canto

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
[18] *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, I. 5-7.

XV deals with vices and their consequent afflictions. Canto XVI deals with enemy aggression and measures to combat it. Cantos XVII to XIX deal with the movement and encampment of the army; *upāyas* (political expedients); the assessment of one's own military strength and repair of weaknesses; the allocation of duties and responsibilities to army commanders, including protection of the forces placed under them, and, as and when necessary, the adoption of even unorthodox moves. Canto XX deals with the deployment of the different wings of the army in offensive and defensive warfare.

This summary of the contents of the *Nītisāra* shows the degree of Kāmandaka's indebtedness to Kauṭilya's work which, in fact, he almost paraphrased. Unlike Kauṭilya, however, Kāmandaka often took delight in using didactic tales and moral maxims to illustrate the theories, particularly with regard to the righteous conduct of the ruler. At the same time, Kāmandaka did not hesitate to recommend, on the same lines as Kauṭilya's, the adoption of questionable, unorthodox methods on the part of the king to suit the contingencies of statecraft.[19] It is strange, however, that Kāmandaka omits altogether such an important matter as internal administrative organization including theories of taxation, the regulation of trade and commerce, and the administration of justice, in all of which Kauṭilya excels. So we find that the system outlined in the *Arthaśāstra* continued as the authoritative pattern of governmental organization, and no new light could be thrown upon it even by commentators like Kāmandaka.

LATER WORKS

By the ninth century the Dharma-śāstra scholars devoted themselves more to writing commentaries on the main Smṛti works and preparing *nibandhas* (digests) of them than to the production of original texts. Two notable works of this period are the *Bāla-krīḍā*, a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* written by Viśvarūpa (A.D. 800-850), and the *bhāṣya* on the *Manu Smṛti* written by Medhātithi (A.D. 825-900) and known as the *Medhātithi-bhāṣya*. Though they reiterate the Dharma-śāstra doctrines, these two commentators do not fail to show occasional originality in order to accommodate changing circumstances. For example, in elaborating Manu's theory of *rāja-dharma* both Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi[20] enlarge the connotation of kingship to include rulers of non-Kṣatriya castes, provided the essential functions of the protection and security of the State and of the people are discharged by them. Medhātithi endorses Manu's principle of the king's unlimited executive authority, but at the same time he lays down its limitations in so far as castes, orders, and re-

[19] *Ibid.*, IX. 10; XXXVI. 54, 71.

[20] *Bāla-krīḍā* (TSS Edn.), p. 181; Medhātithi on *Manu.*, VII. 1-2.

ligious matters are concerned.[21] Both the commentators lay stress on the reciprocal relation between the ruler and the ruled, and on the right to taxation being dependent upon protection.[22] Viśvarūpa goes one step further.[23] He upholds the political rights of the individual, declaring that a tyrant may not only be deposed but slain in the interests of the State. So we find, without multiplying such instances, that the stream of political thought did not altogether become moribund as time passed, even though the production of original works became rare.

In the tenth century appeared another Nīti treatise, the *Nītivākyāmṛta* (the nectar of the science of polity). It was written by Somadeva Sūri, a Jaina monk of the Deccan, a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (*c*. 940-70). It is interesting to note that the text, though produced by a monk of the Jaina order, bears little trace of monasticism. On the other hand, like Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, it is principally based on the Kauṭilyan tradition. The text consists of thirty-two discourses on political institutions and statecraft, the emphasis being on general morals. The work aims at instructing rulers on the conduct required in administering the State and in achieving a position of pre-eminence in the inter-State circle. The topics dealt with include *ari-ṣaḍvarga* (the six internal enemies); the education of the prince in the four *vidyās* (branches of learning), namely, *ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy), *trayī* (three Vedas or religion), *vārtā* (economics), and *daṇḍanīti* (polity), the functions of councillors, priests, army commanders, ambassadors, spies, and ministers; the administration of the *janapada* (the countryside); *durga* (forts and urban areas); the treasury; the army and allies; the six types of foreign policy; and warfare and other measures for the security of the realm. The work also refers to legal disputes and the administration of justice. Thus it is apparent that Somadeva did not gloss over matters relating to administrative organization as Kāmandaka did. Somadeva's work, however, reiterates in a conventional way the Smṛti-Arthaśāstra tradition and reflects hardly any originality of ideas. The language of the text is simple Sanskrit characterized by occasional pun and humour. The sayings are composed in concise form, but marked by clarity of expression.

The next two centuries witnessed the appearance of a few more Nīti works and Smṛti digests bearing on polity and law, namely, the *Yukti-kalpataru* by Bhoja, the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* by Someśvara, the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara, Vijñāneśvara's and Aparārka's commentaries on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Govindarāja's and Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's commentaries on the *Manu Smṛti*, and the digests of Jīmūtavāhana.

The *Yukti-kalpataru*, attributed traditionally to King Bhoja of the Pāramāra

[21] Medhātithi, *op. cit.*, VII. 12-13.
[22] *Ibid*, IX. 254.
[23] *Bāla-krīḍā*, p. 192.

dynasty, is a Nīti text of little merit. The work summarizes the political views of the earlier authors, and it does so in the unusually short compass of twenty of the work's 230 pages. The author touches briefly upon the various aspects of administration, but in a perfunctory manner. The importance of the treasury is strongly emphasized as being considered more valuable to a king than his life-blood.[24] The theory of taxation which, however, is the source of the treasury is glossed over.

The *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* by the Cālukya king Someśvara (*c.* 1126-38) is described as a work on polity, although only the first two *prakaraṇas* or *viṁśatis* (groups of twenty verses) deal with some aspects of statecraft.

The oldest Smṛti digest is the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* by Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara who was the *sāndhi-vigrahika* (minister of war and peace) at the court of King Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-54) of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. This is an encyclopaedic work, of which the section on *rāja-dharma* deals with polity. In three sections it describes (i) the *saptāṅga* (seven elements) of the State—the qualities and the duties of the ruler and of his ministers and administrative officers; the importance of forts and the treasury; allies of various kinds; judicial administration; and methods of developing the resources of the State; (ii) *ṣāḍguṇya* (the six expedients) the sixfold policy in matters of diplomacy and warfare; and (iii) the efficacy of rites and rituals as a matter of State policy. This unusual emphasis on ritualistic performances may be interpreted as a sign of the age when an inclination developed to rely more on uncertain occult power than on practical sources of strength.

Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka were contemporaries. Their commentaries on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* were also digests of earlier Smṛti material, but the striking originality and inductiveness of these two works mark them out as distinct contributions to the Sanskrit literature on law and polity. They both put forward bold and well-reasoned arguments in support of the Smṛti doctrine of the relation of taxation to protection, the protection of the subjects being obligatory upon the ruler.[25] It is in matters of juristic and legal exposition that the commentators display their wide knowledge and analytical acumen of a high order. Vijñāneśvara's commentary, the *Mitākṣarā*, contains important accounts of the constitution and composition of different grades of courts of justice and also details the procedural laws for the administration of even-handed justice. Its prescriptions on the origin of ownership and the transfer of property by gift or by partition, on possession and adverse possession, on inheritance, and on *strī-dhana* reflect the originality of outlook of the author and his juristic finesse.[26] Even in modern times this work is regarded as an authority on Hindu law.

[24] *Yukti-kalpataru* (Ed Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri, 1917), p. 5, vv 30-32

[25] On *Yāj*, I 368.

[26] *Ibid*, II.

Aparārka's work, although more extensive than the *Mitākṣarā* and often at variance with it, does not reflect the same depth of knowledge or originality of ideas.

Jīmūtavāhana of Bengal, who flourished in the same period, wrote two works entitled *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* and *Dāyabhāga*. With eminent ingenuity he covers in them a wide range of topics bearing on legal procedure and positive law. In the *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* he sets out the formation of law courts of different grades, eighteen titles of law, and methods of trial on the basis of legal proofs and evidence, which are enumerated separately for civil and criminal matters. *Dāyabhāga* deals particularly with the laws of ownership, inheritance, partition, and *strī-dhana*. The laws of Jīmūtavāhana still hold good as the principal authority all over Bengal. Some of his doctrines differ sharply from those found in the *Mitākṣarā*, particularly with regard to partition and inheritance. These legal treatises enrich the science of polity in its wider aspects by their formulation of theories of social relationships and the administration of justice.

The *Śukra-nītisāra*, which is attributed to the sage Śukrācārya, the preceptor of the *daityas*, is one of the latest Sanskrit works on political speculation. The available text was written not before A.D. 1200, since it refers to the use of firearms. This text, however, might have been developed upon an earlier nucleus. It is a treatise remarkable for its comprehensiveness as well as for its freshness and originality of outlook. It consists of four chapters, and of these one, chapter III, relates to general rules of morality or *sādhāraṇa-nīti*. The first chapter deals with the duties and functions of the king, his divinity and parallelism with different deities, and with his obligation to afford protection to the people. In this connection, Śukrācārya draws a sharp contrast between the righteous ruler and the tyrant, which is highly significant.[27] In chapter II are described the duties and responsibilities of high officials and dignitaries of the State and the different aspects of internal administration. This chapter also provides valuable and detailed information regarding the different items of State expenditure. It also lists the different kinds of State documents, namely, *jaya-patra*, relating to judgement; *ājñā-patra*, a royal order; *prajñā-patra*, a proclamation; *śāsana-patra*, a public notice; *prasāda-patra*, a royal favour; and *bhoga-patra*, a document or title of possession. The fourth chapter includes topics such as the king's friends or allies; the royal treasury and taxation measures; forts; the composition of the army; military administration; and non-political topics such as arts and sciences including architecture, sculpture, painting, and other branches of the fine arts; literature; and customs and institutions reflecting the economic life of the people. This encyclopaedic work incorporates the salient teachings of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Manu Smṛti* and also to some extent the *Kāmasūtra* with the author's own modifications where deemed necessary to bring the work in line with changing circumstances.

[27] *Śukra-nītisāra*, I. 28-35, 170-71.

Other late Nīti works include *Rājanīti-ratnākara* by Caṇḍeśvara, *Nīti-prakāśikā* by Vaiśampāyana, *Nīti-prakāśā* by Mitra Miśra, *Nīti-mayūkha* by Nīlakaṇṭha, and the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*. All these works deal with aspects of polity and statecraft. They follow the conventional pattern of the Smṛti tradition with little new to contribute.

The Purāṇas, which were fashioned out of traditional lore and used as the medium of instruction for the common people, also made their contribution to the propagation of political and socio-economic ideals. Most of the eighteen Purāṇas and as many or more of the Upapurāṇas are, no doubt, religious in character. Nevertheless, some of these major Purāṇas such as the *Matsya*, *Agni*, and *Garuḍa* and, among the Upapurāṇas, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, are encyclopaedic in form and content. In addition to the usual Purāṇa topics they contain chapters on *rāja-dharma* dealing with such topics as the king's coronation, his duties and responsibilities, the rules of politics and diplomacy, and the science of war and the use of arms and weapons.[28] They also include topics relating to social organization based on *varṇāśrama-dharma* and economic institutions. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* recites an interesting account of anarchy engulfing the 'state of nature' without a king as the genesis for the rise of kingship. The importance of kingship as essential to safeguard the people against calamities of all kinds is asserted also in the *Garuḍa* and *Agni Purāṇas*. The Smṛti tradition of the ethics of *rāja-dharma*, that is, the ruler's unlimited authority balanced by his obligations to the people, finds eloquent exposition in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas popularized the doctrines of the Smṛtis and the *Mahābhārata*, presenting them in simpler style illustrated with legends and moral maxims, but did not indicate any new line of thought. They are, rather, a compilation of borrowed material. Polity and other such secular matters came to be incorporated at a later date, probably in the ninth or tenth century. This was in order to enhance the importance of the Purāṇas in popular estimation. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (eleventh century) and the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (fourteenth century) also have sections dealing with polity and statecraft.[29]

From the brief survey in the foregoing pages it is evident that there was no dearth of political, economic, and legal literature in Sanskrit in ancient India. Classical Sanskrit literature as such also abounds in political and economic ideas in which references occur about the duties of a king, the concept of universal sovereignty, etc.[30]

[28] *Matsya Purāna*, Chs. CCXV-CCXLIII; *Agni Purāna*, Chs. CCXVIII-CCXLIII; *Garuda Purāna*, Chs. CVI-CXV; *Visnudharmottara*, Bk II.

[29] *Kālikā Purāna*, Ch. LXXXVII; *Brhaddharma Purāna*, Bk. III.

[30] See Beni Prasad, *Theory of Government in Ancient India* (Central Book Depot, Allahabad. 2nd Edn.), pp. 268-307.

24

SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

THERE is a general impression that although Indians in ancient times made tremendous progress in art, literature, philosophy, and allied branches of knowledge, in the field of science they made little progress or none at all. This neglect of the study of science is attributed to over-emphasis on religion which, it is said, resulted in a culture of other-worldliness. This impression lies at the root of the bias which prompted such an eminent scholar as Keith to opine: 'In the great period of Sanskrit literature, at any rate, experimental science was at a low ebb, and little of importance was accomplished in those fields in which experiment is essential'.[1] Recent research, however, has brought to light convincing evidence to prove that in the field of scientific and technical knowledge the contribution of ancient India was by no means negligible.[2]

If literary evidence is not to be discarded as absurd and improbable, which it certainly is not, even though it may be looked upon as such by the historians, then the Ṛg-Vedic reference to the artificial thigh made of iron given to Viśpalā by the Aśvins[3] must be regarded as an astonishing feat of medical science and metallurgy in such an early period of human history. Even the Iron Pillar of Delhi (*c.* fourth century A.D.), which is twenty-three feet high and nine tons in weight, and two other such pillars found in Dhar and Mount Abu are no less striking. In the *Ṛg-Veda* (IV. 36.1) the Ṛbhus are said to have had a three-wheeled chariot which could move in the air as well as on earth; the two great epics also refer to some sort of aerial car. Today, however, these are looked upon as nothing more than poetic fancy. Coming to the eleventh century, we find a royal author, King Bhoja, speaking of some aerial cars with which he appears to have experimented successfully. In a cryptic way he tells us how to build the machines, and discusses the problems connected with floating the ear in the air against the force of gravity and the problem of driving it in the desired direction against the force of the wind. For this purpose he advises the use of some kind of 'gas' and also some propellers.[4] Thus it becomes evident that

[1] A. B. Keith, *HSL*, p. 408.

[2] See V. Raghavan's article 'Is Hindu Culture Other-worldly' in *Twentieth Century* (Allahabad, 1937).

[3] *Sadyo janghām āyasīṁ viśpalāyai*—*Ṛ.V.*, I. 116.15; I 118.8.

[4] *Laghu-dāru-mayaṁ mahāvihaṅgaṁ dṛḍha-suśliṣta-tanuṁ vidhāya tasya*
Udare rasa-yantram ādadhīta jvalanādhāram adho'sya cāgnipūrnam.
Tatrārūḍhah pūruṣas tasya pakṣadvandvoccālaprojjhitenānilena
Suptasyantah pāradasyāsya śaktyā citraṁ kurvannamvare yāti dūram.
Itthameva sura-mandira-tulyam sañcalayatyalaghu dāruvimānam
Ādadhīta vidhinā caturo'ntas tasya pāradabhṛtān dṛḍhakumbhān.

in the eleventh century an Indian thinker attempted in his own way to tackle the most difficult problems of aeronautics that still baffled his European counterparts even in the eighteenth century. In the *Ṛg-Veda* (I. 34. 1; VI. 44. 24) and in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (VI. 18. 18, 37) there are references to mechanical devices (*yantras*) and the *Mahābhārata*[5] also speaks of a number of *yantras*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also knew about them.[6] Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[7] speaks of two varieties of *yantra*, static (*sthita*) and dynamic (*cala*), and also of other kinds such as automatic door-leaves and a contraption called *viśvāsa-ghātin* that was designed to sink as soon as the enemy placed his full weight on it with a view to storming the fortress.

Almost all the branches of ancient Indian science and technology give references to ancient authorities on those subjects, and in many branches references are made to certain sages as the founders of particular schools. Modern scholars are inclined to discard these references as so many myths; but this is the result of approaching Indian tradition in a slipshod manner. The non-availability of ancient works does not justify the presumption of their non-existence. Then again, before arriving at any conclusion about the scientific literature of ancient India we should consider the following facts. In the case of science and technology, the experts were unwilling to divulge the secret of their knowledge lest it should be used against their own interests. So they tried to keep their knowledge confined to themselves and a very small circle of disciples; only very rarely were they induced to put down their secrets in writing. Even when they chose to record their findings they put them in such a cryptic manner that they were not easily intelligible to anyone who did not belong to that particular school of thought. Thus we find Bhoja, author of the work *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, frankly stating that he has laid down the fundamental principles and processes of his machines in a very cryptic manner, but this is not because of his ignorance.[8] He is adopting this method for the sake of maintaining secrecy; and this seems to have been the order of the day in his time. Needless to say, this secrecy often resulted in the extinction of the knowledge attained; it died with the dis-

A great bird, with its body having well-knit joints, should be made of light varieties of wood and within its belly the *rasayantra* (a machine of liquid metal) should be placed and below the machine a stove full with fire shall be placed.

Man riding on this (bird) can move far away in the sky making astonishing feats on account of the power of the liquid metal placed in its cavity as well as by dint of the dispersion of wind by the strength of its hovering wings.

In this way the aerial car made of timber, resembling a house of gods moves swiftly. The skilful (engineer) should place just conforming to the rules, sturdy vessel full of liquid metal at the right place in its cavity.

—*Samarāngana-sūtradhāra*, XXXI. vv. 95-97

[5] *Ādi.* (Kumbhakonam Edn.), p. 64.

[6] II.100.53; V.3.18; VI.61.33.

[7] *Adhyakṣapracāra*, II. 18. 5-6.

[8] *Samarāngaṇa-sūtradhāra*, XXXI. v. 79. *Yantrāṇām ghaṭanā noktā guptyartham nājñatāvaśāt.*

continuation of the school under various unfavourable circumstances.

Nonetheless, the scientific literature in Sanskrit available to us is quite extensive and elaborate, and the variety of subjects covered is by no means unimpressive. The subjects on which books may be found include: alchemy; chemistry; distillation of liquor; medical science including anatomy and physiology, pathology, *materia medica*, therapeutics, paediatrics, hygiene, dietetics, the science of studying the pulse, and veterinary science for elephants, horses, and cattle; zoology; ornithology; medical terminology; cosmetics and aromatics; the science of gems; cookery; the science of robbery; astronomy; mathematics; astrology; prognostication including geomancy, cubomancy, omens and portents, dreams, palmistry, and physiognomy; geography, agriculture, horticulture; the science of warfare; archery; sports and games; psychology; erotics; dance, music, and histrionics; art and architecture including sculpture, painting, and iconography; and mechanical devices. It is not possible to deal here exhaustively with all these subjects, so we confine our remarks only to a brief outline.

Alchemy: Man's craving for gold is universal, and it was the hunt for gold that goaded him on in ages past to the science of alchemy when he made various experiments in the attempt to convert base metals into gold. In India alchemy appears to have been associated mainly with the Tāntric religion, but the ancient works which dealt with alchemy are now lost; only a trail of this tract survived in the forms of *Kākacaṇḍeśvarī-mata Tantra* and *Suvarṇa* or *Svarṇa Tantra* mentioned by Alberuni.[9] The earliest available work on this subject is perhaps *Rasa-ratnākara* (seventh or eighth century A.D.), attributed to Nāgārjuna,[10] of which an incomplete manuscript has survived. *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* by Mādhava (fourteenth century A.D.) refers to such ancient masters in alchemy as Govindabhagavatpāda, Ācārya Sarvajña, and Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, and gives some citations from *Rasārṇava, Rasa-hṛdaya*, and *Raseśvara-siddhānta*.

The main ingredient in the process of producing gold from metals was quicksilver; but more emphasis seems to have been laid on mystic religious processes than on chemistry. Among the host of works written on this subject are: *Rasa-hṛdaya* by Govinda[11] (eleventh century A.D.), a work in twenty-one chapters; a twelfth century work called *Rasārṇava* or *Devī-śāstra*;[12] *Rasa-ratnākara* by Siddha Nityanātha[13] (*c*. A.D. 1350); *Rasa-ratna-samuccaya*[14] (*c*. thirteenth century A.D.), variously ascribed to Aśvinīkumāras, Vāgbhaṭa, and Nityanātha; *Rasendra-cintāmaṇi*[15] by Ḍhuṇḍhukanātha, but wrongly ascribed to Rāmacandra (A.D.

[9] P. C. Ray, *History of Hindu Chemistry*, II (Calcutta, 1909), pp. 12-18.

[10] *Ibid*., Introduction, pp. xxxix-xl.

[11] H. P. Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, XXII, pp. 239 ff.

[12] Ed. *BI*, (1908-10).

[13] Ed. J. Vidyasagar (Calcutta).

[14] Ed. Jivananda; The Anandasrama Sanskrit Series (ASS), XIX (1910).

[15] Ed. Jivananda.

1350); *Ānanda-kandam*[16] and a host of other works were written on this subject. Subsequently, however, the wide use of mercury in medical science diverted the ends of alchemy to medicine and chemistry.

Chemistry: Literary sources prove that the knowledge of chemistry existed at a very early period in India. Yet through lack of evidence it is very difficult to say when chemistry was first recognized in India as a separate discipline. Possibly, alchemy on the one hand and medicine on the other gave rise to the study of chemistry. In the works handed down to us the names of ancient masters are mentioned in connection with chemistry, among which are: Patañjali, Bhavyadattadeva, Vyāḍi, Svacchanda, Dāmodara, Vasudeva, Caraka, Suśruta, Hārīta, and Vāgbhaṭa. The earliest extant work, however, is ascribed to Nāgārjuna who belonged to the second century A.D. The work called *Rasa-ratnākara* which is ascribed to him is actually a much later work belonging to the seventh or eighth century. Ratnaghoṣa, possibly a Buddhist writer, also wrote on chemistry. A modern chemist, P. C. Ray, in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*,[17] gives an account of some fifty works on chemistry. To mention a few of them: *Rasendra-cūḍāmaṇi* by Somadeva (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.); *Rasa-prakāśa-sudhākara* by Yaśodhara (thirteenth century); *Rasa-sāra* of Govindācārya, *Rasa-rājalakṣmī* by Viṣṇudeva, the court physician of King Bukka (fourteenth century); *Dhātu-ratna-mālā* of Devadatta of Gujarat (fourteenth century); *Rasa-kaumudī* by Mādhava (fifteenth century); and *Rasa-rāja-mṛgāṅka* attributed to Bhoja (eleventh century). On *Śārṅgadhara Saṁhitā*[18] by Śārṅgadhara, son of Dāmodara, two commentaries were written, one by Āḍhamalla and the other by Vopadeva. *Rasendra-sāra-saṅgraha*,[19] wrongly attributted to Kavibhūṣaṇa of Bengal, is the work of Gopālakṛṣṇa (fourteenth century A.D.). Four commentaries were written on it, of which one was by Rāmasena Kavimaṇi, the personal physician of Jaffar Ali Khan of Bengal. The fifteenth century compilation entitled *Rasa-pradīpa*[20] mentions the preparation of mineral acids by distillation, and prescribes China root and calomel for the treatment of *phiraṅga-roga*.[21] *Arka-prakāśa*[22] attributed to Rāvaṇa is a late work dealing with the preparation of tinctures. *Arka* is the Sanskritized form of the Persian word *arrak* meaning tincture. From a reference made by Govindācārya we

[16] Ed. Ramakrishna Sastri (Tanjore, 1952). [17] *Loc. cit*

[18] Ed. Jivananda. [19] Ed Jivananda; Ambikadatta Sastri (Chowkhamba).

[20] P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvii.

[21] 'By the beginning of the 16th century A D. the Portugese had fairly established themselves at Goa and some other parts of India and as a result of intercourse with them, that dreadful scourge—the venereal disease—had made its appearance...syphilis had now to be reckoned with and a new name had to be coined for it. Accordingly we find *Rasa-pradīpa*...prescribing *Calomel* and *Chobchini* (China root) for what is now termed for the first time *phiranga-roga* or the disease of the Portugese.'—P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[22] Ed. Suresh Chandra Gupta (1300 B.S.).

know that chemistry was studied seriously in Tibet and that there was close contact between Tibetan and Indian chemists.[23] We also hear of some Buddhist chemists in India like Ratnaghoṣa, Gahanānandanātha, and Carpaṭīnātha (all of whom are of unknown dates). It is, however, curious to note here that though preparations of diverse mineral acids and various medicines by the use of metals are recorded in the works on chemistry and medical science, no work particularly dealing with metallurgy has yet come down to us. But the literary and archaeological evidences undeniably prove the fact that India had considerably advanced knowledge of metallurgy even in the early periods of history.

Distillation of liquor: Through a quotation by Mallinātha in his commentary on *Meghadūta* (II. 5) we learn of a work on distillation called *Madirārṇava*. Possibly there were other works also.

Medical science: On medical science there is a flourishing literature in Sanskrit. It is divided into eight main branches: *śalya-tantra* (major surgery), *śālākya-tantra* (minor surgery), *kāya-cikitsā* (therapeutics), *bhūta-vidyā* (demonology), *kaumāra-bhṛtya* (paediatrics), *agada-tantra* (toxicology), *rasāyana* (elixirs), and *vāji-karaṇa* (aphrodisiacs). Anatomy, embryology, and hygiene were known from Vedic times. Mythological gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, Śiva, Kārttikeya, and the Aśvinīkumāras are traditionally mentioned as ancient masters of *vaidyaka-śāstra* (medical science), together with the names of historical persons such as Bharadvāja, Ātreya, Agniveśa, Jātūkarṇa, Bhela, Hārīta, Kṣārapāṇi, and Dhanvantari. In the *Ṛg-Veda,* Rudra (II.33.4) and Sūrya (I.55. 11-13) are praised as healers. The Aśvins are also praised there for rejuvenating Cyavana (I. 116.10), for providing an iron thigh to Viśpalā when she lost her limb (I.116.15), and for curing blindness (I.112.8) and leprosy (X.39.3). The Bower Manuscript (fourth century) names[24] Viṣṇu, while Vaṅgasena and Cakrapāṇidatta (eleventh century) name Nārāyaṇa as healers. Cakrapāṇidatta also cites a *Śaiva-siddhānta* on medicine. There are also a *Kailāsa-kāraka*[25] on the medicinal use of mercury and a *Vaidyarāja Tantra*[26] of Śiva. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* is mentioned a work called *Bhāskara Saṁhitā*.[27] Kārttikeya wrote *Vāhaṭa-grantha*[28] on medicine, and the authorship of *Aśvinī Saṁhitā*[29] and *Nāḍī-nidāna*[30] is ascribed to the Aśvins. Another work, *Dhātu-ratna-mālā*[31] by an unknown author, is claimed to have been compiled from *Aśvinīkumāra Saṁhitā*. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* also refers to a *Cikitsā-sāra Tantra* by the Aśvins. This refers

[23] *Evaṁ bauddhā vijānanti bhoṭadeśanivāsinaḥ*—P. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. lxv.

[24] Ed. Hoernle (Calcutta, 1914), p. 188.

[25] Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML), Madras, XXIII, 13113.

[26] *Ibid.*, 13226.

[27] India Office Manuscript (IOM), 2719.

[28] GOML, 13176-77. Actually *vāhaṭa* is the Prakritized form of *vāgbhaṭa*.

[29] *Ibid.*, 13069.

[30] *Ibid.*, 13151.

[31] *Bikaner Catalogue*, 1393.

also to *Cikitsā-tattva-vijñāna* by Dhanvantari, *Cikitsā-darśana* by Divodāsa, *Cikitsā-kaumudī* by Kāśirāja (Divodāsa?), *Vaidyaka-sarvasva* by Nakula, *Vyādhi-sindhu-vimardana* by Sahadeva, and the works of a number of other authors.[32] Bharadvāja, the preceptor of Ātreya, wrote *Bhāradvājīya*[33] and also *Dhātu-lakṣaṇa*.[34] Trimallabhaṭṭa cites a work on medicine called *Vaśiṣṭha Saṁhitā*.[35] The date and authorship of these works are, however, uncertain.

The earliest extant work on medicine is the *Caraka Saṁhitā* written by Caraka in the first century A.D. In the eighth or ninth century it was redacted by Dṛḍhabala and also by an author named Kāśmīraka, while in the eighth century it was translated into Persian and Arabic. Caraka's work is said to be a revised version of the work of Agniveśa, a disciple of Ātreya and a fellow student of Bhela. According to some scholars, Bhela's *Saṁhitā* is earlier than the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. The Bower Manuscript names Ātreya, Hārīta, and Suśruta, but it does not name Caraka. On the other hand, it refers to a medical work which is not found mentioned anywhere else, namely, *Nāvanītaka*,[36] in connection with *vṛṣya-yoga* (prescription for tonic). In elegant Sanskrit prose interspersed with verse, Caraka[37] deals with anatomy, embryology, dietetics, pathology, and many other medical topics. There are a number of commentaries on Caraka's work, among them being: a commentary by Naradatta, the preceptor of Cakrapāṇi; *Āyurveda-dīpikā* by Cakrapāṇidatta, the son of Nārāyaṇa who was superintendent of the kitchen of King Nayapāla of Bengal (A.D. 1038-55); *Caraka-tattva-dīpikā*[38] by Śivadāsa; a commentary by Jinadāsa; one by Īśvarasena; *Jalpa-kalpataru*[39] by Gangadhara Kaviraja (A.D. 1798-1885) of Murshidabad in Bengal; and a recent commentary by Yogindranath Sen.

Another great name in the Āyurvedic system of medicine is Suśruta. The *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 4.55) speaks of him as a son of Viśvāmitra, and his work was known in Cambodia and the Arab countries in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Bower Manuscript quotes from *Suśruta Saṁhitā*[40] which is possibly as old as Caraka's work. The text is said to have been revised by Nāgārjuna, and also subsequently by Candraṭa in the light of Jaiyyaṭa's commentary. The earliest commentaries on Suśruta's work were written by Jaiyyaṭa and Gayadāsa. After them came *Bhānumatī* by Cakrapāṇidatta, a commentary by Aruṇadatta (*c.* twelfth century A.D.), one by Dallaṇa (thirteenth century A.D.), and a modern one by Haranchandra Chakravarti.[41] Then, too, there are the *Saṁhitās*

[32] Girindranath Mukherjee, *History of Hindu Medicine*, II (Calcutta University, 1926), p. 248.

[33] GOML, 13178.

[34] IOM, 2715.

[35] *Ibid.*, 2705-6 (*Yogataraṅgiṇī*).

[36] Bower MS., II. 26.1.9, p. 65.

[37] Ed. A. C. Kaviratna (Calcutta, 1897).

[38] *Vide* Viraj Gupta, *Vanauṣadhi-darpaṇa* (Calcutta).

[39] K. K. Dutta, *Bengal's Contributions to Sanskrit Literature* (Sanskrit College Research Series, CIII, 1974), p. 54.

[40] Ed. Hoernle (Calcutta, 1897).

[41] G. N. Sastri, *Recent Sanskrit Studies in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1960).

by Bhela,[42] Hārīta,[43] and Kāśyapa.[44]

The third great writer on medical subjects is Vāgbhaṭa whose work covers all the eight sections of Āyurveda. He appears to have been referred to by I-tsing, and his work was translated into Tibetan. Actually there were two Vāgbhaṭas: a senior one who wrote in prose and poetry, and a junior one who wrote only in the metrical form. The younger one seems to be a descendant of the other; possibly they were both Buddhists.[45] A commentary was written by Aruṇadatta on Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* which was known as *Sarvāṅga-sundara.*[46] His *Aṣṭāṅga-saṅgraha*[47] is also an outstanding work in this field.

The Bower Manuscript, a work from Kashgar, which has been referred to earlier, was discovered in 1890 and is known by the name of its discoverer. It is a medical work, and a similar work was also discovered in eastern Turkestan.[48] Both these works are written in a highly Prakritized Sanskrit with a strong regional bias.

Anatomy and physiology: The dissection of animal bodies was almost essential in connection with Vedic rituals; it was this which evidently led to the knowledge of anatomy. Human anatomy, however, is referred to in the *Atharva-Veda* (X.2. 1-19)[49] and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (X. 5.4,12) showing that there was a knowledge of anatomy even in the Vedic period. The medical works do deal with anatomy, but it appears that it was not as much developed as in the Western countries. *Śarīra-padminī*[50] by Bhāskarabhaṭṭa is a work on anatomy. Physiology did not develop as a separate discipline in the Āyurveda. In the present century, Gananath Sen wrote a book of practical anatomy in Sanskrit under the title *Pratyakṣa-śārīra.*[51] It is likely that physiology in the Western sense did not develop in India due to the continued reliance on the theory of the three *dhātus* (humours): *vāyu*, *pitta*, and *kapha* (wind, bilious humour, and slimy humour.)

Pathology: The earliest and most authoritative work on this subject is *Rug-viniścaya* or *Nidāna* by Mādhavakara[52] (seventh century); it was rendered into Arabic in the eighth century.[53] Among a host of commentaries on this work *Vyākhyāmadhu-koṣa* by Vijayarakṣita[54] (thirteenth century A.D.) became well known. *Cikitsā-saṅgraha*[55] attributed to Dhanvantari and a modern work *Siddhānta-nidāna*[56] by Gananath Sen also deserve mention.

[42] Ed. Calcutta, 1921.
[43] Ed. Jivananda.
[44] Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, *Report I*, p. 9.
[45] A. B. Keith, *op. cit.*, p 510.
[46] Ed. Kunte (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1891).
[47] Ed. Bombay, 1880.
[48] Hoernle, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 416 ff.
[49] *Kena pārṣṇī ābhṛte pūrusasya kena māmsam sambhṛtaṁ kena gulphau*, etc.—*A V*, X. 2 1-19.
[50] P. K. Gode, *Bharatiya Vidya*, VII (New Series, Nos 1-2, 1946), pp. 33-34.
[51] In 3 parts (Calcutta, 1913), *et seq.*
[52] Viraj Gupta, *op. cit.*, p 32.
[53] Ksitimohan Sen, *Cinmaya Vaṅga* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 84.
[54] Ed. (with *Madhukoṣa-sandipanī*) Jivananda.
[55] GOML, 13137-45.
[56] G. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*

Materia medica: The most popular work on the subject is *Dravyaguṇa-saṅgraha*[57] by Cakrapāṇidatta. Śivadāsa wrote a commentary on it. Rājavallabha's *Dravyaguṇa* has a commentary (*vivṛti*) written by Gangadhara Kaviraja.[58]

Therapeutics: There are numerous works on this subject, among them being: *Yoga-sāra* or *Yoga-śataka* ascribed to Nāgārjuna;[59] *Cikitsā-sāra-saṅgraha* by Cakrapāṇidatta, on which Niścalakara and Śivadāsa[60] wrote commentaries; *Cikitsā-sāra-saṅgraha* by Vaṅgasena (*c.* twelfth century A.D.); *Śārṅgadhara Saṁhitā*[61] commented on by Āḍhamalla and *Bhāva-prakāśa* by Bhāva Miśra; *Cikitsāmṛta*[62] in 2,500 verses by Milhaṇa (*c.* thirteenth century A.D.); *Cikitsā-kalikā* by Tiṣata[63] (fourteenth century A.D.); *Cikitsā-jñāna* ascribed to Vidyāpati,[64] the celebrated Mithilā poet of the fourteenth century; *Āyurveda-Sūtra*,[65] a late work; and *Vaidya-jīvana* by Lolimbarāja[66] (seventeenth century A.D.).

Paediatrics: On this subject the well-known work is *Kumāra Tantra* ascribed to Rāvaṇa;[67] there is also a work called *Bāla-cikitsā*.[68]

Hygiene: The ancient texts treat hygiene and dietetics incidentally and not as separate topics. In modern times, however, appeared *Śarīra-niścayādhikāra*[69] by Gangaram Das, a work on the personal hygiene of pregnant women, and also *Svāsthya-tattva*[70] by Govinda Ray.

Dietetics: On this subject we have *Anna-pāna-vidhi*[71] by Suṣeṇa, *Pathyāpathya-nighaṇṭu* and *Bhojana-kutūhala* by Raghunātha[72] (A.D. 1675-1709). In the early part of this century Viswanath Sen wrote a work called *Pathyāpathya-viniścaya*.[73]

The science of the pulse: The study of the pulse for the proper diagnosis of an ailment formed a very important part of Āyurveda. Only by feeling the pulse of a patient, the physicians of Āyurveda could determine correctly what the exact nature of the ailment was. This science has thus been treated as a separate discipline in *Nāḍī-vijñāna*[74] by Kaṇāda and in a work called *Nāḍī-parīkṣā*

[57] Ed Jivananda.
[58] K. K. Dutta, *op. cit*, p. 73.
[59] *Nepal Catalogue*, XXII.
[60] Ed. Jivananda.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] A. B. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 511.
[63] G. N. Sastri, *An Introduction to Classical Sanskrit* (Calcutta, 1943), p. 86
[64] Vidhata Misra's paper in *Summary of Proceedings of Oriental Conference* (1974), pp. 333-34.
[65] Ed. *Bibliotheca Sanskritica* (Mysore, 1961).
[66] G. N. Sastri, *loc cit.*
[67] P. C. Bagchi's article in *Indian Culture*, VII, Pt. III.
[68] GOML, XIII, 75.
[69] K K. Dutta, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.
[70] *Ibid*
[71] Ed. V. S. Sastri (Mylapore, Madras, 1950).
[72] P K Gode's article in *Annals of the Oriental Research Institute* (Poona, 1942), pp. 254-63.
[73] K. K. Dutta, *loc. cit.*
[74] Ed. Jivananda.

ascribed to Rāvaṇa.[75] There are also a number of later works such as *Nāḍī-parīkṣā* by Gangadhara Kaviraja[76] and two other works with the same title by Govindarama Kaviraja and by Sankar Sen.[77] Unfortunately, this science, which was a priceless treasure of Āyurveda, is dying out.

Veterinary science: This is a very ancient science. The Purāṇas associate the names of Śālihotra, Nakula, and Pālakāpya with it as ancient masters of its various branches. A nineteenth century work, *Sāra-saṅgraha*[78] by Indu Sen, deals with this science. It has various specialized branches dealing with the treatment of different types of animals such as:

(i) *The treatment of elephants*: The classical work on this subject is *Gajāyurveda* by Pālakāpya.[79] To the commentators who cite the treatise it is known as *Gaja-śāstra*. Pālakāpya was an ancient sage contemporaneous with King Romapāda, ruler of Aṅga-deśa. The *Gaja-śāstra* that is now available, however, does not appear to be very old. A *Mṛga-carmīya* cited by Mallinātha (*Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 39; *Śiśupāla-vadha*, V. 49) appears to be connected with this science, but it is now lost. Other works that similarly came to our knowledge are *Mātaṅga-līlā* by Nārāyaṇa[80] and *Gaja-grahaṇa-prakāra*[81] by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita; the latter deals with the different devices to catch or entrap an elephant, as its name implies.

(ii) *The treatment of horses*: The classical work on this subject is *Aśva-śāstra*. Śālihotra is cited as the first propagator of this science. Raghunātha Cakravartin[82] quotes from Śālihotra in his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*. Although *Aśva-śāstra* is called *Aśvāyurveda*, it deals not only with the treatment of horses, but with several other topics connected with horses. Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.) wrote a *Śālihotra*[83] in 138 verses; and a work called *Aśva Tantra*[84] is cited by Rāyamukuṭa. *Aśva-cikitsā*[85] is attributed to Nakula, but the date of this work is uncertain. Mallinātha (*Śiśupāla-vadha*, V. 60) cites *Haya-līlāvatī*, *Revatottara*, and *Aśva-śāstra*, now lost to us. The works we have to include under this heading are *Yoga-mañjarī*[86] by Vardha-

[75] *Āyurveda Granthamālā*, Ed. A. V. P. Joshi.
[76] K. K. Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-51.
[78] Girindranath Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
[79] Ed. Gopalan & Sastri (Tanjore, 1958); ASS., XXVI.
[80] TSS., X (1910).
[81] Ed. Srikrishna Sharma, *Venkatesvar Oriental Journal*, VII.
[82] Ed. Chandra Mohun Tarkaratna (Calcutta, 1886), p. 432
[83] *Munich Catalogue*, compiled by Jolly, p. 68.
[84] *Padacandrikā*, II (Sanskrit College Research Series, LXXXVI), p. 590.
[85] Ed. Gopalan & Sastri (Tanjore, 1952).
[86] A. B. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

māna, *Aśva-vaidyaka*[87] by Dīpaṅkara, and a work of the same name by Jayadatta Sūri[88] (*c.* A.D. 1500), *Aśvāyurveda* by Gaṇa,[89] *Turaṅga-parīkṣā* and *Vāji-cikitsā* by Śārṅgadhara,[90] *Aśva-lakṣaṇa-śāstra*,[91] and a number of minor works, some of which give clue to determine the different types of horses by delineating their characteristic features.

(*iii*) *The treatment of cattle*: In the *Agni Purāṇa*[92] there is a chapter on the treatment of cattle. Dealing with *gavāyurveda*, it presupposes the existence of some earlier works, but unfortunately none of them has reached us.

Zoology: In the Trivandrum Palace Library, there is a work called *Mṛga-pakṣi-śāstra* by Haṁsadeva, protégé of King Śauṇḍadeva (*c.* thirteenth century A.D.). It deals with zoology in 1,712 verses, describing the characteristics of birds and animals.

Ornithology: The indication that ornithology was studied rests upon a solitary quotation from a work called *Karṇodaya* by Mallinātha (*Meghadūta*, I. 10), but nothing more is known.

Medical dictionaries: There are more than a dozen medical dictionaries; some of these are: *Nighaṇṭu*[93] by Indukara, father of Mādhavakara; *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu*,[94] ascribed to Dhanvantari; *Sārottara-nighaṇṭu*[95] by a Buddhist (earlier than A.D. 1080); *Śabda-pradīpa*[96] (A.D. 1075) by Sureśvara, written for King Bhīmapāla of Bengal; *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*[97] by Narahari (written between A.D. 1235 and A.D. 1250); and *Madana-vinoda-nighaṇṭu*[98] (A.D. 1374) by Madanapāla. Earlier works on this subject are now lost.

Cosmetics and aromatics: An early work on collyrium, *Añjana-nidāna*,[99] is attributed to Agniveśa; earlier works have not reached us. *Nāvanītaka* (*c.* second century A.D.) gives a formula for hair-dye, while *Śārṅgadhara Paddhati*[100] preserves instructions for the preparation of cosmetics including hair-dye and scented hair-oil. *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* by Varāhamihira in its chapter (LXXVI) on *gandhayukti* deals with the preparation of aromatics including frankincenses.

[87] *Ibid.*
[88] Ed. Jivananda.
[89] A. B. Keith, *loc.cit.*
[90] Girindranath Mukherjee, *loc. cit.*
[91] GOML, 13318.
[92] Ch. CCXCII.
[93] K. K. Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[94] Ed ASS., XXXIII
[95] Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, *op. cit.*, p 6.
[96] *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (*IOC*), VI. 974-75
[97] Ed. Jivananda; ASS., CXXXIII.
[98] Ed. Benaras, 1875.
[99] Girindranth Mukherjee, *op. cit.*
[100] Ed. Peterson (Bombay, 1888).

Similarly, the *gandhayukti* sections of the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* deal with the same topics. The *gandhavāda* section of *Rasa-ratnākara* by Nityanātha (*c.* A.D. 1350) deals with aromatics and has a Marathi commentary on it.[101] There is also a work on aromatics called *Gandha-sāra* by Gaṅgādhara[102] (*c.* A.D. 1300).

The science of gems: Different kinds of gems were known to the Indians as early as the Ṛg-Vedic period. In the *Ṛg-Veda* the Fire-god has been praised as *ratnadhātama* (I.1.1), and in the epics the jewels are looked upon as the most valuable part of wealth possessed by the kings. In the Buddhist literature also we have many references to precious stones. It should, however, be noted that in the early periods the precious stones had not been used for some of their occult powers. But subsequently, the wearing of gems was considered efficacious in averting evil planetary influences, helpful in curing diseases, bringing in wealth, prosperity, and health. There are different types of gems having different qualities which can only be known from the books dealing with them. This ancient science is associated with the name of Agastya, an ancient sage. Mallinātha cites a work called *Ratna-śāstra* by Agastya (*Śiśupāla-vadha*, IV. 44). In its *ratna-prakāśa* section, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* cites Vyāḍi as an authority. Among the many books on this subject are: the work by Agastya already mentioned (date uncertain); *Ratna-parīkṣā*[103] by Buddhabhaṭṭa (sixth century A.D.); a work by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita;[104] *Smṛti-sāroddhāra* and *Īśvara-dīkṣitīya*[105] (a compilation); and works called *Ratna-saṅgraha*, *Laghu-ratna-parīkṣā*, and *Maṇi-māhātmya*.[106]

Cookery: The origin of the science of cookery in India is ascribed to the ancient sage Nala; yet the work ascribed to him, *Nalapāka*,[107] does not appear to be very old. Two works by Manirama Sharma, *Pāka-vijñāna* and *Pāka-vidyā*, and a work called *Bṛhat-pāka-saṅgraha* by Krishna Prasad are all recent ones, following the trail of an anonymous work, *Pākārṇava*[108] (*c.* A.D. 1650). From these books we have an idea of the rich delicacies and their numerous varieties that were dished out in India.

The science of robbery: Even theft and robbery were not left out from the list of sciences. In order to master these two arts one has to follow some scientific principles which have been laid down in some treatises connected with such topics. The science of robbery is apparently a very ancient subject of study.

[101] P. K. Gode's article in *New Indian Antiquary*, VII (1945), pp 185-93.
[102] P. K Gode's article in *Adyar Library Bulletin*, IX, Pt. IV (1945), pp 143-51.
[103] G. N. Sastri, *op cit.*, p. 193.
[104] *Ibid.*
[105] Ed Tanjore, 1958.
[106] *Vide* L. Finot, *Les Lapidaires Indiens* (Paris, 1896).
[107] Ed. Benares.
[108] P. K. Gode's article in *Poona Orientalist*, XV (1950), pp. 39-45.

References to ancient masters are found in the *Mrcchakaṭika*, the names mentioned being: Kanakaśakti, also known as Kārttikeya, Devavrata, Bhāskaranandin. and Yogācārya. According to the *Bṛhat-kathā*, the propounder of this science was Karṇīsuta, also known as Karaṭaka; but his work is lost. Now only a single work remains on this subject, which is not very ancient; it is *Ṣaṇmukha-kalpa*.[109] This book has been recently published with a German translation by F. George. As the name implies, it is a system propounded by the six-mouthed one, i.e. Kārttikeya. A work that takes pains to justify robbery for a noble cause is *Dharma-caurya-rasāyana*.

Astronomy: Observation of the heavenly bodies was closely associated with Vedic rituals; the Brāhmaṇas, too, show some acquaintance with the science of astronomy. *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*[110] indicates that considerable progress was made in this science; the text of this treatise that is now available, however, is only a later redaction of older texts. The influence of Greek and Egyptian astronomy on Indian astronomy and geometry has not been convincingly proved.[111] The present *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* is related to the *Ṛg-Veda* and to the *Yajur-Veda*, while there is a separate text, named *Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa*,[112] related to the *Atharva-Veda*. After these Vedic works there is a long gap, and presumably the works belonging to this intervening period are lost to us, for we hear only the names of these old masters. Some of the names are: Nārada, Parāśara, Garga, Vṛddha Garga, and Pauṣkarasādin. However, some fragments of the works of the last-named four masters are available.[113] In later ages authors very often included in their works sections on astronomy, mathematics, and astrology.

The famous astronomer, Āryabhaṭa (fifth century) of Kusumapura, was the first to assert that the earth is a sphere and that it rotates round the sun. His works include *Āryabhaṭīya*;[114] *Daśagītikā-Sūtra* with numerical notations; and *Āryāṣṭaśata*. A collection of 108 verses in *āryā* metre, *Āryāṣṭaśata* comprises three sections: mathematics(*gaṇita*), measurement of time(*kālakriyā*), astronomy (*gola*). In the tenth century A.D. came another Āryabhaṭa who was known to Alberuni. This Āryabhaṭa, in his *Ārya-siddhānta*,[115] uses numerical notations of a different kind. Going back to the sixth century, Varāhamihira (A.D. 550) is also a great name in astronomy. In his *Pañca-siddhāntikā*,[116] a series of five works, he describes the contents of five earlier works known as *Siddhāntas*, which were the five systems current in his time. One of the earlier works,

[109] Ed Marburg, 1966.
[110] Ed. *Pandit* (New Series, XXIX).
[111] A. B Keith, *op cit*, p 517
[112] Ed Bhagavaddatta (Punjab Sanskrit Series, VI, Lahore, 1924).
[113] Weber MS., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXII
[114] Ed. Kern (Leyden, 1874).
[115] Ed. Benares, 1910
[116] Ed. G. Thibaut & Sudhakar Dvivedi (Benares, 1889).

Sūrya-siddhānta, states that it was revealed by Sūrya to Maya in Romaka. The work *Romaka-siddhānta* must be of foreign origin, the name being connected with Rome. *Pauliśa-siddhānta* might have some link with Paulus Alexandrinus. Lāṭa, commentator on *Sūrya-siddhānta* (mistakenly described by Alberuni as its author), and also Vijayanandin and Pradyumna were Varāhamihira's predecessors. Lāṭa also wrote a commentary on *Romaka-siddhānta*;[117] this commentary was drastically revised by Śrīṣeṇa who was anterior to Brahmagupta.

Brahmagupta (b. A.D.598) is another luminary in this field. His *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*,[118] which is based on *Brahma-siddhānta* as well as *Śākalya-siddhānta*, deals also with mathematics. His *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka*,[119] which is based on a lost work by Āryabhaṭa, is on the subject of *karaṇa* (eleven divisions of the day according to Indian astrology). A commentary was written on it by Bhaṭṭotpala (tenth century A.D.). The next great name is Bhāskarācārya (twelfth century A.D.). His *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*[120] has four sections: *līlāvatī* and *bījagaṇita* on mathematics; and *grahagaṇita* and *gola* on astronomy. He also wrote a work called *Karaṇa-kutūhala*.[121] Among the other works in this field are: *Vṛddha-vāśiṣṭha-siddhānta*;[122] *Laghu-vāśiṣṭha-siddhānta*;[123] *Śiṣyadhī-vṛddhi Tantra* by Lalla; and *Rāja-mṛgāṅka*[124] by Bhoja.

Mathematics: India's achievements in this field may briefly be summed up in the following words of Macdonell: 'The Indians invented the numerical figures used all over the world. The influence which the decimal system of reckoning dependent on those figures has had not only on mathematics, but on the progress of civilization in general, can hardly be overestimated. During the eighth and ninth centuries Indians became the teachers in arithmetic and algebra of Arabs and through them of the nations of the West'.[125]

The Vedic *śulva-sūtras*[126] are probably far earlier than the Alexandrian geometry of Hero[127] (215 B.C.). The earliest work on mathematics that has reached us is probably the Bakshali Manuscript[128] (*c.* third or fourth century A.D.). It is in *sūtra* form with examples in verse written in mixed Sanskrit. Between Brahmagupta and Bhāskarācārya, to whom we have already referred,

[117] A. B. Keith, *op.cit.*, p. 520.
[118] Ed. Sudhakar Dvivedi (1902).
[119] Ed. Babua Misra (Calcutta, 1925); English translation by Bina Chatterjee (New Delhi, 1970).
[120] Ed. with *Vāsanābhāṣya*, *Vāsanāvārttika*, and *Marīciṭīkā*, Varanaseya Sanskrit University (1962-64).
[121] Ed. Benares, 1881.
[122] *IOC.* I, compiled by Eggeling, 991.
[123] Ed. Benares, 1881.
[124] Ed. Nataraj Sastri (Trichinapally, 1951).
[125] Macdonell, *HSL*, pp. 360-61.
[126] Ed. Thibaut, *Pandit*, IX.
[127] Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p 361.
[128] Hoernle's article in *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, pp. 33 ff.

flourished Mahāvīrācārya who wrote *Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha*[129]. *Triśatī*[130] of Śrīdhara (eleventh century) deals with quadratic equations of algebra. From references in Jaina works we learn that the Hindus made much progress in the fourth century B.C.[131] in the process of permutation and combination. Among a host of later works are *Bījagaṇitāvataṁsa*[132] and *Gaṇita-kaumudī*[133] by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita (fourteenth century).

Astrology: The popularity of this ancient subject is apparent from the long list of old masters whose names include: Satyācārya, Viṣṇugupta, Devasvāmin, Jīvaśarman, Piṇḍāyus, Pṛthu, Śaktipūrva, Siddhasena, Maṇittha (possibly identical with Manetho, author of *Apotelesmata*), and Yavanācārya. Foreign influence is apparent in their works, but we cannot ascertain when it began. Of the earlier works, Mallinātha cites one by Nārada (*Raghuvaṁśa*, III. 13); we also know of a work called *Yavana-jātaka*[134] written in verse about the year A.D. 169. The best treatise is perhaps *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*[135] by Varāhamihira; a commentary was written on it by Bhaṭṭotpala. The opening section of *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* is called *tantra* and deals with astronomy and mathematics; the second section, *horā*, is concerned with horoscopes, while the third, *saṁhitā*, deals with natural astrology. It is a masterly work, written in elegant Sanskrit in *kāvya* style, and covers almost all the sciences which in ancient India were associated with man's life on earth. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*[136] is a work on *horā-śāstra*; Bhaṭṭotpala wrote a commentary on it. Varāhamihira also wrote a work called *Laghu-jātaka*,[137] while his son Pṛthuyaśas wrote *Horā-ṣaṭ-pañcāśikā*.[138] We also know of a work called *Utpala-parimala*[139] written in A.D. 964 on *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. Some among the other numerous treatises on astrology are: *Bhṛgu Saṁhitā* which is available to us only in fragments; *Horā-śāstra* by Bhaṭṭotpala; *Vidyā-mādhavīya*, which was written prior to A.D. 1350 and which claims to give correct language to the works of Vaśiṣṭha, Garga, and others, contending that the available works ascribed to those authorities are not written in chaste and elegant Sanskrit; *Sūrya-siddhānta*;[140] *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*,[141] a very late work ascribed to Kālidāsa; Nīlakaṇṭha's work

[129] Ed. Rangacharya (Madras, 1912).
[130] N. Ramanujacharya, *Bibliography of Mathematics* (1913), pp. 203 ff.
[131] Sukumarranjan Das's article in *Haraprasāda Saṁvardhanā Lekhamālā*, II, pp. 85 ff
[132] Ed. Chandrabhanu Pandeya (Varanaseya Sanskrit University).
[133] Ed. Padmakar Dvivedi, *Prince of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts*, LXVII (1942).
[134] *Nepal Catalogue*, XXX.
[135] Ed. Kern, *BI* (1864-65).
[136] Translated by Iyer (Madras, 1905).
[137] Partially translated by Jacobi (1872) [138] Ed. Calcutta, 1975.
[139] M. R. Kavi's article in *Venkatesvar Oriental Journal*, II (1941).
[140] Ed., with Raṅganātha's commentaries, Jivananda.
[141] Weber's article in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* (*ZDMG*), XXIII-XXIV.

on *Tājıka*;[142] and the four works on the astrology of warfare, viz. *Yoga-yātrā* (*Śiśupāla-vadha*, V. 87); *Kūtasthīya* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, III. 13); *Yuddhajayārṇava* (*Agni Purāṇa*, CXXIII-CXXIV); and *Narapati-jaya-carcā-svarodaya*[143] of Narahari (twelfth century).

Prognostication (geomancy, cubomancy, and dreams): Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (Chapters LXI to LXXII) deals with prognostication. So also does *Adbhuta-sāgara* by Vallālasena (twelfth century A.D.); Vallālasena did not complete his work, and it was ultimately completed by Lakṣmaṇasena. The works, *Nimitta-nidāna*(*Meghadūta*, I. 11,17; II. 35) and *Śakunārṇava* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, XI. 26), cited by Mallinātha, also deal with this subject. *Ramala-rahasya*[144] by Bhayabhañjana Śarman deals with geomancy. Cubomancy is dealt with in *Pāśaka-kevalī* which is referred to in the Bower Manuscript.[145] The use of magic squares is dealt with in *Gaṇıta-kaumudī* by Nārāyaṇa, written in A.D. 1350. Dreams are dealt with in *Svapna-cintāmaṇi*[146] by Jagaddeva.

Physıognomy and palmistry: In the *Vıṣṇudharmottara*, the *Agni*, and a number of other Purāṇas, and also in *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, physiognomy has been dealt with incidentally. It aims at predicting the nature, the general traits of character, and the fate of men and women on the basis of certain peculiarities in their physique. In the course of time, this science came to be treated as an ancillary science of astrology, and it was known as *sāmudrika-śāstra*. The extant works on this science are, however, predominantly on palmistry and they take up physiognomy only incidentally. Palmistry was originally a part and parcel of *sāmudrika-śāstra*; but due to its growing popularity, it was elevated to the position of a major science and the parent discipline was relegated to an ancillary position.

The reading of the language of the palm is an ancient science; there are good reasons for believing that the gipsies inherited it in their original home in India far back in the hoary past. In India this science is ascribed to Nārada. In the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* there is a chapter on palmistry. A popular work is Durlabharāja's *Sāmudra-tilaka*[147] (twelfth century A.D.) which was left unfinished, but completed by the author's son Jagaddeva. There is also a work called *Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa*;[148] possibly, this is quoted by Mallinātha (*Kirātārjunīya*, VI. 1). The following are some of the many books on palmistry: *Sāmudrika-cintāmaṇi* by Mādhava Śrīgrāmakara, *Sāmudrıka-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Sāmudrika-*

[142] Ed. Vınayak Sastri Vetal (Varanaseya Sanskrıt Unıversıty).
[143] *IOC.* I, compiled by Eggelıng, pp 1110 ff.
[144] *IOC.* II, compıled by Keith, pp. 1121 ff.
[145] Bower MS , pp. 84 ff.
[146] J. von Negelein's artıcle in *Wıener Zeıtschrıft fur dıe Kunde des Morgenlandes (WZKM)*, XXVI.
[147] A. B. Keith, *op.cıt.*, p. 534.
[148] *Oxford Catalogue*, 126*a*.

śāstra,[149] and *Sāmudrika-sāra*[150]—all available in manuscript form.

Geography: In some of the Purāṇas geography has been treated in terms of *dvīpas* and *varṣas* (continents and countries respectively according to Purāṇic conception). In Oriya script there is a geographical work by Balarāmadāsa called *Brahmāṇḍa-bhūgola*.[151] It is interesting to find that in the Purāṇas there are passages which evince knowledge of the regions called the troposphere and the stratosphere, which Kālidāsa, too, utilized in his description of Duṣyanta's aerial journey in the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* (Act VII). The Purāṇas referred to are the *Viṣṇu* (II. 12), the *Vāyu* (LI), and the *Kūrma* (XLII. 42-43). There are also brief references in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*.

Agriculture and horticulture: A work that deals with agriculture is *Kṛṣiparāśara*,[152] and in the *Agni Purāṇa* the *vṛkṣāyurveda* section (CCLXXXII) deals with the treatment of plants. A work also called *Vṛkṣāyurveda*[153] was written by Surapāla in the eleventh century A.D.

The science of warfare: A twelfth century text, *Narapati-jaya-caryā*, gives some idea about this science; there seems to be no earlier work extant. But in Bhoja's *Yukti-kalpataru*[154] there is a passage on swords; in this connexion, Vātsya's work on swords and *Lauhārṇava* and *Lauha-pradīpa* by Śārṅgadhara are mentioned. The last two books seem to deal with weapons made of iron and steel.

Archery: On this subject works were written by old masters such as Vikramāditya, Sadāśiva, Śārṅgadatta, Vṛddha Śārṅgadhara, and others. In the Government Manuscript Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona there is a manuscript of *Dhanurveda*. In print we have *Dhanurveda Saṁhitā*[155] by Vaśiṣṭha.

Sports and games: Among outdoor pursuits, hunting was very popular; and there is a treatise on the use of hawks in hunting called *Śyainika-śāstra*[156] by Rājā Rudradeva of Kumaon, written in the seventeenth century A.D.; there is also a commentary[157] on this work. Among indoor games chess was popular; a modern work, *Śatarañja-kutūhala*,[158] deals with this game.

Psychology: In almost all Sanskrit philosophical works there is some discussion on matters connected with p sychology, yet there appears to have been no systematic work on this subject. Particularly in Yoga philosophy, different

[149] *Oppert's Catalogue*, 1348, 6687.
[150] *Bikaner Catalogue*, 333.
[151] MS. with Asiatic Society of Bengal (ASB),III, H 453.
[152] Ed. *BI*., CCLXXXV (Calcutta, 1960)
[153] K. K. Dutta, *op cit*, p. 39
[154] Ed. Isvaichandra Sastri (Calcutta, 1917).
[155] Ed. Isvarchandra Sastri & Arun Kumar Sinha (Mymensingh, 1921).
[156] Ed. (with translation) H. P. Sastri (ASB., 1910).
[157] MS. with ASB., 8244.
[158] Ed. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti (Samskrita Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta).

aspects of human psychology have been treated in great depth and detail, still leaving much scope for scientific investigation and thus attracting the attention of Western psychologists. In modern times, however, *Prācīna-Bhāratīya-Manovidyā*[159] by Dinesh Chandra Sastri gives a connected account of the Indian approach to this subject.

Erotics: Eros, as a subject, was not tabooed in ancient India; in fact, it was recognized as one of the four ends of human life. Even in the Vedas the erotic elements are not rare, and the Vedic seers appear to have had a realistic approach to matters related to the process of procreation. In the epics, too, we find ample erotic material. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Uddālaka Āruṇi is named as a teacher of the erotic art, while Vātsyāyana names Auddālaki Śvetaketu as one of the authorities on erotics. Other names cited are: Bābhravya, Dattaka, Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardīya, Goṇikāputra, and Kucumāra. The list points clearly to the fact that the subject of erotics provided a long line of predecessors to Vātsyāyana before he wrote his work. Of all the works available, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*[160] is by far the best. Vātsyāyana, who is also known as Mallanāga, wrote his work possibly in the third century A.D. It is not a mere tract on sexology or eugenics, but a serious and scientific treatment of *kāma* or eros in all its different aspects, social and humanistic. *Jayamaṅgalā* is a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* written by Yaśodhara (*c.* thirteenth century A.D.). Padmaśrī, possibly a Buddhist of the tenth century A.D., wrote a work called *Nāgara-sarvasva*,[161] and on this a commentary was written by Jagajjyotirmalla of Nepal in the seventeenth century A.D. Of uncertain date is a work called *Kucumāra Tantra*.[162] Prior to the thirteenth century Kokkoka or Kukkoka wrote a work entitled *Rati-rahasya*;[163] a commentary on it was written by Kāñcīnātha. In the fourteenth century Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara of Mithilā wrote a work called *Pañcasāyaka*.[164] Among a host of other works on this subject are: *Kāma-ratna*[165] by Nityanātha, *Anaṅga-raṅga*[166] by Kalyāṇamalladeva (sixteenth century A.D.), *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*[167] (A.D. 1577) by Vīrabhadra, *Rati-mañjarī* by Jayadeva[168] (of uncertain date), *Rati-ratna-pradīpikā*[169] by Mahārāja Devarāja (seventeenth century A.D.), *Rati-ramaṇa*[170]

159 Ed. Calcutta, 1972.
160 Ed. Nirnaya Sagara Press (Bombay, 1891).
161 Ed. Tansukharam Sastri (Bombay, 1921).
162 Ed. Chowkhamba.
163 Ed. Devidatta (Lahore, 1921).
164 Panchananda Sastri Ghiladia (Lahore, 1921).
165 Ed. Chowkhamba.
166 Ed. Ram Chandra Sastri Kusal (Lahore, 1890).
167 *Ibid.* (1926).
168 Ed. Chowkhamba.
169 Ed. (with English translation) K. A Rangaswami Iyengar (Mysore, 1923).
170 Ed. Ganguly & Co. (Calcutta, 1909).

ascribed to Siddhanāgārjuna, and *Rati-śāstra*[171] by Nāgārjuna with a commentary called *Smaratattva-prakāśikā* by Rāvaṇārādhya. In these later works the science seems to develop some dogmas; also mystic processes and a variety of potions came to be introduced. Moreover, a close relation may be seen between these works and the *vājīkaraṇa* section of the Āyurveda. *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta (*c.* seventh-eighth centuries A.D.) also deserves mention in this connexion, though it does not directly deal with erotics. It is a science concerned with the go-betweens in versical form.

Histrionics, music and dance: Music and dance are mankind's most primitive forms of recreation, while histrionics which is ingrained in human beings by their natural inclination to imitate came to be associated with dance as an essential part of it. In the course of time, the three arts were co-ordinated and gave rise to the dramatic art. The scientific study of all these subjects appears to have commenced long before the time of Pāṇini (*c.* fifth century B.C.), for he refers to two *Naṭa-Sūtras* written by Śilālin and Kṛśāśva (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3. 110-11). We are not sure about the contents of these two works, however. The earliest work available is the *Nāṭya-śāstra*[172] by Bharata. This is the most authentic work in Sanskrit on dramaturgy, and it is the best available compendium dealing in a masterly way with music, dance, histrionics, and drama. Almost all the later works on these subjects generally follow the track laid down by Bharata. Thus most of the works on music include dance and the works on dance also embrace music; it is obvious that in ancient India these two subjects were looked upon as complementary to each other. Since neither the musician nor the dancer could do without some form of drama for the sake of 'effect', drama or histrionics also infiltrated into books on music and dance.

The available works on music refer to a host of ancient masters. Some of these names are: Sadāśiva, Brahman, Bharata, Kāśyapa, Mataṅga, Kohala, Yāṣṭīka, Viśākhila, Dattila, Tumburu, Nārada, and Nandikeśvara. In *Śṛṅgāra-hāra* by Hammīra we find a reference to a work called *Gandharvāmṛta-sāgara* by Brahman. The text called *Gītālaṅkāra*[173] is ascribed to Bharata. *Saṅgīta-makaranda*[174] by Nārada probably belongs to the seventh century. *Bṛhaddeśī*[175] by Mataṅga was written in *c.* A.D. 850. The *jhakkiṇī* dance of this text is frequently referred to in the ancient Tamil text of *Śilappadikāram*. Twelfth-thirteenth century texts include *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*[176] by Śārṅgadeva, *Saṅgīta-*

[171] Ed. R. Schmidt (1904, 1909).
[172] Ed. GOS (four volumes)
[173] Ed. Alain Danielou & N. R. Bhatt (Pondicherry, 1969).
[174] Ed GOS., XVI.
[175] Ed. TSS., XCIV.
[176] Ed. ASS. (1896-97); Adyar Library (Madras, 1953), *et seq.*

ratnāvalī[177] by Somabhūpāla, *Saṅgīta-cūḍāmaṇi*[178] by Jagadekamalla, and the musical section of *Mānasollāsa*[179] by Someśvara. *Saṅgīta-kalpataru* is cited by Bhoja, Rucipati, and Raṅganātha. This treatise is probably a tenth century text. There is also a work called *Yāṣṭikamata* preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras. Jayana, who was also known as Jayasenāpati, for he was the commander-in-chief of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati of Warangal (thirteenth century A.D.), wrote a work on music called *Saṅgīta-ratnāvalī*[180]. Also to this period belong: *Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra*[181] by Pārśvadeva, *Saṅgīta-kalpadruma*[182] with a commentary, *Śṛṅgāra-hāra*[183] by Hammīra, *Rasatattva-samuccaya*[184] by Allarāja (its first chapter is on music), *Saṅgīta-sāra-kalikā*[185] by Mokṣadeva, and *Saṅgīta-rāja*[186] by Rāṇā Kumbha, who was also known as Kālasena. Raghunātha (seventeenth century A.D.) wrote *Saṅgīta-sudhā*;[187] in it he quotes from *Saṅgīta-dīpikā* by Mādhavabhaṭṭa (fourteenth century A.D.). Also of the fourteenth century are: *Ānanda-sañjīvana*[188] by Madana, which deals with *tāla*, *rāga*, and analogous topics; *Saṅgīta-candra*[189] by Vipradāsa, of which only the *nṛttaprakāśa* section and a commentary by Jagajjyotirmalla are available; *Saṅgīta-sudhākara*[190] by Haripāladeva; and *Saṅgīta-sarvasva* by Jagaddhara, which is cited by Rucipati and Rāghavabhaṭṭa. In the fifteenth century A.D. Devanācārya wrote *Saṅgīta-muktāvalī*;[191] Maṇḍana, his contemporary, wrote *Saṅgīta-maṇḍana*.[192] *Āñjaneya-bharata*, of doubtful authorship, appears to be the same as *Yāṣṭikamata*. The notable works of the next century are: *Ṣaḍrāga-candrodaya*, *Rāga-mālā*, and *Rāga-mañjarī*[193] by Puṇḍarīka Viṭhṭhala; he included in his work the *jakkaḍī* dance and the *gajara* songs which were much favoured by the Moguls; *Svaramela-kalā-nidhi*[194] by Rāma Amātya, which in five chapters deals with Karnatic music; *Rāga-mālā*[195] by Kṣemakarṇa; and *Saṅgīta-sūryo-*

[177] M. R. Kavi, *Bharatakośa*, Venkatesvara Oriental Series, XXX, Introduction.
[178] Ed. GOS., CXXVIII.
[179] Ed. GOS (1958, 1961).
[180] M. R. Kavi, *op. cit*
[181] Ed TSS., XXXVII.
[182] M. R Kavi, *op. cit.*
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] *Ibid.*
[186] Ed. Premlata Sarma (Hindu University, Benaras, 1963).
[187] *Tanjore Catalogue*, IV.4568.
[188] M. R. Kavi, *op. cit.*
[189] *Ibid.*
[190] *Triennial Catalogue* (*TC*), I. 1025, IV. 4570.
[191] *Bikaner Catalogue*, 521
[192] MS. with Jaina Bhandar Library of Patan.
[193] Edns. Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1912, 1914.
[194] Ed. Bhatkhande; Ramaswami Iyer (Annamalai University); Chowkhamba.
[195] *Bikaner Catalogue*, 516.

daya[196] by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, court singer of King Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. Among the many works of the seventeenth century are: *Rāga-vibodha*[197] by Somanātha, *Saṅgīta-sāra-saṅgraha*[198] by Jagajjyotirmalla, *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa*[199] by Catura Dāmodara, *Nagendra-saṅgīta*[200] by Nāgamalla of Jyotipura (Jodhpur), and *Saṅgīta-pārijāta*[201] by Ahobala. Works of the eighteenth century include *Saṅgīta-sārāmṛta*[202] by King Tularāja of Tanjore and *Rāga-mālikā* by Puruṣottama.[203] Works on musical instruments include: *Uddīśa-mahāmantrodaya*,[204] *Caturdaṇḍi-prakāśa*[205] by Veṅkaṭamakhin (seventeenth century); and a work called *Vīṇālaksaṇa*.[206] Chapters XVII to XIX of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also deal with music.

The ancient authorities on the subject of dance arc: Kāmadeva, Vāsuki, Dakṣa, Dhenuka, Drauhiṇi, Svāti, Kāśyapa, Śiva, Nārada, Śārdūla, and others. Mentioned by Mataṅga, Śārdūla was an expert on *hastābhinaya* (histrionic posture of hands). Among the Purānic works that deal with dance are the *Vāyu* (XXIV-XXV), the*Mārkaṇḍeya* (XXI), the *Agni* (CCCXLI), and the *Viṣnudharmottara* (XX-XXIX). The speaker of the *nṛtya-śāstra* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (XXXII-XXXIV) is Mārkaṇḍeya. There is also a work called *Bharatārṇava*[207] which is ascribed to Nandikeśvara; and works of doubtful origin called *Brahma-bharata*,[208] *Nandı-bharata*,[209] and *Sadāśiva-bharata*.[210] *Abhinaya-darpaṇa*[211] by Nandikeśvara preserves a school of dance which differs in many respects from the Bharata school. Dattila[212] wrote on music and dance. This work has a commentary called *Prayoga-stavaka* which was cited by Siṁharāja in his commentary on *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*.[213] There is also a treatise called *Tālādhyāya*[214] by Kohala. Aśokamalla wrote his

196 M R Kavi, *op cit.*
197 Ed Chowkhamba.
198 *Nepal Catalogue*, 262
199 Ed. Vasudev Sastri (Tanjore, 1952).
200 M. R. Kavi, *op cit.*
201 Ed Jivananda (Calcutta).
202 *Tanjore Catalogue*, XVI. 7288.
203 *TC*, IV 4705.
204 *TC.*, III. 3987
205 M R. Kavi, *op cit*
206 Ed. GOS , CXXXI.
207 Ed. Vasudev Sastri (Tanjore, 1953).
208 MS. with M. R. Kavi.
209 *Madras Catalogue*, XII.
210 *Mysore Catalogue*, 309.
211 Ed. Manomohan Ghosh (Calcutta).
212 Ed TSS (1957).
213 M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937), p. 822.
214 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 130

Nṛtyādhyāya[215] in A.D. 850. *Nṛtya-ratnakoṣa*[216] by Rānā Kumbha belongs to the thirteenth century and to the same period belongs *Nṛtya-ratnāvalī*[217] by Jayasena. To the fourteenth century belong *Saṅgītopaniṣat-sāroddhāra*[218] by Sudhākalaśa (A.D. 1350) and *Nāṭya-cūḍāmaṇi*[219] by Somana, an Andhra monarch. In the fifteenth century, Gopendra Tippabhūpāla wrote *Tāla-dīpikā*.[220] Mallinātha (*Kumāra-sambhava*, VI. 40) cites a work on dance, *Rāja-kandarpa*, but this work is now lost. Acyutarāya (A.D. 1543) in his *Tāla-kalābodhi*[221] cites three works on dance: *Tāla-kalā-vilāsa*, *Nṛtya-cūḍāmaṇi*, and *Saṅgītārṇava*. In the sixteenth century, Śubhaṅkara wrote his *Hasta-muktāvalī*.[222] There is a commentary on this work written by Ghanaśyāma, and an Assamese rendering of it called *Śrīhasta-muktāvalī*.[223] Śubhaṅkara also wrote *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*,[224] which deals with dance, drama, and music. *Nartana-nirṇaya*[225] by Puṇḍarīka Viṭhṭhala also belongs to the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, King Tularāja of Tanjore wrote *Nāṭya-vedāgama*[226] which deals mainly with dance.

Art and architecture: In the *Viṣṇudharmottara* there are elaborate discussions on art and architecture. Other texts available on these subjects are nearly fifty in number, and most of them include sculpture, painting, and iconography within their scope. Among the ancient masters of *śilpa-śāstra*, a term which includes architecture, are: Viśvakarman, Viṣṇu, Sanatkumāra, Kāśyapa, and Maya. There are many texts which are known only by name, such as *Rekhārṇava* (perhaps on pictorial art), *Vāstuhṛdaya*, and *Sukhānandavāstu*. Two works cited by Mallinātha, *Kalākoṣa* (*Naiṣadha-carita*, XXII. 3) and *Śayana-śāstra* (*Naiṣadha-carita*, XXI. 106), have yet to be discovered.

The following are among the important available texts: *Vāstuvidyā*;[227] *Manuṣyālaya-candrikā*;[228] *Śrījñāna-ratnakoṣa*;[229] *Mayamata*;[230] *Aparājita-pṛcchā*;[231]

[215] Ed. GOS (1963).
[216] Ed. R. C. Parikh & P. Shah (1957)
[217] Ed. V. Raghavan (Madras, 1965).
[218] Ed. GOS., CXXXIII.
[219] GOML, 12998.
[220] *Tanjore Catalogue*, XVI. 7307.
[221] M. R. Kavi, *op. cit.*
[222] Ed. Mahesvar Neog.
[223] *Ibid.*
[224] Ed. G. N. Sastri & G. G. Mukherjee (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, XI, 1960).
[225] M. Krishnamachariar, *op.cit.*
[226] *Ibid.*
[227] Ed. TSS., XXX (1913).
[228] *Ibid.*, LVI.
[229] Ed. Balaram Srivastav (Calcutta)
[230] Ed. S. K. Subrahmanya Sastri (Tanjore, 1966).
[231] Ed. Mankad (Oriental Institute, Baroda).

Viśvakarma-vāstu-śāstra;[232] *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā*;[233] *Kāśyapa-śilpa-śāstra*;[234] *Prāsāda-mañjarī*[235] and *Vāstu-mañjarī* by Śrīnātha (fifteenth century); *Prāsāda-maṇḍana*[236] by Maṇḍana; *Yukti-kalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*[237] by Bhoja; *Śilparatna* by Śrīkumāra;[238] *Nārada-śilpa-śāstra*;[239] *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*;[240] *Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa*; *Rūpa-maṇḍana*[241] by Maṇḍana; and *Buddha-pratimā-lakṣaṇa*[242] with a commentary called *Sambuddha-bhāṣita-pratimā-lakṣaṇa-vivaraṇī*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, a work called *Nagnajit-citralakṣaṇa* is referred to; *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (Chapter LVIII) identifies Nagnajit's view with that of Drāviḍa. A Tibetan translation of this work is preserved in Tibet, while a German translation has been made by Berthold Laufer. It has also an English translation.[243]

Mechanical devices: Although coal, petrol, electricity, and the spring device were not available to mechanics in ancient India, they were not lacking in ingenuity. By utilizing air, water, fire, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, the lever principle, and the process of mechanical rivetting, they were able to produce a number of instruments, appliances, and labour-saving machines. They even produced, in crude form of course, robots[244] and, as already mentioned, aeronautic machines. References to ancient masters in aeronautics include the names of Nārāyaṇa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vācaspati, Cākrāyaṇi, and Ḍhuṇḍhinātha. Among available literature, besides Bhoja's *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* already referred to, is *Bhārotthāpana-yantra-nirmāṇa-vidhi*[245] (principle of making a machine to lift a heavy weight) by Devīsiṁhamahīpati (seventeenth century). There are also two works by Bharadvāja, viz. *Yantra-sarvasva* and *Aṁśu-bodhinī*. The commentator Bodhānanda Yati names Nārāyaṇa, Lalla, and Śaṅkha as his authorities.[246]

[232] Ed. with the commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭaratna, Vasudev Sastri & N. B. Grade (1958).

[233] Ed. Chowkhamba.

[234] Ed. Tanjore, 1960.

[235] Ed. P. O. Samapura & Dhaky.

[236] Ed. Chowkhamba.

[237] Ed. T. G. Ganapati Sastri (GOS, XXV, XXXI).

[238] TSS., LXXV, XCVIII; Devanathachariar (Tanjore, 1961).

[239] MS. with ASB., III, H 226.

[240] Ed. P. N. Bose (Greater India Series, V, Calcutta, 1927).

[241] Ed. Upendramohan Sankhyatirtha (Calcutta Oriental Series, LXXII, 1926).

[242] Ed. Haridas Mitra, *Prince of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Studies*, XLVIII (1953)

[243] *An Early Document of Indian Art: 'The Citralakṣaṇa of Nagnajit'*, translated by B. N. Goswamy and A. L. Dahmen-Dallapiccola (Manohar Book Service, New Delhi, 1976).

[244] K. K. Dutta's article, 'A Medieval Account of Mechanical Devices in India', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (New Delhi, 1961), pp. 74-78; V. Raghavan, *Yantras or Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India* (The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore); L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), *et seq.*

[245] Ed. Vrajavallabh Dvivedi (Varanaseya Sanskrit University).

[246] Manudev Bhattacharya's article, 'Vaimānikam Kiñcit', *Ṛṣikalpanyāsa* (Sahitya Section), pp. 76-87.

This, in short, is scientific literature in Sanskrit. The Purāṇas also contain popular accounts of many other minor topics of scientific interest. The foregoing discussion is sufficient to indicate the ancient Indian genius which touched almost all the comprehensible topics of human necessity. Natural calamities, foreign invasion, and the like have destroyed many treasures of our forefathers and who knows how many works on scientific and other subjects are still waiting for light in temples and monasteries and personal possession !

25

PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

PHILOSOPHICAL literature in Sanskrit is as vast as it is diverse. Drawing inspiration from the Vedas and Upaniṣads, it branched off into the literature on the six orthodox systems, namely, Sāmkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā.[1] As a challenge to these orthodox systems, there arose a vast literature on the heterodox systems like the Buddhist, Jaina, and Lokāyata. After the Vedic age, works on the six systems of Indian philosophy came into existence first in the form of *sūtras* or aphorisms. They were followed by numerous *bhāṣyas* or commentaries on them. It is difficult to ascertain the chronological order of the *sūtras* as well as of the *bhāṣyas*. It seems that the *bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* is the oldest of all the *bhāṣyas*. Śaṅkarācārya in his *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* mentions the name of Śabarasvāmin as a Mīmāṁsā commentator. The *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara on the *Brahma-Sūtra* thus came later. Rāmānuja mentions that there had been a *vṛtti* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* by Bodhāyana before Śaṅkara. We know from the commentators of the *Śaṅkara-bhāṣya* that there was a *vṛtti* by Bhartṛprapañca on the *Brahma-Sūtra* before Śaṅkara. We have some proofs that before the *bhāṣyas* were written there were other *vṛttis* or short explanations of the *sūtras*. We can thus visualize a philosophic age between the age of *sūtras* and that of *bhāṣyas*. In this respect, we can also mention the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, which was written in the form of *kārikās* or short verses.

Systematic philosophical speculation leading to the growth of literature began when the need was felt for organizing the scattered thoughts of the various Upaniṣads (sometimes found to be paradoxical and even contradicting one another). This was also needed to meet the challenge of the heterodox doctrines, particularly the Lokāyata ones, references to which are found in a scattered way throughout the earlier works of philosophical nature. All these factors contributed to the growth of a diversified philosophical literature. The orthodox and the heterodox schools had also to fight among themselves in an organized manner. This led to the production of a huge philosophical literature which is polemic by nature with arguments and counter-arguments couched in strictly logical terminology.

[1] For a detailed study of the philosophy of these systems reference may be made to *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 27-167 and 187-383. Besides the six orthodox schools, there are a few others which are equally orthodox, but may be better termed as theistic, for instance, the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta systems of philosophy, which have been treated separately in the present volume (pp. 59-151) so far as their literature is concerned. For their philosophy see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 287-99, 437-48 and Vol. IV, pp. 63-259, 309-13.

We find systematic Indian philosophy mainly in the following orthodox systems: Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā or Vedānta. Of these systems, Sāṁkhya and Yoga are generally coupled with each other and so are Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as well as the two Mīmāṁsās, Pūrva and Uttara.—Editor.

I

SĀṀKHYA

Of the traditional Indian schools of philosophy, Sāṁkhya is probably the oldest. The first reference to Sāṁkhya is found in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (VI. 13). Sāṁkhya views have also been referred to in the *Mahābhārata (Śāntiparvan : Mokṣadharma)*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and *Manu Smṛti*. Kauṭilya (fourth century B. C.) in his *Arthaśāstra*, while enumerating the philosophic studies in his days, mentions Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata. Though Kapila is universally recognized as the founder of the Sāṁkhya system, the *Sāṁkhya-Sūtra* that we have (which is attributed to Kapila) does not appear to be very old. The way the *sūtras* are stated there is not archaic at all, and its fourth chapter contains only illustrative stories—a form in which no other philosophical Sūtra work was composed. According to some, this Kapila belonged to the fifteenth century. Till the other day the first systematic work on Sāṁkhya was supposed to be Īśvarakṛṣṇa's (*c.* third century A.D.) *Sāṁkhya-kārikā*. Only recently a very old commentary on it, entitled *Yukti-dīpikā*, by an unknown writer (authorship wrongly attributed in the manuscript to Vācaspati Miśra of the ninth century A.D.) has been published. It contains, by way of refutation, extensive quotations from the works (titles unmentioned) of Pañcaśikha (*c.* second/third century A.D.), Paurika, Pañcādhikaraṇa, Vindhyavāsin, and Vṛṣagaṇa and his followers. This shows that Īśvarakṛṣṇa's was only one school of Sāṁkhya beside which, even in the days of the author of *Yukti-dīpikā* (the style of the work suggests that the author belonged to the age of Uddyotakara, i.e. sixth/seventh century A.D.), these other philosophers were carrying on work on systematic Sāṁkhya in different schools.

Much later, as late as the ninth century, we have the famous commentary on *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* by Vācaspati Miśra, known as *Tattva-kaumudī*, which is the most popular of all the Sāṁkhya works. Before him, however, Gauḍapāda (seventh/eighth century A.D.) wrote another commentary called *Gauḍapāda-bhāṣya*. The *Sāṁkhya-Sūtra* was elaborately commented upon by Vijñāna Bhikṣu (seventeenth century) and briefly by Aniruddha (fifteenth century). Vijñāna Bhikṣu's commentary is known as *Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* which ought to be read in conjunction with his commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, known as *Vijñānāmṛta-bhāṣya*. Aniruddha's commentary is called *Aniruddha-vṛtti*. Mention may, in this

connexion, be made of a commentary on *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* named *Māṭhara-vṛtti* (seventh century) which may or may not be the *Māṭhara-bhāṣya* to which Guṇaratna (fourteenth/fifteenth century) has referred in his commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*. Another commentary directly on the *Sāṁkhya-Sūtra* is Mahādeva Sarasvatī's (seventeenth century) *Vṛtti*. On *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* there are two other commentaries. They are: Śaṅkarācārya's (according to some, Śaṅkarārya of ninth century) *Jayamaṅgalā* and Nārāyaṇatīrtha's (seventeenth century) *Candrikā*. Three known commentaries on Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattva-kaumudī* are: Vaṁśīdhara Miśra's (seventeenth century) *Sāṁkhya-tattva-vibhākara*, Bhāratī Yati's (eighteenth/nineteenth century) commentary, and Kṛṣṇa Vallabhācārya's *Kiraṇa*.

There are two important works of unknown authors, viz. *Saṣṭi Tantra* (incomplete) attributed sometimes to Pañcaśikha; and *Tattva-samāsa* which is to be read with Gaṇeśa Dīkṣita's or Bhāvāgaṇeśa's (sixteenth century) *Yathārtha-dīpana*, Vaṁśīdāsa's *Artha-dīpikā*, and an unknown author's *Krama-dīpikā*. Another very old work going by the name of *Suvarṇa-saptati* is attributed to Paramārtha. Other independent works on Sāṁkhya are: Vijñāna Bhikṣu's *Sāṁkhya-sāra*, Kavirāja Yati's (eighteenth/nineteenth century) *Sāṁkhya-tattva-pradīpa*, Keśava Bhaṭṭa's (eighteenth/nineteenth century) *Sāṁkhya-tattva-pradīpikā*, Kṛṣṇa Mitra's (eighteenth/nineteenth century) *Tattva-mīmāṁsā*, Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya's (eighteenth century) *Sāṁkhya-kaumudī*, and Kṣemānanda's *Sāṁkhya-tattva-vivecana*.

Āyurveda works of Caraka and Suśruta, known as *Caraka Saṁhitā* and *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, also deal with Sāṁkhya, though basically they are treatises on medicine. The *Ātreya Tantra* mentioned in Guṇaratna's commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* as an authoritative Sāṁkhya work is very probably *Caraka Saṁhitā* itself.

II

YOGA

The history of Yoga is shrouded in mystery. As a system of practice, it is as old as the *Atharva-Veda* and some earlier Upaniṣads. The *Mahābhārata*, including the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and *Lalitavistara* also refer to Yogic practices. The literature on Yoga is thus found in an unsystematic form extensively in ancient Indian works. The first systematic work on Yoga, however, is Patañjali's *Yoga-Sūtra*. Vyāsa's (fifth century A.D.) *Yoga-bhāṣya* (sometimes called *Vārttika*) is an elaborate commentary on it. The theoretical philosophy that both the *Yoga-Sūtra* and *Yoga-bhāṣya* develop comes close to Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṁkhya, though it differs in some important details, for instance, in its recognition of God. The theoretical part of Sāṁkhya philosophy is itself divided into two schools ac-

cording as it recognizes God or not—Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṁkhya belonging to the latter and Vijñāna Bhikṣu's to the former. The God that Patañjali admits is more like that of Nyāya—just one among the many selves, though perfect in all respects. Unlike the God of Nyāya, the God of Yoga (except according to Bhoja of eleventh century and Vijñāna Bhikṣu) is the Teacher of teachers and grants *asamprajñāta-samādhi* (contentless concentration) even to those who at the stage of *samprajñāta-samādhi* (conscious concentration) just concentrate devotedly on Him.

Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattva-vaiśāradī* and Vijñāna Bhikṣu's *Yoga-vārttika* are the two famous commentaries on Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya*. Bhoja also has written a small commentary, not so much on Vyāsa's *Bhāṣya* as on the *Yoga-Sūtra* itself, known as *Bhoja-vṛtti*, sometimes as *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa*. On it we have Kṛṣṇa Vallabhācārya's *Kiraṇa*. Other commentaries on the *Yoga-Sūtra* are: Gaṇeśa Dīkṣita's *Vṛtti*, Rāmānanda Sarasvatī's (seventeenth century) *Maṇiprabhā*, Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yoga-siddhānta-candrikā* and *Sūtrārtha-bodhinī*, Nāgeśa (Nāgoji) Bhaṭṭa's (eighteenth century) *Chāyā-vyākhyā*, Sadāśiva's (eighteenth century) *Yoga-sudhākara*, Ananta Paṇḍita's *Candrikā*, and Baladeva Miśra's *Yoga-pradīpikā*. Vijñāna Bhikṣu's *Yoga-sāra* is a useful handbook of Yoga philosophy. Mention may be made here of some other treatises like *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* and *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, which chiefly concern themselves with Haṭha-yoga and Rāja-yoga, but are not philosophical by nature. Some of the later Upaniṣads which are called Yoga Upaniṣads, namely, *Maitrī*, *Śāṇḍilya*, *Yoga-tattva*, *Dhyāna-bindu*, *Haṁsa*, *Varāha*, *Amṛtanāda*, *Maṇḍala-Brāhmaṇa*, *Nāda-bindu*, and *Yoga-kuṇḍalī* present the Yoga practices in their diverse proliferations over the centuries.

III

VAIŚEṢIKA

The first systematic exposition of Vaiśeṣika philosophy (also called Aulūkya Darśana) is found in the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* of Kaṇāda who belonged to a very ancient age.[2] The earliest commentaries on the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* are *Bharadvāja-vṛtti* and

[2] 'The Vaiśeṣika system', says Richard Garbe, 'seems to be of much greater antiquity than the Nyāya' (*The Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 20). Scholars are divided in their opinion about whether Kaṇāda preceded Gautama, founder of Nyāya philosophy, or belonged to a later date. Nyāya mentions four means of authentic knowledge or *pramāṇa* and five divisions of logical fallacy or *hetvābhāsa*. Many other topics have been critically examined under this system. But Kanāda's *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* speaks of three divisions of logical fallacy and two means of knowledge. Besides, the topic of *anumāna* or inference has not been dealt with elaborately in the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra*. All this has led some scholars to believe that Kaṇāda's *Sūtra* had been composed before Gautama's philosophy was established. Generally speaking, *padārthas* or objects of experience used to be dealt with but briefly in the works of earlier philosophers. *Padārthas* assumed greater importance in later expositions of philosophical thought. The detailed study of *padārthas* in Nyāya literature and a rather brief treatment of the same in the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra*

Rāvaṇa-bhāṣya. They are, however, no longer extant. We have now to rely chiefly on such treatises as *Upaskāra* by Śaṅkara Miśra (fifteenth century), and *Kaṇāda-sūtra-vivṛti* by Jayanarayana Tarkapanchanana (nineteenth century). There is also a detailed commentary on *Upaskāra* called *Pariṣkāra* composed recently by Panchanana Tarkaratna. No other direct commentary on the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* is known to exist. A major and authoritative work on the *Sūtra*, however, is *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* by Praśastapāda (*c*. fifth century), also called *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya*. *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* is not so much a commentary on the *Sūtra* as an independent work on the subject. In fact, the quality or marks of a commentary are conspicuous by their absence here. Instead of analysing the text of the *Sūtra*, the author has given a description of the categories established in the *Sūtra*.

Vaiśeṣika thinkers were more interested in metaphysics (including science) than in logic and theory of knowledge, though undoubtedly they had their original contribution in this latter field too. Interestingly enough, the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* begins with proposing the task of explaining *dharma* and ends with referring to the efficacy of Vedic injunctions. The relevance of these two terminal *sūtras* to the elaborate metaphysics developed in between is an intriguing problem.

Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha served as a source book for later commentators on Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The earliest commentary on *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* was *Vyomavatī* by Vyomaśivācārya (tenth century). This was followed by Śrīdharācārya's (tenth century) *Nyāya-kandalī* which was commented upon by Rājaśekhara (twelfth century) in his *Nyāya-kandalī-pañcikā*. Udayana (*c*. tenth/eleventh century) is believed to have written his *Kiraṇāvalī* after this, though according to some scholars, he figured earlier than Śrīdharācārya. Both Śrīdhara and Udayana admit the existence of God. Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvalī* is a short manual on Vaiśeṣika. Some other major works of Udayana are as follows: *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy of religion, *Ātma-tattva-viveka* (a work in which the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of the Self has been elaborated and defended particularly against the Buddhist challenge), and *Lakṣaṇamālā*. Śaṅkara Miśra's *Kalpalatā* is a commentary on Udayana's *Ātma-tattva-viveka*. Among other expository works on *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* and *Kiraṇāvalī* are: Śaṅkara Miśra's *Kaṇāda-rahasya*; Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra's (sixteenth/seventeenth century) *Dravya-sūkti* which deals with the category of *dravya*; a recent commentary by Mahamahopadhyaya Kalipada Tarkacharya on *Dravya-sūkti*; Vardhamānopādhyāya's (thirteenth century) *Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa*; *Prakāśikā*

presupposes an earlier origin of Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Bādarāyana in his *Brahma-Sūtra* has sought to refute the Vaiśesika line of thought and has nothing to say about Nyāya. This also goes to support the contention that the former preceded Nyāya. The theory of non-eternal nature of *śabda* (verbal testimony) has been challenged in the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* of Jaimini, which indicates that Vaiśesika philosophy was founded before Mīmāṁsā. There are also reasons to believe that Kaṇāda preceded Buddha and the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* was, therefore, of greater antiquity than even Buddhism.

by Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura (fifteenth century) and *Dravya-prakāśa-vivṛti* by Rucidatta (thirteenth century), both being commentaries on *Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa*; two *dīdhitis* by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (fifteenth century), the works being commentaries on *Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa*.

Nyāya-līlāvatī by Vallabhācārya (who belonged to a later date than Udayana) is not quite a commentary on *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha*; it is an independent work dealing with the topics contained in the latter. The author has discussed various points on novel lines (*navya śailī*). Earlier contentions are sought to be refuted in his treatise. Śaṅkara Miśra and Vardhamānopādhyāya wrote two commentaries on this work—*Nyāya-līlāvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Nyāya-līlāvatī-prakāśa* respectively. A commentary on the latter is known as *Nyāya-līlāvatī-prakāśa-vivṛti*. Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra's (thirteenth century) *Rasa-sāra* is a commentary on *Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa* of Vardhamāna, while *Dravya-pragalbhī* by Pragalbhācārya (fifteenth century) deals with *Dravya-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa*. Jayadeva Miśra (fifteenth century), also known as Pakṣadhara Miśra, of Mithilā wrote a commentary on *Dravya-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa* by Vardhamāna and another on *Nyāya-līlāvatī*. An eminent logician of Bengal and author of many treatises, Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa (sixteenth century) wrote *Dravya-kiraṇāvalī-rahasya* and *Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī-rahasya* as well as *Dravya-prakāśa-vivṛti-rahasya* and *Guṇa-prakāśa-vivṛti-rahasya*. The list of his works includes a commentary on *Nyāya-līlāvatī*.

Some more important works on Vaiśeṣika are: *Saptapadārthī* by Śivāditya Miśra (twelfth century), *Mānamanohara* by Vādivāgīśvara (contemporary of Śivāditya), and *Pramāṇa-mañjarī* by Sarvadeva. Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī* presents the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika principles as parts of one whole. Laugākṣi Bhāskara's (*c.* seventeenth century) *Tarka-kaumudī* is another synthetical treatise based on Praśastapāda's work. Balabhadra (fifteenth century) wrote a commentary named *Sandarbha* on *Saptapadārthī* and another on *Pramāṇa-mañjarī*. Besides these two, he has another work to his credit, viz. *Dravya-prakāśa-vimala*, a commentary on *Dravya-prakāśa* of Vardhamāna. The following commentaries of Padmanābha Miśra (sixteenth century) are notable: *Setu-ṭīkā* (on *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha*), *Nyāya-kandalī-sāra* (on *Nyāya-kandalī*), *Kiraṇāvalī-bhāskara* (on *Kiraṇāvalī*), and *Vardhamānendu-ṭīkā* (on *Dravya-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa*). *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* by Mādhavācārya contains a chapter on Aulūkya Darśana. *Tarka-saṅgraha* and *Tarka-saṅgraha-dīpikā* by Annaṁbhaṭṭa (seventeenth century) and *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* and *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* by Viśvanātha (seventeenth century) can be regarded as composite works on Nyāya-Vaiśesika. The topics like *sapta padārtha* (seven categories of matter), *nava dravya* (nine kinds of substance), *caturviṁśati guṇa* (twenty-four kinds of quality), *pañca karma* (five types of action), etc. have been discussed in these works. *Tarkāmṛta* ascribed to Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra and Jayanarayana Tarkapanchanana's

Kaṇāda-sūtra-vivṛti (already mentioned) are useful compendia of the Vaiśeṣika principles. Based on *Upaskāra,* Jayanarayana's *Vivṛti* differs from the former on certain points. Other works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika metaphysics include Śaṅkara Miśra's *Vādi-vinoda*, Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra's *Nibandha* on the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra*, Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra's (*c.* thirteenth/fourteenth century) *Nyāya-ratna*, Śaśadhara's (*c.* fourteenth century) *Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa*, Raghunātha Śiromani's *Padārtha-tattva-nirūpana*, and Keśava Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāya-candrikā*.

IV

NYĀYA

The philosophy of Nyāya from the ancient days to the beginning of the thirteenth century was as much on the theory of knowledge (logic) as on constructive metaphysics. The Nyāya of this long period came later to be called Prācīna-Nyāya as distinct from the Nyāya since the thirteenth century, called Navya-Nyāya.

Prācīna-Nyāya: The first systematic work on Nyāya is the *Nyāya-Sūtra* of Gautama (Akṣapāda), supposed to have been composed about the third century B.C. The earliest commentary on it, written before the fifth century A.D., is by Vātsyāyana, and is known as *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya*. Uddyotakara (*c.* sixth century) wrote a commentary on this *Bhāṣya*, known as *Nyāya-vārttika*, containing profound original observations on many topics. Vācaspati Miśra (ninth century) wrote on Uddyotakara's *Nyāya-vārttika* an expository treatise known as *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*. Vācaspati Miśra has contributions to different systems of philosophy including Nyāya, Advaita Vedānta, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Mīmāṁsā. Naturally, he could look at many of the Nyāya problems from diverse angles. Added to this was the fact that he came long after Uddyotakara. These two factors helped him to add new dimensions to the system. On the *Nyāya-Sūtra* also he wrote *Nyāya-sūcī-nibandha*. On his *Tātparya-ṭīkā* Udayana (*c.* tenth/eleventh century) wrote a further commentary known as *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā-pariśuddhi*. He also wrote *Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa* on the *Nyāya-Sūtra* (Chapter V) and another important treatise, *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*.

By Udayana's time the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems had come close to each other, and philosophers of one school often wrote works on the other. Udayana is probably better known for his Vaiśeṣika works. Any way, he is a towering figure in either system. His *Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa* was commented on by Vardhamāna (thirteenth century) in his *Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa*. Vardhamāna wrote another commentary, *Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa*; this relates to Udayana's *Tātparya-pariśuddhi*. Other works bearing more or less directly on the *Nyāya-Sūtra* include *Siddhānta-candrikā* by Gaṅgādhara Sūri (seventeenth century),

Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti by Viśvanātha (seventeenth century), and *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā* by Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (seventeenth century).

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (ninth/tenth century) wrote an independent commentary, *Nyāya-mañjarī*, on parts of the *Nyāya-Sūtra*. It may be taken as a landmark in the history of Indian philosophy as it contains references practically to all the philosophic thoughts current at the time. A second work of this author is *Nyāya-kalikā*.

Though Navya-Nyāya began with Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya (thirteenth century), Nyāya philosophy continued to hold ground parallelly with it in the old spirit for some time. Notable works of this period are: Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāya-sāra* which is to be read with Jayasiṁha Sūri's (fourteenth century) *Nyāya-sāra-ṭīkā*; and Vallabha's *Nyāya-līlāvatī* to be read with Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa* on it. Mention may also be made of Śaṅkara Miśra's (fifteenth century) *Līlāvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura's (fifteenth century) commentary known as *Prakāśikā* on Vardhamāna's work.

Some other important works on Nyāya include *Tārkika-rakṣā* by Varadarāja (*c*. eleventh century), *Nyāya-tattvāloka* and *Nyāya-sūtroddhāra* by Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra (fifteenth century), *Nyāya-pariśuddhi* by Veṅkaṭanātha, *Makaranda* by Rucidatta (thirteenth century), *Nyāya-sāra* by Mādhavadeva, and *Tarka-bhāṣā* by Keśava Miśra (twelfth century).

Navya-Nyāya: With the advent of Gaṅgeśa of Mithilā, the new school of Nyāya philosophy known as Navya-Nyāya came into being. His monumental work *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* deals with the four sources of knowledge—*pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (analogy), and *śabda* (verbal testimony)—recognized by Nyāya. Particularly, his treatment of *anumāna* was highly scholastic and dialectical and this aroused considerable interest in the minds of later Naiyāyikas, specially in Bengal.

A large part of Navya-Nyāya literature is concerned with this work of Gaṅgeśa. Philosophers after philosophers have written commentaries and sub-commentaries and elaborated the methodological technique in different directions. The technique was perfected to such an extent, and it so much impressed the minds of scholars, that later treatises even on other branches of learning could not easily avoid it. It may not be far wrong to say that Navya-Nyāya treatises are all wonder-works on methodology, linguistic analysis, and logic.

The most outstanding philosopher after Gaṅgeśa was Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (*c*. fifteenth century). He wrote many treatises which include *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-dīdhiti*, *Anumāna-dīdhiti*, and *Śabda-maṇi-dīdhiti* on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*; three *nibandhas* (dissertations) included in the compilation known as *Vāda-vāridhi*; *Padārtha-khaṇḍana*; *Ākhyāta-vāda*; and *Nañvāda*. His *Anumāna-dīdhiti*, a classic work in Navya-Nyāya, is regarded as a contribution of great merit.

There are other notable works on Navya-Nyāya, which include Śaṅkara Miśra's (*c.* fifteenth century) *Khaṇḍana-ṭīkā*; Rucidatta's *Prakāśa* on *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*; Jānakīnātha Bhaṭṭācārya's (sixteenth century) *Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī*; Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa's (fifteenth/sixteenth century) *Bhāṣā-ratna* and a commentary on *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*; and Gaṅgeśa's son Vardhamāna's (thirteenth century) *Anvīkṣā-nayatattva-bodha* and some ten commentaries entitled *Prakāśa* on different topics. Jayadeva Miśra, author of *Maṇyāloka*, wrote commentaries on a number of Vardhamāna's works. Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa (sixteenth century) wrote many treatises including *ṭīkās* on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's major works. Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra's (*c.* sixteenth century) *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā* is an outstanding work on semantics. His another important work is *Nyāyādarśa*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma (fifteenth/sixteenth century) wrote many commentaries including *Ākhyāta-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī* and *Nañvāda-ṭippana* on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's works. Among other works which deserve notice are: Gopinātha Ṭhakkura's (sixteenth century) *Anumāna-maṇi-sāra*; Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya's (seventeenth century) *Nañvāda-vyākhyā*, *Vyutpatti-vāda*, and several expository treatises; Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa's (sixteenth century) *Bauddhādhikāra-vivṛti* and *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya*; Krishnakanta Vidyavagisa's (nineteenth century) *Śakti-sandīpanī*, *Nyāya-ratnāvalī* (on Jagadīśa's *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā*), *Tarkāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*, and *Nyāya-ratna-prakāśikā*; Madhusūdana Ṭhakkura's (sixteenth century) *Āloka-kaṇṭakoddhāra*; and Kalisankara's (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries) *Kroḍapatra*.

V

PŪRVA-MĪMĀṀSĀ

Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā is a system of Hindu philosophy which deals with the nature of *dharma* as propounded in the *karma-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas. This system bifurcated itself into two main schools, viz. that of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (seventh century) and that of his disciple Prabhākara Miśra to which was added a third, viz. that of Murāri. Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* (400 B.C. or according to another view 200 B.C.) forms the foundation of Mīmāṁsā philosophy. But these *sūtras* are only a comprehensive compilation of different views on the nature and efficacy of sacrificial rituals. The earliest available commentary on the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* is Śabarasvāmin's[3] *bhāṣya* (*Śabara-bhāṣya*). Commentaries were there before him also by Bhartṛmitra (referred to in *Nyāya-ratnākara*, verse 10 of *Śloka-vārttika*), Bhavadāsa (referred to in *Śloka-vārttika*, verse 63), Hari, Upavarṣa (referred to in *Śāstra-dīpikā*), Bodhāyana, and many others. *Śabara-bhāṣya* was commented upon by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in his *Śloka-vārttika*, *Tantra-vārttika*, and

[3] It is difficult to assign Śabara to a definite date. According to Ganganath Jha, Śabara belongs to the first century B.C. Jacobi holds that he flourished sometime between A.D. 200 and 500. According to Keith, A.D. 400 is the earliest date to be assigned to him.

Ṭup-ṭīkā as also in his *Bṛhat-ṭīkā* and *Madhyama-ṭīkā*. The last two are lost to us. On *Śabara-bhāṣya* Prabhākara, who formed a different school, wrote two independent commentaries, *Bṛhatī* (*nibandhana*) and *Laghvī* (*vivaraṇa*). These are, again, commented upon by Śālikanātha in *Ṛjuvimalā* and *Dīpaśikhā* respectively. He also wrote a treatise called *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā* elucidating Prabhākara's interpretation of Mīmāṁsā. Mandana Miśra (eighth-ninth centuries A.D.), who eventually accepted Vedāntism under the influence of Śaṅkara, and Bhaṭṭomveka were also Kumārila's disciples. The former wrote *Vidhi-viveka*, *Bhāvanā-viveka*, and *Mīmāṁsānukramaṇi*, while the latter composed commentaries on *Śloka-vārttika* and *Bhāvanā-viveka*. Pārthasārathi Miśra (about ninth century A.D.) wrote *Śāstra-dīpikā*, *Tantra-ratna*, and *Nyāya-ratna-mālā* in support of Kumārila's interpretation of Mīmāṁsā. Among the followers of Kumārila, the most eminent are Sucarita Miśra, author of *Kāśikā*, and Bhaṭṭa Someśvara, author of *Nyāya-sudhā*. Rāmakṛṣna's commentary on the *tarkapāda* of *Śāstra-dīpikā* called *Yukti-sneha-prapūraṇi-siddhānta-candrikā* and Somanātha's commentary on the remaining chapters of *Śāstra-dīpikā*, known as *Mayūkha-mālikā*, are held to be important contributions to Mīmāṁsā. Paritoṣa Miśra's *Ajitā* is a competent commentary on *Tantra-vārttika*. Other important works on Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā are: *Nyāya-mālā-vistara* of Mādhava, *Nyāya-kaṇikā* of Vācaspati Miśra, *Mīmāṁsā-paribhāṣā* by Kṛṣṇa Yajvan, *Mīmāṁsā-nyāya-prakāśa* by Āpadeva, Gāgā Bhaṭṭa's *Bhāṭṭa-cintāmaṇi*, and Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa's *Subodhinī* and *Mīmāṁsā-bāla-prakāśa*. There are also a few short manuals on the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* like Nandīśvara's *Prabhākara-vijaya*, Cidānanda's *Nīti-tattvāvirbhāva* (Bhāṭṭa school), and Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu's *Nayatattva-saṅgraha* (Prābhākara school). Other notable works of the post-Kumārila period are: Murāri Miśra's *Tripadī-nīti-nayana*, a commentary on the second, third, and fourth *pādas* of the first *adhyāya* of the *Jaimini-Sūtra*; Appaya Dīkṣita's (1552) *Vidhi-rasāyana* and *Mayūkhāvalī* (a commentary on *Śāstra-dīpikā*); Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita's *Vārttikābharaṇa* (a commentary on *Ṭup-ṭīkā*); Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭa-kaustubha*, *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā*, and *Bhāṭṭa-rahasya*; Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita's *Mānameyodaya*; Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa's *Vidhi-rasāyana-dūṣaṇa*; Veṅkaṭanātha's *Mīmāṁsā-pādukā*; Laugākṣi Bhāskara's *Artha-saṅgraha*; Śambhudatta's *Prabhāvatī* (a commentary on *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā*); Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Mīmāṁsā-vidhi-bhūṣaṇa*; Raghunātha's *Mīmāṁsā-ratna*; Vallabhācārya's *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā-kārikā*; Bhavanātha's *Nyāya-viveka*; and Rāmānujācārya's (of Prābhākara school) *Tantra-rahasya*.

VI

UTTARA-MĪMĀMSĀ OR VEDĀNTA

Uttara-Mīmāṁsā examines the nature of Brahman or Reality as propounded in the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas. The Upaniṣads are said to be the Vedānta

or the concluding portions of the Vedas. The seeds of the Vedāntic philosophy therefore lie in the Upaniṣads which were later systematized in the *Brahma-Sūtra* and synthesized in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The huge edifice of the Vedāntic literature has grown up on the solid foundation of these three ways or streams of thought (*Prasthāna-traya*) of which the basic pillar is Śruti which is supported by Smṛti and reasoned out by *yukti* and *tarka* (arguments and counter-arguments). A vast literature is available in the form of commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and the *Brahma-Sūtra*, which have been written from the standpoints of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita, Dvaitādvaita, Śuddhādvaita, Acintya-bhedābheda, and other schools of philosophic thought in order to establish their respective views.

There are apparently contradictory statements in the Upaniṣads. A coherent interpretation of the teachings of the Upaniṣads is, however, found in the *Brahma-Sūtra* or *Vedānta-Sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa, which is the basic text of the Vedānta. The *Brahma-Sūtra* is divided into four chapters, each subdivided into four quarters or sections. Since the *sūtras* are cryptic in nature, it is not easy to ascertain their exact purport. Although monism is regarded as the key-note of the Upaniṣads, it is not clear as to which type of monism was intended by the mystic seers of the Upaniṣads. It was primarily for this reason that several interpretations of the *Brahma-Sūtra* emerged in the course of time. The chief schools of interpretation are the Advaita expounded first by Gauḍapāda and followed up by Śaṅkara, the Viśiṣṭādvaita by Rāmānuja, the Dvaita by Madhva, the Dvaitādvaita by Nimbārka, the Śuddhādvaita by Vallabha, and the Acintya-bhedābheda by Śrī Caitanya. It will be seen that although the basic texts which consist of the Upaniṣads and the *Brahma-Sūtra* were the same for all the schools, yet by applying different criteria of truth and relying upon different sources of valid knowledge the commentators arrived at different conclusions.

Advaita: The earliest available treatise expounding monism on the lines of the Upaniṣads is *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* by Gauḍapāda who does not refer to any other writer of the monistic school, not even Bādarāyaṇa. Gauḍapāda was the teacher of Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkara whose dates are settled by historians as A.D. 788-820. So it is most likely that Gauḍapāda lived in the beginning of the eighth century. He flourished after the great Buddhist teachers like Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu. Some scholars are of the opinion that Gauḍapāda was a crypto-Buddhist and affirmed that the teachings of the Upaniṣads are in conformity with those of Buddha. His *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* consists of 215 *ślokas* and is divided into four chapters, viz. *āgama*, *vaitathya*, *advaita*, and *alātaśānti*. In the first chapter, the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* is explained in detail; the second deals with the falsity of the world; the third establishes the identity of Brahman and Self; and the fourth refutes all opinions opposed to the Advaita doctrines.

Of Śaṅkara's works the most important is the *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, which is acclaimed as a masterpiece not only for its acute logical analysis, but also for its graceful style. His other important works are the commentaries on the principal Upaniṣads such as *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māṇḍūkya*, *Aitareya*, *Taittirīya*, *Chāndogya*, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* is also a classic. Besides, *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma-bhāṣya*, *Sanat-sujātīya-bhāṣya*, *Hastāmalaka-bhāṣya*, *Lalitā-triśatī-bhāṣya*, *Viveka-cūḍāmaṇi*, *Upadeśa-sāhasrī*, *Aparokṣānubhūti*, *Sarva-vedānta-siddhānta-sāra-saṅgraha*, *Vākyasudhā*, *Dṛk-dṛśya-viveka*, *Pañcīkaraṇa-prakriyā*, *Prapañcasāra Tantra*, *Ātmabodha*, etc. are also attributed to him.

Śaṅkara's *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* has served as a basic document for further commentaries and sub-commentaries of great philosophic insight and logical thoroughness. His disciple Ānanda Giri wrote a commentary called *Nyāya-nirṇaya*, while Govindānanda (sixteenth century) wrote another commentary known as *Ratna-prabhā*. Vācaspati Miśra wrote another commentary on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, known as *Bhāmatī*. On it Amalānanda (thirteenth/fourteenth century) wrote his *Kalpataru* which is commented upon by Appaya Dīkṣita in his *Kalpataru-parimala*. Padmapāda, another disciple of Śaṅkara, wrote a commentary known as *Pañcapādikā* dealing with the first four *sūtras*. Sureśvarācārya wrote *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* which is partly in prose and partly in verse and consists of four chapters dealing with such topics as the nature of *avidyā* (ignorance), analysis of the dictum '*Tattvamasi*' (That thou art), nature of Self and non-Self, and distinction between Self and non-Self. Jñānottama Miśra's *ṭīkā* called *Candrikā* and Citsukhācārya's *ṭīkā* called *Bhava-tattva-prakāśikā* are well-known expositions of *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*. Its other sub-commentaries are Jñānāmṛta's *Vidyā-surabhi*, Akhilātman's *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi-vivaraṇa*, and Rāmadatta's *Sārārtha*. Prakāśātman (*c*. A. D. 1200) wrote a commentary on *Pañcapādikā*, known as *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa*, which has two sub-commentaries, *Tattva-dīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda and *Vivaraṇa-bhāva-prakāśikā* by Nṛsiṁhāśrama Muni (A.D. 1500). Amalānanda and Vidyāsāgara also wrote commentaries on *Pañcapādikā* named *Pañcapādikā-darpaṇa* and *Pañcapādikā-ṭīkā* respectively. Vidyāraṇya (A. D. 1350) elucidated and expanded the teachings of *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa* in his *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha*. On the Vedānta doctrine of liberation, his *Jīvanmukti-viveka* is regarded by scholars as an excellent treatise. His another work of note is *Pañcadaśī*, a popular treatise in verse on Vedānta.

Sarvajñātmamuni (A.D. 900) wrote *Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka* based on the teachings of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*. Śrīharṣa's (A.D. 1190) *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* is a well-known work on Vedānta dialectics in which the author establishes the unassailability of Śaṅkara's doctrine. Śaṅkara Miśra, Raghunātha, and Citsukha wrote commentaries on it. Citsukha had also written an independent work on Vedānta dialectics known as *Tattva-dīpikā* which was commented upon

by Pratyagrūpa in his *Nayana-prasādinī*. Dharmarājādhvarīndra's (A.D. 1550) *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* is a celebrated work on Vedānta logic and epistemology, which was commented upon by his son Rāmakṛṣṇādhvarīndra in his *Śikhāmaṇi* and by Amaradāsa in his *Maṇiprabhā*. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (sixteenth century A.D.) wrote his *Advaita-siddhi* which is regarded as a comprehensive treatise on Advaita Vedānta. He used the dialectics of Navya-Nyāya in arriving at his conclusions. His other works of importance are *Gītā-gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* (a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Prasthāna-bheda*, *Advaita-ratna-rakṣaṇa*, *Nirvāṇa-daśaka-ṭīkā*, *Vedastuti-ṭīkā*, *Ātmabodha-ṭīkā*, etc. Other notable works on Advaita philosophy include Ānandabodha Bhaṭṭārakācārya's (twelfth century) *Nyāya-makaranda*, Sadānanda Yogīndra's (sixteenth century) *Vedānta-sāra* (which has two commentaries, *Subodhinī* and *Vidvanmanorañjinī*), Prakāśānanda's (sixteenth century) *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī*, and Kāśmīraka Sadānanda Yati's (eighteenth century) *Advaita-brahma-siddhi*.

Viśiṣṭādvaita: Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137), who is propounder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school, wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, known as *Śrībhāṣya*. His other works are *Vedārtha-saṅgraha*, *Vedānta-sāra*, *Vedānta-dīpa*, *Gītābhāṣya* (a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Gadya-traya*, and *Bhagavadārādhana-krama*. Two main teachers of Viśiṣṭādvaita who preceded Rāmānuja are Nāthamuni (A.D. 824-924) and Yāmunācārya (*c.* A.D. 918-1038). The former's important works are *Nyāya-tattva* and *Yoga-rahasya*. The chief works of Yāmunācārya are *Āgama-prāmāṇya*, *Siddhi-traya*, and *Gītārtha-saṅgraha*. *Śruta-prakāśikā* of Sudarśana Sūri is regarded as the most important commentary on *Śrībhāṣya*. Vīrarāghavadāsa made a critical study of *Śruta-prakāśikā* in his *Bhāva-prakāśikā*. *Bhāṣya-prakāśikā-dūṣaṇoddhāra* by Śaṭhakopācārya (sixteenth century) contains a reply to the criticism of *Bhāva-prakāśikā*. There is yet another commentary on *Śruta-prakāśikā*, called *Tūlikā* by Vādhūla Śrīnivāsa (fifteenth century). Vātsyavarada, a nephew of Rāmānuja, had commented on *Śrībhāṣya* in his *Tattva-sāra* which was critically commented upon in *Ratna-sāriṇī* by Vīrarāghavadāsa whose commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is known as *Tātparya-dīpikā*. *Naya-mukha-mālikā* by Appaya Dīksita is a compendium in which the principal views of Rāmānuja are set forth. Veṅkaṭanātha (Vedānta Deśika) and his contemporary Meghanādri made critical studies of *Śrībhāṣya* in their works *Tattva-ṭīkā* and *Naya-prakāśikā* respectively. Campakeśa, a disciple of Veṅkaṭanātha, wrote his *Guru-tattva-prakāśikā* which was commented upon in *Guru-bhāva-prakāśikā* of Śuddhasattva Lakṣmaṇācārya. Prakāśātman Yati (fifteenth century) and his disciple Raṅga Rāmānuja wrote respectively *Mita-prakāśikā* and *Mūla-bhāva-prakāśikā*, being critical studies of *Śrībhāṣya*. A digest on *Śrībhāṣya* called *Tattva-mārtaṇḍa* is a work of Śrīnivāsa (also known as Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsa). His other works are: *Jijñāsā-darpaṇa*, *Naya-maṇi-dīpikā*, and *Naya-dyumaṇi-saṅgraha*. His *Siddhānta-cintāmaṇi* was as widely

known as Śaṅkara's *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* and averred the theory that Brahman is the only cause of all creation, animate and inanimate. Deśikācārya's commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is called *Prayoga-ratna-mālā* and that of Nārāyana Muni is known as *Bhāva-pradīpikā*. Puruṣottama's commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is known as *Subodhinī*. There are many authors known as Śrīnivāsa belonging to the Rāmānuja school. One Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindācārya and pupil of Mahācārya, wrote *Yatīndra-mata-dīpikā* as also a commentary on *Śruta-prakāśikā*. Śrīkaṇṭha's (A.D. 1270) *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* is a major expository work of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. This has been commented upon by Appaya Dīkṣita in his *Śivārka-maṇi-dīpikā*.

Dvaita: Madhva (A.D. 1197-1276), propounder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta, is the author of about thirty-seven works which include *Ṛg-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Ṛg-Veda* (I. 1-40), *Krama-nirṇaya*, a discussion on the proper reading and order of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 1-4), *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, *Bhagavad-Gītā-bhāṣya*, *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya*, *Brahma-Sūtrānubhāṣya*, *Upādhi-khaṇḍana*, *Māyāvāda-khaṇḍana*, *Tattva-viveka*, and *Brahma-Sūtrānu-vyākhyāna*. His expositions of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* have been commented upon by various scholars, e.g. Rāghavendra in his *Gītārtha-saṅgraha*, Vidyādhirāja Bhaṭṭopādhyāya in his *Gītā-vivṛti*, and Jayatīrtha in his *Prameya-dīpikā*. Madhva's *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* has been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *Tattva-prakāśikā*. The sub-commentaries on his work are: *Tātparya-prakāśikā-bhāva-bodha* and *Tātparya-prakāśikā-gata-nyāya-vivaraṇa* by Raghūttama Yati, and *Bhāva-dīpikā* and *Tātparya-candrikā* by Vyāsatīrtha. Madhva's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* has also been commented upon by Jagannātha Yati in his *Bhāṣya-dīpikā* and by Viṭhṭhalasuta Śrīnivāsa in his *Bhāṣya-ṭippaṇī-prameya-muktāvalī*. Madhva's *Brahma-Sūtrānuvyākhyāna*, a small work in verse which analyses the logical position of the *Brahma-Sūtra* chapter by chapter, has been commented upon by Raghūttama Yati in his *Nyāya-sūtra-nibandha-pradīpa* and Jayatīrtha in his *Pañjikā*. *Nyāya-sudhā* has been commented upon by Keśava Bhaṭṭa in his *Śeṣa-vākyārtha-candrikā* and Śrīpadarāja in his *Nyāya-sudhopanyāsa*.

Dvaitādvaita : Nimbārka (eleventh/twelfth century), who propounded the Dvaitādvaita school of Vedānta, followed mainly the approach of Rāmānuja in his *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*. He is known to be the author of the following works: *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha (bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra)*, *Daśa-ślokī*, *Guru-paramparā*, *Vedānta-tattva-bodha*, *Vedānta-siddhānta-pradīpa*, etc. *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha* has been commented upon by Śrīnivāsa, a direct disciple of Nimbārka, in his *Vedānta-kaustubha*. A sub-commentary on this is called *Vedānta-kaustubha-prabhā* by Keśava Kāśmīrī Bhaṭṭa who also wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* called *Tattva-prakāśikā*. Nimbārka's *Daśa-ślokī*, also called *Siddhānta-ratna*, has been commented upon by Puruṣottama-prasāda in his *Vedānta-ratna-mañjuṣā*. A summary of the views of Rāmānuja,

Nimbārka, and Madhva is found in Śrīnivāsa's *Sakalācārya-mata-saṅgraha*. Mention may also be made in this connexion of Bhāskarācārya (*c.* A.D. 900), almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara, who wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra* known as *Bhāskara-bhāṣya*. His view is known as Bhedābheda-vāda or the doctrine that unity and plurality are equally real.

Śuddhādvaita: Vallabha (A.D. 1473-1531), propounder of the Śuddhādvaita school of Vedānta, is the author of as many as eighty-four books of which the most important are: the commentaries *Subodhinī* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Aṇubhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, and *Prakāśa* on his own work *Tattvārtha-dīpikā*. His *Aṇubhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* was commented upon by Puruṣottama (b. 1670) in his *Bhāṣya-prakāśa*, Giridhara in his *Vivaraṇa*, and Śrīdhara Śarman in his *Bāla-prabodhinī*. *Aṇubhāṣya-nigūḍhārtha-dīpikā* by Lālu Bhaṭṭa is another commentary on *Aṇubhāṣya*. Viṭhṭhala Dīkṣita (1518-88), son of Vallabha, wrote a number of books of which the most important is *Vidvanmaṇḍana*. Sadananda, an Advaitist scholar, refuted in his *Sahasrākṣa* (1868) the arguments in *Vidvanmaṇḍana* of Viṭhṭhala Dīkṣita and *Śuddhādvaita-mārtaṇḍa* of Giridhara. *Sahasrākṣa* was critically examined and its arguments were refuted by Viththalanatha (nineteenth century) in his *Prabhañjana*. Pītāmbara, the great-grandson of Viṭhṭhala Dīkṣita, wrote *Avatāra-vādāvali*, *Dravya-śuddhi* and its commentary. His son Puruṣottama (b. 1670) wrote *Subodhinī-prakāśa*, a commentary on *Subodhinī* of Vallabha. His other works are *Upaniṣad-dīpikā*, *Āvaraṇa-bhaṅga*, a sub-commentary on *Prakāśa* of Vallabha, *Bhedābheda-svarūpa-nirṇaya*, *Khyāti-vāda*, etc.

Acintya-bhedābheda: The Vedānta philosophy propounded from the Vaiṣṇava standpoint by Śrī Caitanya (1485-1533) is known as Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda. Jīva Gosvāmin wrote six *sandarbhas* (compendia) to put this view of Śrī Caitanya in a philosophic form, which is known as *Ṣaṭsandarbha*. This is accepted as the basic philosophical text of the school. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa of this school wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, known as *Govinda-bhāṣya*. His *Siddhānta-ratna* is an epitome of *Govinda-bhāṣya*.

VII

LOKĀYATA OR CĀRVĀKA

In sharp contrast to the six orthodox systems of philosophy owing their allegiance to the Vedic tradition, there was one heterodox system known as Lokāyata which discarded the authority of the Śruti and adhered only to the testimony of what is perceived by the senses alone. With its insistence on *pratyakṣa* or perception as the only means of knowledge and sense-pleasure as the central object of life, this system was widely prevalent in ancient India and attracted the common folk. It was, therefore, appropriately called 'Lokāyata',

literally meaning (a doctrine) 'spread out among the people'.[4] It was also known as 'Nāstika' as it was sceptical or antagonistic to the Vedic doctrines.[5] It earned yet another name 'Cārvāka' which is sometimes interpreted as 'one of sweet and attractive (*cāru*) words (*vāk*)', as its founder[6] was supposed to have been.[7] This materialist philosophy put forth very strong and commonsense arguments against the idealist systems of philosophy and tried to establish that there was no other means of valid knowledge except sense-perception.[8]

The original works of the school are lost to us. Nevertheless, references to Indian materialism in general or the philosophy of the system in particular are scattered in a large number of early works, some of which date back to the pre-Christian era. To mention only a few of them: the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (II. 4.12; IV. 5.13), *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (I. 1.20, 2.6), *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VIII. 7-8), *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 108-9), *Mahābhārata* (XII. 38-39, 186), *Brahma-Sūtra* (III. 3.53-54) to be read with *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya and *Bhāmatī* of Vācaspati Miśra, Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* (Chapter I), Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (II. 7), Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (I. 1), *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (I. 6. 29-31), *Padma Purāṇa* (I. 13. 318-40), Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (VII. 3.45), *Manu Smṛti* (II. 11, IV. 163, etc.), *Dīgha Nikāya* (II. 22-24), *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-sūtra* (II. 1.9-10), Śāntarakṣita's (A.D. 705-62) *Tattva-saṅgraha* (vv. 7, 110), Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāya-mañjarī* (I. 2), Udayana's *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* (III. 5-6), Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadha-carita* (XVII. 38 ff.), Kṛṣṇa Miśra's *Prabodha-candrodaya* (Act II), Haribhadra Sūri's *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* (vv. 84 ff.), Mādhavācārya's *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* (Ch. I), Vidyāraṇya's *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha* (I. 4), Sadānanda Yogīndra's *Vedānta-sāra* (98-108), and Kāśmīraka Sadānanda Yati's *Advaita-brahma-siddhi* (II. 5. 1-7). Besides, there are the commentaries of Kamalaśīla, Prabhācandra, Guṇaratna, and others which quote *sūtras* attributed to this system of philosophy. A few *sūtras* scattered here and there have been attributed to Bṛhaspati, the supposed founder of the Cārvāka school. *Śukra-nītisāra*, a treatise on polity attributed to Sage

[4] The term *lokāyata* has various other interpretations as well. For example, Buddhaghoṣa, the Buddhist commentator of the fifth century A.D., describes (*Sāratthа-pakāsinī*, II. 96) it as a philosophy the *āyatana* (basis) of which is *loka* (material world), while Haribhadra Sūri in his *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* defines *loka* as that which is an object of sense-perception. Guṇaratna in his commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* says that as the adherents of the school behaved like 'common people', their philosophy came to be termed as *lokāyata*.

[5] *Manu.*, II. 11. Medhātithi in his commentary accepts this definition (*Manu.*, IV. 163) as well as identifies Nāstikas with Lokāyatas who do not believe in the existence of the other world (*Manu.*, VIII. 22).

[6] Bṛhaspati Laukya or Brahmanaspati is traditionally regarded as the founder of the system of Indian materialist philosophy. The school is, therefore, also known as 'Bārhaspatya'.

[7] There are also several other meanings of the term *cārvāka*. According to some, it is derived from the root *carv* meaning 'to chew or eat'. They contend that the Cārvāka outlook is essentially hedonistic in character. According to Mādhavācārya and Krsna Miśra, 'Cārvāka' is the name of a follower of Brhaspati, founder of this nihilistic school.

[8] For details of the philosophy of the Lokāyata see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 168-83.

Śukrācārya, mentions the *nāstika-śāstra* and its strong arguments against the validity of the Vedas and the existence of God.[9] Medhātithi in his commentary on *Manu Smṛti* (VII. 43) has also referred to the *tarka-vidyā* (science of logic) of the Cārvākas. It is known that there was one *Lokāyata-śāstra* with its commentary by Bhāgurī which existed about 300 B.C. The authorship of the original work is attributed to both Bṛhaspati and Cārvāka.[10] The only extant Lokāyata work is *Tattvopaplava-siṁha* of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa (*c.* eighth century A.D.). Sañjaya, Ajita Keśakambalin, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, and Kakuḍa Kātyāyana are referred to in the Buddhist texts as advocates of heretical philosophies similar to the philosophy of the Cārvāka school. Purandara (*c.* seventh century) is known to be an important exponent of the Cārvāka school.

Besides the Cārvāka system, Bauddha (Buddhist) and Jaina systems of philosophy are also included in the heterodox schools as they equally deny the validity of the Śruti.[11] Instead, they take the words of Buddha and Mahāvīra as the highest truth and source of knowledge. They, however, differ from the Cārvāka system in recognizing the validity of inference as a source of knowledge over and above perception.[12] They also do not look upon hedonism as the goal of life; on the contrary, they insist on austerity and asceticism.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing survey of philosophical literature in Sanskrit it is abundantly clear that the Indian masterminds from time immemorial developed a vocabulary and idiom capable of communicating the subtlest spiritual experiences and emotions as effectively as matters of the world of senses. The *sūtras* laid down the basic thoughts and principles, and the vast expository literature on them in the form of *bhāṣyas*, *vṛttis*, *ṭīkās*, etc. built up with cogent argument the philosophical basis of what was recorded therein. In brevity, precision, terseness of argument, and clarity of expression in general, such literature attained a state of perfection which India can legitimately be proud of.

[9] *Śukra-nītiśāra*, IV. 3.55.

[10] Cf. *HIP*, Vol. III, p. 515 and pp. 531 ff.

[11] For an account of the philosophy and other details of the Bauddha and the Jaina systems of the heterodox schools, see *CHI*, Vol. I, pp. 289-598. The literature of these two systems has already been exhaustively dealt with in Part I of this volume (pp. 152-208).

[12] The *suśikṣita* Cārvākas, however, accept inference in a modified form (cf. *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 181-82). It may be noted that the Cārvākas are generally classified into two groups, the *dhūrta* Cārvākas and *suśikṣita* Cārvākas. The *dhūrta* Cārvākas are the extremists who deny the causal nexus of phenomena and hold that things come into existence by themselves. According to the *suśikṣita* or progressive Cārvākas, *svabhāva* or nature of a phenomenon is its cause, although *svabhāva* itself is uncaused. Again, the former deny the existence of the soul other than the body, while the latter admit the existence of the soul so long as the body lasts.

The preceding account is by no means exhaustive; it is only illustrative. In fact, the number of Sanskrit works on philosophy is legion; but unfortunately, some works are lost to us, while some are still in manuscript not accessible to the lay reader. Of the extant philosophical works, some are in prose, some in verse, and some partly in prose and partly in verse. Since this literature covers a very wide range of time from the Sāṁkhya to the Navya-Nyāya period, the style of the works is bound to be different. It may, however, be said that of all the expository works belonging to different philosophical systems, those of Śaṅkara far excel others and his prose style is acclaimed as *prasanna* (graceful) and *gambhīra* (solemn). Of the two well-known compendia on philosophy, one is Mādhavācārya's *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* which is a critical study of sixteen[13] philosophical systems. Mādhavācārya gives a faithful account of these systems, analyses the arguments put forward in favour of, or in opposition to, a particular doctrine and draws his conclusions accordingly. The other compendium is the Jaina philosopher Haribhadra Sūri's celebrated work, *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, which deals with the Bauddha, Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and Lokāyata systems. There are two other short compendia, *Sarva-darśana-kaumudī* and *Sarva-siddhānta-sāra-saṅgraha*, both attributed to Śaṅkara. The method employed by the Hindu philosophers is critical in the sense that the propounder of a system at first presents in detail the viewpoints of the opponent, maybe an imaginary opponent, then examines them by applying his own methods of proof and finally draws his own conclusions. In the process, he shows remarkable ability in refuting his opponent's viewpoints; the arguments used are often incisive and penetrating. At the same time, some exponents have chosen scathing words to refute the opponents' views. Kāśmīraka Sadānanda Yati, for instance, in his *Advaita-brahma-siddhi* has used such expressions as *mudgara-prahāra* (assault with a club) in reference to his opponents. The number of dispassionate and sympathetic commentators is not, however, few. Mention may be made of Vācaspati Miśra, held in high esteem for his intellectual integrity, who is as faithful in the treatment of Sāṁkhya in *Sāṁkhya-tattva-kaumudī* as of Advaita in his commentary on *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, known as *Bhāmatī*.

Remarkable precision and exactitude were achieved in philosophical literature with the appearance of the Navya-Nyāya school which insisted on a rigorous method of defining a concept before entering into philosophical debate. As A.B. Keith puts it, '...from a rough system of argument from examples Indian logic rose to a developed and able scheme of inference based on universals,

[13] The following sixteen systems of Indian philosophy have been discussed in this work in the order as noted hereunder: Cārvāka, Bauddha, Jaina, Rāmānuja, Pūrṇa-prajña, Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, Śaiva, Pratyabhijñā, Raseśvara, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Jaiminīya, Pāṇinīya, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta or Śāṅkara-darśana.

and the formation of universals it explained by a well-thought-out metaphysical theory.'[14] The later philosophical literature of Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, etc. follows the Navya-Nyāya line. The tradition of maintaining precision in philosophical literature and sticking to parsimony of hypothesis has been preserved in the works of some scholars of the twentieth century also. —Editor.

[14] *HSL*, p. 485.

26

INSCRIPTIONS : THEIR LITERARY VALUE

ANCIENT inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit, available from different regions of India as well as abroad, constitute a particular branch of Indian literature which is of no mean value. Taken as a whole, they have, therefore, been rightly described as 'one of the great store-houses of Indian literary art'. For an assessment of their literary merit, we propose to make in the following two sections* a brief survey of some representative inscriptions available in India and outside. In the first section we shall consider the inscriptions inside the country, which belong to different periods of history ranging between the third century B.C. and the twelfth century A.D. These inscriptions include edicts (Royal Commands), *praśastis* (eulogies of important personages), and documents recording grants made by kings of lands and other objects to Brāhmaṇas or in honour of gods. They are in Sanskrit or Prakrit prose, or in Sanskrit verse; some of them are also in *campū* (a mixed composition of Sanskrit prose and verse). The second section is devoted to the inscriptions outside India, particularly in Indo-China, Indonesia, and Central Asia, which constitute the most important parts of what is called 'Greater India'.—Editor.

I

Ancient Indian inscriptions have great historical value in that they are among the most reliable sources of early Indian history, even if they often tend to exaggerate and present facts with embellishments. In this respect, they are in line with the historical romances like Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. Nevertheless, they throw much light on our past, revealing in particular the political and administrative situation and the social and religious conditions of the people. As some of these inscriptions are also fine specimens of literary art, they help us understand the evolution, and determine the chronology, of our *kāvya* literature in the successive periods of history. The majority of the early inscriptions may also be treated as miniature historical *kāvyas*.

AŚOKAN EDICTS IN PRAKRIT

The unique series of inscriptions issued by the Maurya emperor Aśoka (*c.* 273-232 B.C.) are perhaps the earliest. These inscriptions, generally called *dhaṁmalipis* (edicts on *dharma*, law of duty or piety) and numbering more than thirty, are engraved on rocks, boulders, pillars, and cave-walls. They are

* Both the sections have been edited by Dr D. C. Sircar (DCS).—Editor.

distributed almost over the whole of India from the Himalayas in the north to Mysore in the south, and from the sea in the east to the sea in the west. They are mostly in Brāhmī characters with only two recensions of the Major Rock Edicts in Kharoṣṭhī, a form of the ancient Aramaic alphabet written from right to left. The language of the edicts belongs to various Prakrit dialects prevailing in the localities where those edicts appeared[1] between the years 257 and 232 B.C. The main drafting, however, must have been done in the capital city. The language has a close alliance with literary Sanskrit and the Pali of the early Hīnayāna books. Aśokan epigraphs as a whole constitute a kind of peculiar literature in serving as a manual of moral teachings and directives to the people. Sanctity of life, provision of healing arrangements for men and animals, toleration of all kinds of sectarian views, and earnest effort through special administrative appointments for propagation of moral instructions were the subjects specially discussed in these inscriptions.

Aśoka conquered the Kaliṅga country in 261 B.C., but when he calculated the hardships to the people taken as prisoner and the enormous loss of life this great victory caused on the battlefield as well as in the form of famine, pestilence, and other post-war calamities, he was filled with remorse. He resolved not to launch any more war in future and proclaimed that 'the greatest conquest is that which is won by *dharma*' (*ayi ca mukha-muta vijaye devanaṁpriyasa yo dhrama-vijayo*—R.E. XIII). The conception of treating the subjects as the monarch's own children finds its early expression in two separate rock edicts. Describing all men as his children (*save munise pajā mamā*), he directs his administrators in the newly-conquered Kaliṅga country and the wild tribal areas on its border to be kind towards the people, for therein lie both 'bliss in heaven' (*svagasa āladhi*) and 'king's favour' here (*lājāladhi*). Coming under the influence of the Buddhist teachers after his victory, the king became very tolerant of all contemporary religious sects such as the Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas (Jains).

King Aśoka says, *dhaṁme sādhu* (excellent is the law of piety), and then he asks, *kiyaṁ cu dhaṁme ti* (wherein does *dharma* consist ?). His answer is: *apāsinave* (little impiety), *bahu-kayāne* (many good deeds), *dayā* (compassion), *dāne* (liberality), *sace* (truthfulness), *socaye* (purity). That is to say, *dharma* consists in the said ethical virtues. The king's view is clearly expressed in the following sentence: *Hevaṁ ca kho esa dekhiye—imāni āsinava-gāmini nāma, atha caṁḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ* (A man should see that the following things, namely, brutality, cruelty, anger, pride, and jealousy lead to impiety, and should say to himself, 'May I not fall by reason

[1] This, however, is not correct. There is a marked difference in language between the Major and Minor Rock Edicts at Erragudi. Some Greek and Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka have been discovered, mostly in Afghanistan.—DCS.

of these [vices]'). In another passage the king claims that he made all people pious by preaching the *dhaṁma*, and thereby caused their association with the gods which was hitherto non-existent. Thus says Aśoka:

> *Iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā jaṁbudīpasi misā devehi. Pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale. No hīyam sakye mahātyeneva pāpotave. Kamaṁ tu kho khudakena pi pakamamiṇena vipule svage sakye ārādhetave* (So long men in India, who had remained unassociated with the gods [i.e. with spirituality], are [now] turning to them; for this is the fruit of exertion. It is not that this [spirituality] is to be attained only by greatness [i.e. great men]; even an humble man can achieve heavenly bliss provided he tries hard).

The *dhaṁmādasa* or mirror of religion (i.e. one's solemn confession of faith in Buddha, Dhamma or Doctrine, and Saṅgha or Community or Congregation) was expressed clearly in Aśoka's Bhabru Edict,[2] in the words of the emperor himself, thus: *Vidite ve bhaṁte āvatake hamā budhasi dhaṁmasi saṅghasī ti gālave caṁ prasāde ca* (It is certainly known to you, O revered Sirs, how much are my respect for, and faith in, Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha). We may compare profitably the Aśokan sentence *hevaṁ sadhamme cilaṭhitīke hosatī ti* (thus the good Law, i.e. Buddhism, will stay on permanently) with one in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of the Pali canon which reads: *Yena... sadhammo ciraṭṭhitiko hotī ti.* The significance, again, of the seven titles of texts, namely, *Vinaya-samukase* and others, which were recommended by Aśoka in this edict not only to the monks and nuns, but also to the lay disciples, male and female, for special study, has itself become very valuable to the scholars of Buddhist literature. According to Winternitz,[3] there was very probably a canonical collection of Sutta and Vinaya texts in Māgadhī language and, as the Aśokan titles appear in various forms in the Pali canon, it may be said that 'the Pali canon, so far as the Sutta and the Vinaya Piṭakas are concerned, was closely related to the Māgadhī canon'. Aśoka expressed in the same edict his faith in Buddha's words thus: *E keci bhaṁte bhagavatā budhena bhāsite save se subhāsite vā* (Whatever has been uttered by Lord Buddha, all that has been well said). The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* also has a similar dictum. So, for the history of Buddhist literature, a study of the Aśokan edicts is vitally necessary.[4]

[2] The inscription was found on a hill, about one mile south-west of the town of Bairat in Rajasthan. It came to be wrongly called the Bhabru Edict, and 'the mistake has been allowed to continue'.—Cf. Amulya Chandra Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts* (The Indian Publicity Society, Calcutta, 1956), p. 132.

[3] *HIL*, Vol. II, Appendix III, pp. 606 ff.

[4] The edicts of Aśoka being primarily meant for his officers and subjects, the language of their Prakrit texts is simple and the style lucid, forceful, and more or less matter-of-fact. In the early days of Aśokan studies, when many passages of the texts were unintelligible, scholars failed to note the lucidity of their style.—DCS.

KURRAM PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION

There is a Prakrit inscription[5] in Kharoṣṭhī script on a copper casket containing a relic of Lord Śākyamuni found at Kurram, near Peshawar, dated the year 21 (probably of the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 99). It contains a quotation, attributed to Buddha, purporting to be the famous *pratītya-samutpāda (praṭica-sammupate=paṭicca-samuppāda)* formula, popularly called 'the formula of causality', which explains the twelve-linked chain of causation of existence beginning with *avijjā* (ignorance), showing that all elements of being originate only in mutual interdependence. Although it seems certain that this formula must have at this time found a mention in the contemporary Pali canonical literature, its occurrence in a local Prakrit dialect of the North-Western Frontier Province is interesting from the point of view of literary history. It, moreover, reminds us of the fragments of the manuscript of a Prakrit version[6] of the Pali *Dhammapada* discovered at Khotan in the Kharoṣṭhī script and composed in a Prakrit dialect (Gāndhārī Prakrit) originating in the north-west of India, which has been ascribed to the first/second century A.D.

KHĀRAVELA'S HĀTHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION IN PRAKRIT

The Hāthigumphā cave (Udayagiri Hills, near Bhuvaneswar, Puri District, Orissa) inscription[7] of Khāravela is a unique prose document in Prakrit belonging to the end of the first century B.C. It is meant to be a full, and perhaps unexaggerated, annual record of the chief events in the career of the Jaina king of Kaliṅga. The charge that the Indians lacked the power of writing history may be proved unsubstantial by this historical record of the reign of such an early monarch. Its language is a Prakrit dialect of the type then prevalent in eastern India. Having very strong affinities with Classical Pali, it is mellifluous but without poetic exaggerations typical of the later court poets. Apart from the developed *kāvya* diction present in it, this Prakrit epigraph, though unfortunately mutilated, bears clear evidence of the high culture prevalent at the contemporary royal courts.

The first fifteen years of Khāravela were spent in 'princely plays' (*kumāra-kīḍikā*), and then he passed the next nine years in 'the office of the heir-apparent' (*yovarāja*, Sanskrit *yauvarājya*). Having 'acquired expert knowledge in the arts of composing royal writs, supervising currency, examining accounts, administering legal affairs, and getting fully accomplished in other lores' (*lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vevahāra-vidhi-visāradena sava-vijāvadātena*), he was anointed as *mahārāja* in his twenty-fourth year.

[5] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Calcutta University, 1942), p. 143.

[6] Cf. B. M. Barua and S. N. Mitra (Ed.), *The Prakrit Dhammapada* (Calcutta University, 1921) and John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (Oxford University Press, London, 1962).

[7] D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 ff.

The inscription then spells out the special achievements of the monarch during the thirteen years of his reign, specifying each year's memorable military and beneficent deeds in separate paragraphs. It is interesting to observe how the war years of the king alternated with his peace years. He launched two campaigns against Magadha, one against Śātakarṇi (I or II) of the West, another against Bhāratavarṣa (northern India), and yet another against Uttarāpatha (Himalayan regions and north-western India). In between, he accomplished works of public utility such as the beautification of his capital by building a great palace called the *mahāvijaya-prāsāda* (palace of great victory), 'the reparation of the Kaliṅga capital, the gates, walls, and buildings which had been damaged by a storm' (*vāta-vihata-gopura-pākāra-nivesanaṁ paṭisaṅkhārayati kaliṅga-nagaram*), and the rebuilding of water-reservoirs and re-laying of gardens (*sitala-taḍāga-pādiyo bandhāpayati savūyāna-paṭisaṁthāpanaṁ ca kārayati*).

King Khāravela was himself 'versed in the musical sciences' (*gaṁdhava-veda-budho*), and in the third year of his reign he entertained 'the capital city by holding various theatrical, musical, and dance performances and other shows and festivities' (*daṁpa-naṭa-gīta-vādita-saṁdasanāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi ca kīḍāpayati nagariṁ*). His *daṇḍa* or military force consisted, as in the Maurya period, 'of cavalry, elephants, infantry, and chariots' (*haya-gaja-nara-radha-vahulaṁ*). In the fifth year of his reign, he extended 'the old irrigating canal from Tanasuliya (Tosali) Road to the capital existing from King Nanda's time three centuries before' (*Nandarāja-tivasa-satamoghāṭitaṁ tanasuliya-vāṭā paṇāḍiṁ pavesayati*). There is reference to the king's costly gifts to Brāhmaṇas, although he himself was a Jain by faith. Having established his empire after 'conducting military campaigns' (*supavata-vijaya-cako*), Khāravela devoted himself to performing some religious acts such as the construction of seats in the temple premises of the Arhats on the Kumārī hill (Udayagiri) where the Jaina *śramaṇas* could comfortably assemble together. The two epithets of the Jaina king, *sava-pasaṁḍa-pūjako* (a worshipper of all sects or denominational congregations) and *sava-devāyatana-saṁkāra-kārako* (a repairer of all religious temples), and four others assumed by the king himself, namely, *khemarāja* (king of prosperity), *vadharāja* (king of augmentation, or of old people [?]), *bhikhurāja* (king of mendicants), and *dhamarāja* (king of *dharma* or justice) vividly remind us of the benign reign of Aśoka who was so famous for religious toleration.

This Prakrit epigraph of the first century B.C. bears distinct proof of the influence of the Sanskrit prose style used by Patañjali (*c.* 150 B.C.), the great grammarian-philosopher. It also gives valuable hints of the political life and thought of the period. This inscription of the East together with others from Nasik, Nanaghat, Karle, and other West Indian centres was composed at a time when 'poetic qualities' (*guṇas*) were deemed vital, while 'figures of speech' (*alaṅkāras*) were thought not so important.

NANAGHAT PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION

The Nanaghat (Poona District) cave inscription[8] in Prakrit, referring to the reign of the early Sātavāhana ruler Śātakarṇi I, and belonging, according to modern scholars, to the latter half of the first century B.C., also exhibits the influence of Patañjali's style. This Prakrit prose may have in its turn influenced Sanskrit writers who followed immediately after, such as the poet of Rudradāman's Junagarh inscription of A.D. 150. The cultural value of the Nanaghat inscription is great as well. It conveys a clear idea of the religious faith of the Indian people, specially of the western parts of the Deccan, including the suzerains and their queens, through its enumeration of various kinds of Vedic sacrifices, *yajñas* (such as *agnyādheya*, *anālambhanīya*, *rājasūya*, *aśvamedha*, *saptadaśātirātra*, *bhagāladaśarātra*, *gargātirātra*, *gavāmayana*, *aṅgirasāmayana*, *śatātirātra*, *aṅgirasātirātra*, *chandomapavamānātirātra*, and *trayodaśarātra*) stated to have been performed by the queen-mother (probably Nāyanikā-Nāganikā, wife of King Śātakarṇi I). The people were still guided by the *karma-kāṇḍa* of the Vedas. They used to pay substantial fees (*dakṣiṇā*) to the priests engaged in the sacrifices. The fees comprised milch cows, horses, elephants, and villages, besides 'cash coins' (*kāhāpanas*). The poet of the inscription exhibits his literary skill by successively describing the queen's descent, her married life, her progeny, and her personal virtues: She was 'the daughter of the Lord of the Deccan whose rule was unopposed' (*apatihatacakasa dakhinā-patha-patino*... *bālayā*), 'the wife of Śrī Śātakarṇi, the foremost warrior of the earth girded by oceans and mountains, the scion of the Aṅgiya family, the great hero' (*Mahārathino aṅgiya-kula-vadhanasa sāgara-girivara-valayāya pathaviya pathama-vīrasa*...*mahato*...*sātakaṁṇi* [?] *-sirisa bhāriyā ya*[?]), the mother of Vediśrī (or Skandaśrī, according to some scholars) who was a giver of *pūrtta* works (excavation of reservoirs of water etc.),[9] boons, objects of enjoyment and wealth (*devasa putadasa varadasa kāmadasa dhanadasa vedi-*[*khada*, according to some decipherers] *siri-mātuya*). The queen-mother herself was a 'giver of excellent elephants' and 'fasted for a whole month, observed the rules of chastity, and was well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies, vows, and sacrifices' (*nāgavara-dāyiniya māsopavāsiniya gahatāpasāya carita-bramhacariyāya dıkhā-vrata-yaṁña-suṁḍāya*). These epithets applied to describe the queen-mother cannot but remind the reader of the later prose style in Sanskrit romances and dramas replete with high-sounding adjectives. The opening salutation in the epigraph to the various gods, namely, Dharma, Indra, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, the Moon-god, the Sun-god, and the four Lokapālas (Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Vāsava) adored at the period (i.e. before the conception of other mythological gods of the later Purāṇas came into vogue) follows probably the principle of the poetical theory that a *kāvya* must

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 186 ff.

[9] It is possibly better to regard *putada* as Sanskrit *putrada*, 'giver of sons'.—DCS.

open with a salutation or a benediction or a reference to the subject-matter. The inscription has an exceedingly simple and clear diction. It avoids long compounds and offers an example of the initial stage of the *vaidarbhī rīti* (style of the South) so much extolled by Daṇḍin (*c.* seventh century A.D.) in his *Kāvyādarśa*.[10]

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF PUḶUMĀYI FROM NASIK

The few Nasik (Mahārāṣṭra) cave inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D., written mostly in a local Prakrit dialect, indicate the authors' acquaintance with the rules of early poetics. The inscription[11] of the nineteenth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Siri Puḷumāyi (*c.* A.D. 130-59) was composed in Prakrit, or might have been translated into this language from an original drawn up in Sanskrit by a learned poet. A *praśasti* of only three sentences, it provides a splendid specimen of prose *kāvya* composition in Prakrit the style of which may be likened to that adopted later by Subandhu, Daṇḍin, and Bāṇa in their Sanskrit prose romances. The first sentence, a gigantic one, mentions the construction of the cave by the command of Balasiri, mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and grandmother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi. It has about forty epithets describing, in the *kāvya* fashion of later days, the three royal personages; the second, a short one, records the gift of the cave by the Mahādevī, Mahārājamātā, Mahārājapitāmahī to the Buddhist congregation of the Bhadrāyaṇīyas; and the third, also a short one, closes the charter with a reference to the free gift of the village of Piśācīpadraka to the *Bhikṣu Saṅgha* by the Lord of the Deccan (*dakhiṇāpathesaro*). The epithets used to praise Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi remind us of those generally applied by later Sanskrit poets to their patrons or heroes.

As regards stock comparisons of the *kāvya* type, the king is described as 'strong and mighty as mounts Himavat, Meru, and Mandāra' (*himavata-meru-maṁdara-pavata-sama-sārasa*), having 'a face which is like the spotless lotus opened by the rays of the sun' (*divasakara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa*); his 'features were as charming and beautiful as the full moon' (*paṭipūṇa-cada-maḍala-sasirīka-piya-dasanasa*); his 'attractive footsteps resembled those of a choice elephant' (*vara-vāraṇa-vikama-cāru-vikamasa*); his 'beautiful long arms were thick, round, and massive like the body of the king of serpents' (*bhujagapati-bhoga-pīna-vāṭa-vipula-dīgha-sudara-bhujasa*); his 'heroism equalled that of Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena'[12] (*Kesavājuna-bhīmasena-tula-parakamasa*); his 'heroic

[10] It is doubtful whether Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa* could have been written earlier than the seventh century because it prominently mentions the *gauḍī* style which must have developed at the court of the Gauda kingdom founded after the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the latter half of the sixth century.—DCS.

[11] *Epigraphia Indica* (*Ep. Ind.*), Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.

[12] The inscription has *Rāma-kesavājuna-bhīmasena-tula-parakamasa*.—DCS.

lustre vied with that of kings Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarīṣa' (*Nābhāga-nahusa-janamejaya-sakara-yayāti-rāmābarisa-sama-tejasa*); and he 'achieved victory over a multitude of his enemies on the fore-front of the battlefield watched over by the gods and demi-gods, such as Pavana (the Wind-god), Garuḍa, the Siddhas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Cāraṇas, Candra (the Moon-god), Divākara (the Sun-god), the Nakṣatras, and the Grahas' (*pavana-garula-sidha-yakha-rakhasa-vijād-hara-bhūta-gaṁdhava-cāraṇa-cada-divākara-nakhata-gaha-viciṇa-samara-sirasi-jita-ripu-saghasa*). There is an abundance of *anuprāsa* (alliteration) and the poetical quality (*guṇa*) called *prasāda* (lucidity). Long compound words are sometimes inter-spersed with short words as if to give a breathing space to the reciters. They may be said to have served as the forerunner of the style adopted in later *praśastis* as well as in literary prose romances. A characteristic style of the latter was the copious use of the quality of *ojas* (force and vigour by use of compound words), hailed as a mark of the *gauḍī rīti* (style of the East) of Daṇḍin. Epithets describ-ing Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as 'the house of all lores' (*āgamāna nilayasa*), 'the shelter of good people' (*sapurusānaṁ asayasa*), 'the asylum of fortune' (*siriye adhi-ṭhānasa*), etc. remind us of the style of later prose-writers like Bāṇa. For instance, in his picture of King Śūdraka in *Kādambarī* he exhibits a still more artificial and advanced stage.

The style of this inscription composed in Prakrit having some clear affinity with Pali applies equally to Sanskrit poetry. As both Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas* were composed in accordance with the same principles of Sanskrit poetics, this is understandable. The composer of the inscription was well acquainted with the epics and Purāṇas which have been drawn upon fre-quently for seeking out similes in describing the heroes in the epigraph. The comparisons with epic and mythological kings have, however, been done by Subandhu and Bāṇa in a much finer way.

JUNAGARH INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN IN SANSKRIT

Probably the largest and earliest Sanskrit inscription wholly written in prose in the *kāvya* style is the Junagarh (in Gujarat) rock inscription[13] of Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. This is a graphic but somewhat poetic descrip-tion of the devastating storm that breached the rocky dam of the Sudarśana lake in the Śaka year 72 (A.D. 150) and of its restoration under the supervision of royal officers. The poet's epithets qualifying Rudradāman, his patron king, consist of very long compound words. He refers to various virtues of the king. Among these he mentions his skill in the art of composing literary works both in prose and verse, 'elegantly ornamented in accordance with the convention of words which must be lucid, easy, sweet (full of *rasas*), variegated, and graceful'

[13] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 42 ff.

(*sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayodārālaṅkṛta-gadya-padya-[kāvya-vidhāna-pravīṇe]-na*). The words *madhura* (sweet), *kānta* (elegant), and *udāra* (dignified) along with seven others constitute, according to Daṇḍin,[14] one of the earliest Sanskrit theorists on *kāvya*, the ten requisite poetic excellences, *guṇas* which form the life-breath of the *vaidarbhī* diction. These *guṇas* are the soul of *kāvya* in Vāmana's opinion. At that early period, *rasa* or sentiment and *dhvani* or suggestiveness were not recognized as essential characteristics of a good *kāvya*. The *sphuṭatva* (lucidity) and *laghutva* (ease) of the inscription may correspond to the *arthavyakti* (perspicuity) and *prasāda* in Daṇḍin's list. His other *guṇas* which produce sound effects, namely, *śleṣa* (pun or *double entendre*), *sukumāratā* (tenderness), and *samatā* (consistency of sounds) as also *samādhi* (metaphorical expression) and *ojas* were not much in vogue in early Sanskrit prose inscriptions.

The author of Rudradāman's inscription was a master of the *vaidarbhī* style. This inscription of the second century A.D. is, in fact, a landmark in the development of Sanskrit poetics and rhetorics. This Śaka ruler, i.e. Rudradāman, like Samudragupta and Harṣavardhana of later periods, devoted himself much to the cultivation of court poetry. The *praśasti* leads us to believe that there were other works in the *vaidarbhī* style and that there was also an *alaṅkāra-śāstra* (poetics) during the period earlier than the time of Bharata and Daṇḍin. The *praśasti*, which tries to fulfil almost all the requirements of a prose composition prescribed by the rules of poetics, may be compared with the prose portion of Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* of the fourth century A.D. The latter, however, bears the stamp of much finer skill and imagination. This inscription of Rudradāman has some words grammatically wrong. There are also some words which show Prakrit influence. Expressions like *āgarbhāt prabhṛti* and *anyatra saṁgrāmeṣu* are un-Pāṇinian. But the *guṇa* called *ojas*, which is the principal feature of Sanskrit prose composition, is amply demonstrated by the writer of this inscription. For example, there is one compound sentence comprising seventeen words with forty letters in line 11 and the whole *praśasti* is complete in five sentences only. The sense-figures of *upamā* (simile) and *utprekṣā* (poetic fancy) have been used here and there; but the sound-figure of *anuprāsa* (alliteration) is extensively used with repetition of parts of words, full words, or single letters as in *abhyasta-nāmno rudradāmno*, *praharaṇa-vitaraṇa*, *kāma-viṣayāṇāṁ viṣayāṇām*, *vidheyānāṁ yaudheyānām*, and *āryyeṇāhāryyeṇa*.

HARIṢEṆA'S PRAŚASTI OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AT ALLAHABAD

After the third century A.D. almost all inscriptions were written in Sanskrit,[15] the *praśastis* being either in *campū* form, or in verse only, and sometimes, as in Central and South India, in prose only.

[14] Cf. *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 41-42.

[15] This is not correct so far as South India is concerned.—DCS.

Among the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta period, the Allahabad stone pillar inscription[16] of Samudragupta (*c.* A.D. 335-80), composed by his court poet Hariṣeṇa, is a perfect specimen of *kāvya*. In it there is clear evidence of the influence of the theorists. This inscription is essentially a *praśasti* composed to celebrate Samudragupta's military conquests, and served as a model for Kālidāsa[17] while he described Raghu's conquests (*digvijaya*) in Canto IV of his *Raghuvaṁśa*.[18] It incidentally records his political relations with other kings. Hariṣeṇa has displayed his magnificent poetic art in composing this *praśasti* in *campū* form. It begins with eight verses in which *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *mandākrāntā*, and *sragdharā* metres have been used to describe the king. Then it breaks into prose. In the prose portion many long compound words are found forming epithets of the monarch. Then, again, there is a verse written in the *pṛthvī* metre. It concludes with another small prose passage. The whole *praśasti* consists of a single gigantic sentence. Hariṣeṇa appears to have followed the *vaidarbhī* style. The composition shows the author's weakness for long compound words, specially when he writes prose. This, it may be mentioned, was the peculiarity of the *gauḍī* style.[19] The figures of speech used are alliterations, metaphors, and similes. There is also a sprinkling of *śleṣa*. The description it gives of the coronation or of how Samudragupta was chosen by his father as heir-apparent to the throne is graphic and inimitable. One particular stanza (verse 4) stands out as an example of the power of words to portray a spectacle. The inscription personifies *kīrtti* (fame) as a female, which flows through the three worlds like the water of the Gaṅgā. Its ascent towards heaven and its proclamation by means of the lofty pillar acting as the arm of the earth provide beautiful poetic imageries.

Hariṣeṇa speaks of King Samudragupta as having 'established the title of "king of poets" by the composition of many a *kāvya* which was fully drawn upon by other learned men' (*vidvajjanopajīvyāneka-kāvya-kriyābhiḥ pratiṣṭhita-kavirāja-śabdasya*). The king's *kāvya* was of such a high order as would have 'kept at a distance the greatness of the intellect of other poets' (*kavi-mati-vibhavotsāraṇam*). The king is further described as enjoying 'lordship over fame [produced] by many blooming poetical works' (*sphuṭa-bahu-kavitā-kīrtti-rājyaṁ bhunakti*). And what the poet of the inscription has said of his patron-monarch's literary talents applies to himself as well.

[16] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 6 ff.

[17] Kālidāsa, according to most of the scholars, flourished during the reign of Samudragupta's son, Candragupta II (*c.* 380-413), and also perhaps that of the latter's son, Kumāragupta I (*c.* 413-56).

[18] *Vide* R. G. Basak, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference* (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 325 ff.

[19] The *Kāvyādarśa* (I. 80-84) says that the use of long compounds was the common characteristic of prose composition among the followers of different schools, but that the Gauḍas preferred them also in poetry.—DCS.

KĀLIDĀSA'S INFLUENCE ON WRITERS OF PRAŚASTIS

Kālidāsa greatly influenced many of the writers of epigraphs. Vatsabhaṭṭi, the poet of the Mandasaur (Madhya Pradesh) inscription[20] of Kumāragupta I (*c.* A.D. 413-56) and Bandhuvarman, dated[21] A.D. 436 and 473, was in point of time an immediate successor of Kālidāsa, and his description of Nature seems to be an imitation of the author of the *Meghadūta* and the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*. This can be testified by reference to the descriptions, specially of the winter and the spring.

Vatsabhaṭṭi followed the rules of early rhetorics in describing the Lāṭa country, the city of Daśapura, the guild (*śreṇī*) of silk-weavers (*paṭṭavāya*), and the seasons, as and when opportunity arose. The whole *praśasti* was made up of forty-four verses in altogether twelve metrical varieties. Like Kālidāsa, he also explained the particular season's meaning for lovers. The influence of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* is clear in verse 31. Here he says that 'during the cool season, even the feeble warmth of fire and the sun's rays are so pleasant to the united lovers that they give up enjoying the coolness of the moon, of floors, of sandal-wood paste, of palm-leaf breeze, and of the touch of necklaces' (*dara-bhāskarāṁśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhage* ... ... *candrāṁśu-harmyatala-candana-tālavṛnta-hāropabhoga-rahite* ... ... *kāle*). Verse 33 exhibits the use of long compound words. Though a vital characteristic of *ojas*, the life-breath of prose (*gadya*) composition according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (I. 80-84), this was also employed by non-Deccan poets (like Vatsabhaṭṭi) even when they composed a *padya-kāvya*. The inscription does not forget *lodhra*, *priyaṅgu*, *kunda*, and *lavalī* flowers while describing the winter; similarly, it does not miss, while describing the spring, referring to flowers such as *aśoka*, *ketaka*, *sindhuvāra*, *atimukta*, and *madayantikā*, which the undying Love-god (Madana), whom Hara once burnt to ashes, probably used as his flower-shafts. Vatsabhaṭṭi also describes the season, i.e. the spring, as one during which 'thick branches of *nagana* bushes are resounded with the hum of happy bees sucking intoxicating nectar' (*madhupāna-mudita-madhukara-kulopa-gīta-naganaıka-pṛthu-śākhe*).

Vatsabhaṭṭi was gifted with a poetic skill of no mean order. His graphic description of the country of Lāṭa from where the silk-weavers emigrated, and of the city of Daśapura (verses 4-14) is reminiscent of Kālidāsa's description of cities in the *Meghadūta*. He was careful in using words and syllables of soft, smooth, pleasant, or harsh sound in accordance with the requirements of the sentiments he wanted to convey. In verse 26, for example, the first three *pādas*

[20] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, XVIII, pp. 79 ff.

[21] The two dates of the inscription refer to the Mālava or Kṛta era 493 and 529 when the famous Sun-god's temple was erected and repaired respectively by the guild of silk-weavers, formerly of Lāṭa country, who migrated to the city of Daśapura in Mālava during the régime of Bandhuvarman, ruler of that city, under the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I.

give smooth and pleasant sounds while describing the goodness and wisdom of Bandhuvarman. But the poet introduces harsh syllables just in the fourth *pāda* to describe Bandhuvarman's heroism (*dviḍ-dṛpta-pakṣa-kṣapaṇaika-dakṣaḥ*), which remind us of the principle of avoiding *sukumāratā* (tenderness) in the description of the *raudra* (fierce) sentiment according to Daṇḍin.[22] Following the rules of composition of a *mahākāvya*, Vatsabhaṭṭi has also introduced verse varieties like *yugmakas*, *viśeṣakas*, *kalāpakas*, and *kulakas*, whenever occasion demanded. The poet, however, is sometimes guilty of weak pauses in his metrology and violation of rules of grammar and rhetorics. Vatsabhaṭṭi says that he composed the verses 'with great effort' (*prayatnena*) indicating perhaps that he utilized with care the best samples before him.

Mention may be made, in this connexion, of two important epigraphs[23] of the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 455-67), the Bhitari (Ghazipur District, U.P.) stone pillar inscription and the Junagarh rock inscription (A.D. 455, 456, and 457-58). The first epigraph records the installation of the image of Viṣṇu (Śārṅgin) and the allotment of a village to the idol by Skandagupta evidently in memory of his late father Kumāragupta I. This inscription of the *campū* style describes how Skandagupta ran to his mother, then in mourning (her husband having died shortly before), to announce the news of his victory in war and his success in restoring the shaken fortunes of the royal family. His running to his mother has been compared with that of Kṛṣṇa to his mother Devakī. The latter inscription is a eulogistic description of the work of repairs to the old and famous lake or dam, Sudarśana, in the peninsula of Surāṣṭra. Part I of the epigraph, complete in thirty-nine verses, is, according to the poet, a *grantha* by itself (*iti sudarśana-taṭāka-saṁskāra-grantha-racanā samāptā*). The rich variety of metres, the skilful use of figures of speech, the remarkable lucidity of language, and the *vaidarbhī* style exhibited in these epigraphs clearly indicate the indebtedness of their writers to Kālidāsa.

MANDASAUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YAŚODHARMAN

The Mandasaur inscription[24] of Yaśodharman (*c.* A.D. 525-35) composed by the poet Vāsula narrates the erection of the column to dwell on the king's glory and power. The poet seems to have adopted the method of Hariṣeṇa in describing the pillar, with his first eight verses all composed in the *sragdharā* metre, as being erected as if 'to measure out the earth', 'to enumerate the multitude of the heavenly bodies', and 'to point out the path of his fame to the skies above'. Verse 8 describes the lofty pillar as if it is an arm of the earth, raised up in joy to inscribe upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the

[22] Cf. *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 72.
[23] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, XIII and XIV respectively.
[24] *Ibid.*, XXXIII.

virtues of Yaśodharman. It reminds one of Hariṣeṇa's description of Fame's way in the Allahabad pillar inscription. In verse 6, the poet describes the Hūṇa king Mihirakula 'as one who never bowed his head to any other except the god Sthāṇu (Śiva)'. Such a claim became almost a common feature with some important characters of later classical poets. We may refer, for instance, to a statement in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (I. 3) and another in the *Harṣacarita* (Chapter VII).

THE STYLE OF LATER EPIGRAPHS

A definite turn in the style and diction, language and thought took place after the fall of the Guptas. For two centuries from now on, extensive use of mythological allusions, overwrought rhetoric, and metrical profusion marked the epigraphic compositions of court poets. This was due to the influence of reputed poets like Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, and Māgha and prose writers like Daṇḍin, Subandhu, and Bāṇa. Now Sanskrit works, both poetry and prose, grew to be gradually more artificial both in form and content and partook of some new poetic characteristics such as elaborate and involved rhetorical figures and complicated varieties of metre. The rhetorical figures of paronomasia and antithesis were extensively used. This is indicated by records like the charters[25] of the Maitrakas of Valabhī (Kathiawad), the Banskhera (Shahjahanpur) copper plate[26] of Harṣa (A.D. 606-47), the Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper plates[27] of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, the Aihole (Bijapur) inscription[28] of Pulakeśin II (A.D. 608-42), the Aphsad (Gayā) *praśasti*[29] of Ādityasena (A.D. 672), the Tipperah (Bangladesh) copper plate[30] of Lokanātha, and the Kailan (Tipperah) copper plate[31] of King Śrīdhāraṇarāta of Samataṭa.

In the Maitraka inscriptions, Bhaṭārka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as *pratāpopanata-dāna-mānārjjavārjitānurāgānurakta-maula-bhṛta-śreṇī-balāvāpta-rājya-śrīḥ*, i.e. 'whole royal fortune was attained through his armies of *maula* (hereditary), *bhṛta* (salaried), and *śreṇī* (guild) varieties. They were devoted [to him] because of the gifts, favours, and goodwill they received from his majesty'. His successors are also similarly described. King Guhasena is called *rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅkādhirājodadhi-tridaśaguru-dhaneśān atiśayānaḥ*, while King Dharasena is described as *prathama-narapati-samatisṛṣṭānām, anupālayitā, dharmadāyānām, apākartā prajopaghāta-kāriṇām upaplavānāṁ, darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyorekādhivāsasya, saṁhatārāti-pakṣa-lakṣmī-paribhoga-dakṣa-vikramaḥ*. The royal epithets show the poets' familiarity with

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 171.
[26] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 208 ff.
[27] P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* (Rangpur Sahitya Parishad, 1338 B.S.), pp. 1 ff.
[28] *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 1 ff.
[29] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, XLII.
[30] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, No. 19.
[31] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

anuprāsa and *śleṣa*, with *rājya-tantra* (politics) and *śālāturīya-tantra* (the science of grammar as systematized by Pāṇini who was born in Śālātura[32] in the Punjab).

The descriptions of Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman in the Nidhanpur copper plates in a few *āryā* verses and in prose at once remind us of the *pāñcālī rīti* (style of the North) adopted by Bāṇa, wherein words and sense are equally balanced. Epithets like *śruta-śauryya-dhairyya-śauṭīryyaḥ*, i.e. 'whose heroism, perseverance, and pride were well heard of', in Bhāskaravarman's description bespeak the poet's proper use of syllables suited to the sentiment.

RAVIKĪRTTI'S PRAŚASTI OF PULAKEŚIN II AT AIHOLE

The exploits of Cālukya Pulakeśin II are lucidly and graphically described by Ravikīrtti in Śaka year 556 (A.D. 634) in a *praśasti* of thirty-seven verses composed in a variety of metres such as *āryā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *āryāgīti*, *mattebhavikrīḍita*, *vaṁśastha*, *mālinī*, *sragdharā*, *mandākrāntā*, *śloka*, and *hāriṇī*. The poet admits (verse 37) that he imitated Kālidāsa and Bhāravi whose time cannot thus be placed after A.D. 634. The *praśasti* offers clear evidence that its author was thoroughly conversant with the canons of the *alaṅkāra-śāstra* and, like a true Deccan poet[33] (*dākṣiṇātya*), was unsurpassed in his employment of *utprekṣās*. The *praśasti* uses the sound-figure *yamaka* in various forms (verses 23, 26, 27, 37). King Kīrttivarman is described as 'one who never felt inclined to commit adultery with others' wives, but was attracted to worship the goddess of the Royalty of his enemies' (verse 9). The phrase *pṛthu-kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam* in his description must have been suggested by *pṛthu-kadamba-kadambaka* of the *Kirātārjunīya* (V. 9) of Bhāravi.

APHSAD PRAŚASTI OF ĀDITYASENA

The Aphsad (Gayā) inscription of Ādityasena, who built a temple of Viṣṇu, is a *praśasti* consisting of thirty verses composed in different metres. Artificiality in poetic embellishments and extensive use of hyperbolic, mythological, and exaggerated description distinguish it from 'the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical style of the more ancient records'.[34]

[32] According to Hiuen Tsang, Sha-lo-tu-lo (Śālātura) lay a few miles to the north-west of Wu-to-ka-han-ch'a (Udabhāṇda) which is modern Ohind in the Peshawar District, N.W.F.P., Pakistan. Cf. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 221.—DCS.

[33] Cf. *Harṣacarita*, Introductory verse 7.

[34] Cf. Such conventional epithets of the king as *śvetātapatra-sthagita-vasumatī-maṇḍala-lokapālah* (a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered) and *nyastāśeṣa-narendra-mauli-caraṇa-sphāra-pratāpānalah* (the spreading fire of the prowess of whose feet has the heads of all kings placed under it). Pharases like *doṣṇā mṛgendrāyitam* (whose arms played the part of a lion) and *sainya-dugdha-sindhuḥ... vimathito mandārībhūya yena* (by whom, playing the part of the Mandāra Hill, was churned the milk-ocean in the shape of the army) also indicate the turn, the style, and the diction the inscription has adopted.

COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF ŚRĪDHĀRANARĀTA AND LOKANĀTHA

The Kailan copper plate of the eighth year of the reign of King Śrīdhāraṇarāta of Samataṭa, whose father Jīvadhāraṇarāta was undoubtedly a contemporary of King Lokanātha of the Tipperah grant of the latter half of the seventh century A.D., exhibits the characteristics of the *gauḍī* style. It was composed mainly in prose with only six verses mixed up with it, and we may refer to the brilliant passage which contains the prayer for land by the grantee.

Both Jīvadhāraṇarāta and his grandson Baladhāraṇarāta were adept in *śabdavidyā* (grammar and lexicon), the grandfather being a poet (*kavi*) 'versed in all arts, and the producer of excellent sweet songs' (*atimadhura-citragīter utpādayitā*).

The same characteristics of Sanskrit prose style are observable in the prose portions of Lokanātha's copper plate grant. The poet found an opportunity here to describe the forest region in the Suvvuṅga-viṣaya in the *gauḍī* style as *mṛga-mahiṣa-varāha-vyāghra-sarīsṛpādibhir yatheccham anubhūyamāna-gṛha-sambhoga-gahana-gulma-latā-vitāne* (which had a thick network of bushes and creepers, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, reptiles, etc. enjoy, according to their will, all pleasures of home-life). The poet refers to the eightfold offering of flowers called *aṣṭa-puṣpikā* known from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita.* The poet copiously uses long compound words with a play of the sound-figure of alliteration in *tatra bhagavato'mara-varāsura-dinakara-śaśadhara-kubera-kinnara-vidyādhara-mahoraga-gandharva-varuṇa-yakṣa... [a]bhiṣṭuta-vapuṣo'nanta-nārāyaṇasya satatam aṣṭa-puṣpikā-bali-caru-sattra-pravṛttaye.*

BADAL PRAŚASTI OF THE NINTH CENTURY

The Badal (Dinajpur) pillar inscription[35] of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (ninth century A.D.) is the eulogy of a Brāhmaṇa family of ministers under the first four Pāla rulers, their erudition and able counsellorship being highly extolled. Bhaṭṭa Gaurava Miśra, who was Nārāyaṇapāla's chief minister, was not only a valiant warrior but also a reputed scholar whose achievements are beautifully described in a verse (22) composed in the *vasantatilaka* metre. In the picturesque description of the four boundaries of the empire of Devapāla, the poet introduces too much of mythology and conventional thoughts when he says (verse 5) that 'King Devapāla made the whole land pay him revenue as a result of the policy of his minister (Darbhapāṇi). The land was bounded [on one side] by the mountain (i.e. the Vindhya range) which was the source (lit. father) of the river Revā and of which the blocks of rocks were wet with the rut of elephants, and [on the other] by the mountain which was the father of Gaurī (i.e. the Himālayan range) and the whiteness of which was enhanced by the rays of the moon [on the] forehead of Īśvara (Śiva), and [on the other two sides] by the

[35] *Gauḍalekhamālā* (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), p. 70.

two oceans the waters of which turned red at the rise and setting of the sun'.[36] *Anuprāsa* and *śleṣa* played an important role in the compositions of this period. Minister Gaurava Miśra is compared in verse 17 with Vāsudeva (Puruṣottama) inasmuch as he himself was an eminent person (*puruṣottama*) and like Kṛṣṇa who was a benefactor of the cowherds of Vṛndāvana (*gopāla-priyakāraka*), the minister was a benefactor of the lord of the earth i.e. King Devapāla (*gopāla-priyakāraka*). With *śleṣa* in *sampannakṣatra-cintaka* (verse 18) which means both 'one who calculates the motions of *nakṣatras* of good augury' and 'one who is on the lookout of affluent Kṣatriyas [for extermination]', one may compare the figure *virodha* or *virodhābhāsa* (oxymoron) in verse 15 of the Bhagalpur plate[37] of Nārāyaṇapāla, in which we have expressions like *nalasama* and *analasadṛśa* referring to the king who is equal to Nala on account of his achievements, but who is again not like Nala. But the words can be interpreted in a manner which eliminates the antithesis.

VĪRADEVA PRAŚASTI OF THE NINTH CENTURY

A *praśasti*[38] (ninth century A.D.) incised on the stone discovered at the village site of Ghoshrawa in Patna District, Bihar, says how the Brāhmaṇa Vīradeva hailing from Nagarahāra in Jalalabad became a Buddhist ascetic. He first became a disciple of Sarvajñaśānti, head of the Kaniṣka *vihāra* (monastery), and then started for Mahābodhi (Gayā) to worship the *vajrāsana* of Buddha, and finally went to live in the *vihāra* known as Yaśovarmapura in Magadha. It may be that Yaśovarman who conquered Magadha had established this *vihāra* after his own name and the two great classical poets, Hāla and Bhavabhūti, enjoying his patronage, influenced writers like the composer of the Vīradeva *praśasti*. A skilful use of alliteration can be marked in such expressions in the epigraph as *saṁsāra-sāgara-samuttaraṇaika-setuḥ*, *kalayā malayā*, and *tapati tapanaḥ*. Not many involved figures of speech are found in the *praśasti*. The poet has made an extensive use of the metre *vasantatilaka* interspersed with sprinklings of *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *mandākrāntā*.

BHUVANEŚVARA PRAŚASTI OF BHAṬṬA BHAVADEVA

The Bhuvaneśvara inscription[39] is a *praśasti* of the Brāhmaṇa Bhavadeva, who was a minister of King Harivarman (*c.* A.D. 1075-1125) of the Varman dynasty of Vaṅga (South-east Bengal). Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, surnamed 'Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga', was a great scholar and author. The eulogy consists of thirty-three verses written in eleven metres by Bhavadeva's friend, Vācaspati Miśra. The versatility of Bhavadeva is indicated by the description that he was a

[36] The claim, however, is conventional and not historical.—DCS.
[37] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 55.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[39] *Inscriptions of Bengal* (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), pp. 25 ff.

brahmavādin (one who teaches or expounds the Vedas), a *mīmāṁsaka* (a follower of the Mīmāṁsā system of philosophy), a *jyotiṣika* (an astronomer or astrologer), a *smārta* (one who possesses knowledge of Smṛti), an *ālaṅkārika* (a rhetorician), an *arthaśāstravid* (an expert in political science), an *astraśāstravid* (an expert in ballistics), and a *vaidyaśāstravid* (an expert in the science of medicine). Vācaspati Miśra was undoubtedly a highly gifted poet. He has displayed pedantic mastery over all kinds of figures of speech, specially *yamaka* and *śleṣa*, and seems in his elaborate *kāvya* style to have followed the *Naiṣadha-carita* of Śrīharṣa who flourished in the latter part of the twelfth century. The poet's invocation to the goddess of learning (Vāgdevatā) for occupying the tip of his tongue appears to be a precursor of similar invocations to Sarasvatī by later Bengali poets.

UMĀPATIDHARA'S PRAŚASTI OF VIJAYASENA FROM DEOPARA

Umāpatidhara is well known among the poets who adorned the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena (*c.* A.D. 1185-1205) of Bengal and is mentioned by Jayadeva in his *Gītagovinda.* Umāpati is the author of the famous Deopara (Rajshahi District, Bangladesh) *praśasti*[40] of Vijayasena (*c.* A.D. 1097-1159), which consists of thirty-six verses in a variety of metres. It records the construction of a temple of Harihara under the name of Pradyumneśvara by King Vijayasena. It is full of rhetorical excesses, the style being *gauḍī rīti* and the language artificial to a degree. The author has displayed command over vocabulary and knowledge of mythology. He was treading in the footsteps of Prācetasa (Vālmīki) and Parāśaranandana (Vyāsa) and says (verse 33) that his effort to eulogize the Sena king, Vijayasena, was only meant to purify his composition by taking a plunge into the river of the gods (the Gaṅgā) in the shape of his boundless fame (*tat-kīrtti-pura-surasindhu-vigāhanena vācaḥ pavitrayitum atra tu naḥ prayatnaḥ*). He refers to his own intellect 'being accurate in determining words and their import' (*eṣā kaveḥ pada-padārtha-vicāra-śuddha-buddher umāpatidharasya kṛtiḥ praśastiḥ*). Lofty are the imageries in verses 30-31 mentioning the valuable offerings the Sena king made to Lord Śiva who is commonly looked upon as an indigent god, never caring for the enjoyment of worldly objects. The poet states in a brilliant manner how Vijayasena made provisions of garments of variegated colours for Śiva [the naked god], a hundred beautiful damsels bedecked with jewels [for serving the god who is Ardhanārīśvara, i.e. half female and half male], many townships [for the god who lives in crematories]. Umāpatidhara demonstrates his unique power of description when he says that beautiful silken garments, broad necklaces, sandal-paste, blue jewels, emeralds, and pearls dedicated by Vijayasena replaced respectively the usual dress of the wearer of wreaths of skulls (i.e. Śiva), consisting of elephant-hide, the lord of serpents, ashes, rosary, other snakes, and human skulls.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.

In conclusion, the verse from the Silimpur (Bogra, North Bengal) stone inscription[41] of the eleventh century A.D. may be cited wherein are represented the poet-author's views on poetic power:

Kaviḥ kāvya-guṇaireva śobhate'nveṣitaściram
Tanmukhānviṣṭa-kāvyasya naśyantyekapade guṇāḥ.

'It is only when the poet is himself sought out by the embellishments of his art (poetry) that he shines abidingly; but the excellences of a *kāvya* sought by the poet himself fly away all at once.'

As has been shown above, some inscription writers of high poetic powers should also be included in this category. G. Buhler,[42] therefore, rightly remarks that 'in order to arrive at certain conclusions, we must thoroughly investigate the language, the style and the poetical technics of single works and compare them with those of works whose dates have been known with certainty or with approximate definiteness, and of epigraphical documents, as well as with the canons laid down in the older manuals of poetics'.

II

Sanskrit and Sanskritic inscriptions have been found in all the countries that came into cultural contact with India, viz. Indo-China, Indonesia,[43] and Central Asia ('Serindia'). Sanskrit inscriptions consisting of Buddhist *dhāraṇīs* and the well-known formula *ye dharmā*...have also been found in Yunnan (China);[44] they have, however, no relevance for our present purpose as we shall be concerned here with 'Greater India'. This is a region which chiefly stretches from Burma to Borneo, passing through Siam (Thailand), former French Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and Bali. It is, however, from Cambodia—the ancient Kambuja-deśa, comprising modern Cambodia, Cochin-China, eastern Siam, and southern Laos—that the most numerous and valuable epigraphs have come down to us. They will be dealt with in some detail here.

Although there are good reasons to believe that Indian culture was already implanted in Indo-China and Indonesia in the first and second centuries A.D., the earliest epigraphical record testifying to Indian presence in that area dates

[41] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 283.

[42] *Vide* his paper on 'The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry' (translated by V. S. Ghate, Poona) in *Indian Antiquary*, XLII (1913), pp. 29 ff., 137 ff., 172 ff., 188 ff., 230 ff., 243 ff., and 249.

[43] The name 'Indonesia' is used here in its cultural sense, and includes the Malay Peninsula.

[44] See L. Finot in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* (*BEFEO*), XXV (1925), p. 447; W. Liebenthal, *Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan* in *Monumenta Serica*, XII (1947), pp. 1 ff.

only from the second half of the third century. It is remarkable, however, that the Vo-canh inscription[45] (South Vietnam) composed in Sanskrit already adopts the *kāvya* style. Except for the last two lines, the whole inscription seems to be in verse, and we find there the use of at least two elaborate metres, *vasanta-tilaka* and *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Unfortunately, the text is mutilated to a considerable extent. It has not yet been decided whether it is of Brāhmaṇical or of Buddhist inspiration. But, palaeographically, this inscription has distinct affinities with the inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda, and it seems to be contemporaneous with the Brāhmaṇical inscriptions in Sanskrit discovered at the same site.[46] It cannot be definitely concluded on the basis of this meagre evidence that the Vo-canh inscription is of Brāhmaṇical inspiration, and that Sanskrit was adopted so early as the epigraphical language in South-East Asia because Brāhmaṇism there preceded Buddhism;[47] but the fact remains that, apart from some Prakrit elements in the vocabulary of the late inscriptions,[48] no trace of a Prakrit tradition has yet been found in that area.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMBUJA OR CAMBODIA : KĀVYA TRADITION

Chronologically, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja-deśa range from the fifth to the fourteenth century. Most of these are *praśastis*. A few, however, contain only invocations to divinities. These inscriptions prove that Sanskrit was the only literary language in ancient Cambodia. It is true that the local language, Khmer, is used in epigraphy from the seventh century onwards. But,

[45] See *Précisions sur la paléographie de l'inscription dite de Vo-canh*, in *Artibus Asiae*, XXIV, 3/4 (*Felicitation Volume presented to Professor George Coedès, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday*), 1961, pp. 219 ff.

[46] The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions range in date from the time of the Sātavāhana king Vijaya Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXVI, p. 274), who ruled in the early years of the third century, till that of the Ikṣvāku ruler Rudrapurusadatta (*ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 22) whose reign covering at least nearly eleven years has to be assigned to near about the second quarter of the fourth century. Most of the large number of inscriptions are in Prakrit, only a few belonging to the reign of Ehuvula Śāntamūla, who was the father of Rudrapurusadatta and ruled for at least about twenty-four years near about the close of the third and the early years of the fourth century, are in Sanskrit (*ibid.*, XXXIII, p. 149; XXXIV, pp. 19-20). One of these few, dated in the king's eleventh regnal year, contains a stanza in the *sragdharā* metre. However, most of the records of Ehuvula and his son are in Prakrit with a few in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit (cf. the record dated the twenty-fourth year of Ehuvula, *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 12-13) as would befit a transitional stage when Sanskrit was just trying to assert itself in the Nagarjunikonda region not much earlier than the beginning of the fourth century. Even if therefore it is supposed that the style and language of the Vo-canh inscription were borrowed from Nagarjunikonda, then also it would be somewhat later; but the total absence of Prakrit in South-east Asian epigraphy seems strongly to suggest that the epigraphic tradition there was indebted to that of an age when Sanskrit was the predominant language of inscriptions, and in South India, this was apparently later than the days of Ehuvula and his son. Prakrit was originally the language of both Buddhistic and Brāhmanical inscriptions. An inscription of Ehuvula appears to be dated A.D. 333 (*ibid.*, XXXV, p. 6).—DCS.

[47] Cf. *Les Religions brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge, d'après l'épigraphie et l'iconographie* (*Publications de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. XLIX, Paris, 1961), pp. 19-20.

[48] Cf. *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge* in *BEFEO*, LII, 1 (1964), pp. 1 ff., Introduction, 3.

at the beginning, this language is quite amorphous, still in quest of vocabulary and syntax. The records of the eleventh century show that the Khmer language—enriched through its contact with Sanskrit[49]—was at that time perfectly utilizable in historical narrations; but no document has yet come down to us which permits us to believe that it was suitable also for poetical and philosophical compositions. Frequently, the literary portion of an inscription is in Sanskrit, while the material and technical portion is in Khmer. Most of the inscriptions written in Khmer are but lists of donations to temples.

One of the finest epigraphs ever composed in Cambodia—and all over 'Greater India'—is the Phnom Bayang inscription dated A.D. 624.[50] We find there a remarkable hymn addressed to Śiva:

. . . .
. . . .
Yam āntarañ jyotir upāsate budhā
Niruttaraṁ brahma parañ jigīṣavaḥ.
Tapaśśrutejyāvidhayo yadarpaṇā
Bhavantyanirdeśyaphalānubandhinaḥ,
Na kevalaṁ tatphalayogasaṅginām
Asaṅgināṁ karmaphalatyajām api.
Nisargasiddhair aṇimādibhir guṇair
Upetam aṅgīkṛtaśaktivistaraiḥ,
Dhiyām atītaṁ vacasām agocaram
Anāspadaṁ yasya padaṁ vidur budhāḥ.

'Whom (Śiva) the sages, desirous of conquering the supreme [condition], the absolute Brahman, worship as the internal light; the practices of austerity, study and sacrifice, provided they are offered to Him, bring about undefinable results, not only for those who are [still] attached to the acquisition of the fruits of those works, but also for those who are completely detached and have renounced all fruits of actions; whose status,[51] endowed with tenuity and other qualities which are inherent in Him, and which develop through the action of the energies He assumes—a status that surpasses the power of all thoughts and words—is known only to the sages.'[52]

The description of the mountain that follows reminds us of Kālidāsa. Here is one of the verses, unfortunately mutilated:

[49] On this point cf. G. Coedès, *Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise*, (Paris, 1962), p. 212.

[50] A. Barth and A. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanskrites de Campā et du Cambodge* (*ISCC*), V. Cf. *Les Religions brahmaniques*, pp. 57-58; and *Journal Asiatique* (*JA*), 1967, pp. 212-13.

[51] The inscription relates the installation or restoration of a *Śivapada* (footprint of Śiva, on which see *JA*, 1964, pp. 379-81).

[52] The translation of some passages quoted here and elsewhere is more or less free.—DCS.

Ayañca mūrdhnā sphutaratnamālinā
Padaṁ dadhāno giriśasya bhūdharaḥ,
Upaiti loke bahu ... ...
... ... *ā mānyatame hi sannatiḥ.*

'And this mountain, receiving upon its head, crowned with sparkling jewels, the foot of Giriśa (Śiva), acquires great [glory] in the world... For it [elevates] rather than humiliates to bow down before the most illustrated.'

The influence of Kālidāsa is manifest in the Han Chei inscription.[53] For delineating the *digvijaya* of King Bhavavarman the author of this inscription took as his model the *Raghu-digvijaya* in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (Canto IV). Two of his verses recall unmistakably the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 49 and 54).[54]

Inscription (verse A. 6):
Śaratkālabhiyā tasya parānāvṛtatejasaḥ
Dviṣām asahyo yasyaiva pratāpo na raver api.

'In autumn, when he set out for expeditions, his lustre his enemies could never obscure, and his valour, more ardent than that of the sun, became unbearable to his enemies.'

Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 49):
Diśi mandāyate tejo dakṣiṇasyāṁ raver api
Tasyām eva raghoḥ pāṇḍyāḥ pratāpaṁ na viṣehire.

'In the southern direction, the lustre of even the sun becomes dimmed; in that very direction the Pāṇḍyas could not stand the valour of Raghu.'

Inscription (verse A.7):
Yasya sainyarajodhūtam ujjhitālaṅkṛtiṣvapi
Ripustrīgaṇḍadeśeṣu cūrṇabhāvam upāgatam.

'The dust raised by his army covered the cheeks of the womenfolk of his enemies. Although these were bereft of all cosmetics, the dust gathered there as powder.'

Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 54):
Bhayotsṛṣṭavibhūṣāṇāṁ tena keralayoṣitām
Alakeṣu camūreṇuś cūrṇapratinidhīkṛtaḥ.

'He made the dust raised by the army a substitute for the powder in the hair of the Kerala ladies who gave up ornaments through fear.'

[53] *ISCC*, I, A.
[54] This was first noticed by F. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, VI (1900), p. 4, n. 1.

One perceives at once the marked difference between the imitation and the original. However, the style of these inscriptions is, in general, limpid. The embellishments *(alaṅkāras)*—of both sound *(śabda)*[55] and sense *(artha)*—are used with restraint and moderation. The *śleṣa,* which will be a burden of the later compositions, is effortless.

With the epigraphs of Indravarman I (A.D. 877-89), *kāvya* in Cambodia becomes more artificial. Evidently, Cambodia could not escape for a long time from the literary tendencies that manifested themselves in India. It was again in the 'Angkorian' period that the longest epigraphs were composed in Cambodia. It may be pertinent to note that this grandeur and luxuriance in literary art coincide with similar tendencies in architecture and sculpture. Kālidāsa, however, still inspires the poets. This is evident, for instance, in the Pre-Rup inscription of Rājendravarman (A.D. 961),[56] which, along with the East Mebon inscription of A.D. 952,[57] constitutes the apogee of epigraphical *kāvya* in Cambodia. The two inscriptions contain 298 and 218 verses respectively. An idea of Kālidāsa's influence working on the poets of these inscriptions can be had from a comparative study of some of the verses of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (e.g. IV. 14; IV. 25; VI. 20; VI. 22; and II. 53) and of the Pre-Rup inscription (e.g. verses 59; 65; 164; 48; 210; and 290).[58] Usually, as in this case, only some ideas or expressions are borrowed; but, sometimes, the authors simply imitate Kālidāsa as in the following verse of the East Mebon inscription (verse 38):

Dvirephamālā iva pārijātaṁ
dhiyo munīnām iva cātmayogam,
Vyāpāram anyañ jagatāṁ vihāya
dṛśo 'dvitīyaṁ pratipedire yam.

'As swarms of bees fly to the Pārijāta tree, as the minds of the Yogis have no other function than the meditation on the Self (Ātman), so the eyes of people, leaving aside all other occupations, were placed upon him who had no equal.'

Kumāra-sambhava (I. 30):

Tāṁ haṁsamālāḥ śaradīva gaṅgāṁ
mahauṣadhiṁ naktam ivātmabhāsaḥ,

[55] Cf. G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC)*, II, pp. 149-50.

[56] *IC,* I, pp. 73 ff.

[57] L. Finot in *BEFEO,* XXV (1925), pp. 309 ff.

[58] Most of these verses are quoted in *BEFEO,* LII, 1 (1964), p. 4, n. 1. *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI. 22) and Pre-Rup (v. 47) illustrate the rule of Pāṇini (*Aṣṭādhyāyī,* VIII. 2. 14) : *rājanvān saurājye.* The fanciful etymology of the word *ksatra,* as given in *Raghuvaṁśa* (II. 53) and Pre-Rup (vv. 210 and 290),—*kṣatāt trāyate*—goes back to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (V. 13.4); it is also found in the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 2395; XII. 1031 and 2247).

Sthiropadeśām upadeśakāle
prapedire prāktanajanmavidyāḥ.

'As rows of swans come to the Ganges in the autumn, as their own light comes at night to the great medicinal plants, so on her, came all the intellectual acquistitions of the former lives imparting a stable grasp in the process of her education.'

Stylistic differences exist. Thus, while in general the authors of inscriptions prefer the graceful *vaidarbhī rīti*, there are some texts which illustrate the other mode of diction, the *gauḍī rīti*, which is characterized by the use of wild alliterations and of long and involved (*ākula*) compounds.[59] The style of these inscriptions varies also according to the matter treated. The same authors adopt sometimes two different styles in the course of a single composition: the one, simple, for the narrative portion; the other, complex and florid, for the panegyrical portion. All these inscriptions, however, are versified.

It is, however, not known who composed these inscriptions. Some of the authors may have been pundits coming from India, but others were Cambodians. In the reign of Jayavarman VII (A.D.1181-*c*.1220), Queen Indradevī composed the inscription of Phimeanakas,[60] while the princes, Sūryakumāra and Vīrakumāra, composed those of Ta Prohm[61] and Preah Khan.[62] There is no doubt, however, that these authors were very learned. Not only do they refer, almost at every step, to epic and Purāṇic myths, but often they also utilize technical ideas following a well-established Indian tradition. Philosophy, grammar, politics, erotics, etc. are made to serve poetry; or rather poetry is made the medium of all these disciplines. Different systems of philosophy are often mentioned. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (called *Śaiva Vyākaraṇa*, in the inscriptions in accordance with the tradition which ascribes its revelation to Śiva),[63] Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* are also alluded to. The invocatory stanzas of the inscriptions testify, moreover, to a deep knowledge of Indian philosophical and theological ideas. One of the inscriptions is almost entirely devoted to a criticism of the dualism of Nyāya and the Śaiva Āgamas in favour of Vedāntic monism.[64]

It has been supposed that a Cambodian scholar came to learn the Śāstras (scriptures) at the feet of the great Śaṅkara (A.D. 788-820). This may not be true. But, from the tenth century onwards, the Vedānta greatly influenced the

[59] Cf. G. Coedès in *Mélanges d'indianisme offerts par ses élèves à M. Sylvain Lévi* (Paris, 1911), pp. 214-15; and *IC*, V, p. 244.

[60] *IC*, II, pp.161 ff.

[61] G. Coedès in *BEFEO*, VI (1906), pp. 44 ff.

[62] *Ibid.*,XLI (1941), pp. 255 ff.

[63] *Les Religions brahmaniques*, p. 48.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

religious thought of the Cambodians. We may consider again two verses of the Pre-Rup inscription[65] where King Rājendravarman exhorts his successors to protect the religious foundation, *dharma*,[66] made by him. This foundation, it is said, should be regarded by them as their own, since it is the same Ātman which in different bodies is diversely imagined (*kalpita*) to be the doer (*kartṛ*) and the enjoyer (*upabhoktṛ*). This individuation of the One, due to the contingent appositions (*upādhi*), is secondary (*bhākta*); it should be destroyed by the knowledge of the supreme Truth (*paramārtha*) 'as darkness is destroyed by sunlight':

Ātmā'yam eko bahudhā vibhinne
kartopabhoktā ca yataś śarīre,
Tatas svadharmagrahaṇaṁ budhānāṁ
dharmeṣu sarveṣu vivardhatāṁ vaḥ.

Upādhibhedād api kartṛbhedo
yaḥ kalpitaḥ karmaphalāni bhettum,
Bhāktas sa bhedyaḥ paramārthabuddhyā
bhāseva bhānor anayāndhakāraḥ.

'In different bodies there is only one Ātman which works and enjoys. May you, therefore, sages, more and more consider all religious foundations as yours (*svadharma*).

'It is on the distinction between agents that reposes the conception according to which each person reaps the fruits of his own acts. This distinction, however, is only imagined due to the distinction of the contingent appositions. It is, therefore, secondary, and it should be dispelled through the knowledge of the supreme Truth just as darkness is dispelled by sunlight.'

A great variety of metres is handled with skill. It must be mentioned, however, that the simpler metres—*śloka* and the group *indravajrā-upendravajrā-upajāti*—hold a predominant place, indicating a comparative ease of the style. It is rather rarely that grammatically irregular forms and unnecessary words are resorted to for the sake of metre.

The vocabulary[67] is quite extensive. We meet with a number of words which are not recorded, either at all, or in the specific meanings, in the existing dictionaries. This does not mean, however, that all these words or meanings were invented by the Cambodians. In fact, some of them have already been

[65] *IC*, I, pp. 103-4, vv. 287-88. Cf. *JA* (1971), pp. 99-101.

[66] On this word see *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge* in *BEFEO*, LII, 1 (1964), pp. 47ff.

[67] Cf. *Recherches sur le vocabulaire* and *Suppléments* to the same in *BEFEO*, LIII, 1 (1965), pp. 247-51; LV (1969), pp. 145-51.

traced in the unexplored parts of Sanskrit literature. With *kāvya* in general, these inscriptions share the predilection for words in *-i* (e.g. *abhidhi=abhidhā-[na]*), and the words in *-ti* (e.g. *datti, raciti, vyasti*, etc.) and for periphrastic epithets. With one or two exceptions, the latter are impeccable.

Last but not least, the authors of these inscriptions were versed in the *alaṅkāra-śāstra*. It is not possible to enumerate here all the rhetorical figures employed, nor would it serve any useful purpose. Poetry is not a mechanical application, however skilful, of the principles laid down in the *alaṅkāra-śāstra*. The so-called 'embellishments' have no value of their own independently of the creative genius of each poet. A great modern authority has said: 'A beautiful idea must appropriately incarnate itself in a beautiful expression. This defines *alaṅkāra* and its place and function'.[68] Unfortunately, judged by this criterion, these 'poems' hardly deserve any admiration. They proceed more from learning than from innate poetic genius which blossoms forth in newer and newer forms (*prajñā navanavonmeṣaśālinī pratibhā matā*) and transfigures the whole world of ours. Hardly any freshness of imagination illumines these compositions. At best, some of the fancies in which their authors revel may have an intellectual appeal; but others are too far-fetched even for that. We have already spoken of *śleṣa*. This figure, through which some of the principal figures like *upamā, utprekṣā*, and *vyatireka*[69] are worked out, is not in itself bad; on the contrary, it is 'one of the techniques by which Sanskrit poets seek to achieve suggestion to force a larger content into their miniature mould'.[70] But, in these inscriptions, this figure is not always as 'unlaboured' (*akliṣṭa*) as it should be.

Nevertheless, in the absence of any other literature, the value of these compositions is great indeed. They permit us at least to have a glimpse of the intellectual activities pursued in ancient Cambodia, and to see how deep the penetration of Indian culture in that country was.

Before we close, we have to mention the inscriptions in Pali exclusively associated with Buddhism. Even at the earliest period, Pali Buddhism must have existed in Cambodia. But the only evidence that has come to light so far is the well-known formula *ye dhammā* etc. in an inscription of the eleventh century. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, Sinhalese Buddhism penetrated into Cambodia through Siam, and one of the earliest expressions of the new faith is a Pali inscription, dated A.D. 1308.[71] Though written in a new language, this short inscription prolongs the tradition of the old *praśastis*. Strangely enough, by its style it recalls the 'pre-Angkorian' inscriptions.

[68] V. Raghavan, *Studies on Some Concepts of the Alaṅkāra Śāstra* (Adyar, Madras, 1942), p. 89.

[69] *Vyatireka* is the representation of the *upameya* (the object compared) as superior to the *upamāna* (the object compared with) in some particular respects.—DCS.

[70] *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry: Vidyākara's Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa*, translated by Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XLIV (1965), General Introduction, p. 19.

[71] G. Coedès in *BEFEO*, XXXVI (1936), pp. 14 ff.

The last Sanskrit inscription in Cambodia was composed in the reign of Jayavarmaparameśvara (A.D. 1327-?).[72] It does not show any of those signs of decadence that we encounter earlier in the twelfth century in Campā, and later in the fourteenth in Indonesia.

CAMPĀ AND INDONESIA

Next in importance to the inscriptions of Kambuja-deśa are those of Campā (South Annam) and Indonesia. In the former country, Sanskrit occupied the same position as in Cambodia. In Indonesia, however, already at a comparatively early period, we find literary compositions in Old Javanese. Literary compositions in Sanskrit, apart from the inscriptions, are also known. All these are inspired by India and are based on Indian models.[73] Sanskrit also exerted a great influence on the evolution of the Indonesian language.[74]

In Campā, the inscriptions of Bhadravarman are supposed to date from *c.* A.D. 350. Somewhat later are the inscriptions of Mūlavarman in East Borneo (*c.* A.D. 400). Then come those of Pūrṇavarman in Java (*c.* A.D. 450). Some fragmentary inscriptions belonging to about the sixth century A.D. have also been found in West Borneo; these contain mostly some Buddhist formulae.

More important from the literary point of view are the inscriptions belonging to the following centuries. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā and Indonesia are, however, not so rich as those of Cambodia, which remain unsurpassed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Moreover, their language has something which suggests that it reposes more on the study of lexicons and grammars than on a living literary practice. This has been said also of the Cambodian inscriptions themselves;[75] but this seems to be truer still of those of Campā and Indonesia. And the rules of lexicon and grammar seem sometimes to have been studied only imperfectly, since barbarism and solecism are not wanting, particularly in Campā. No wonder that in the course of time Sanskrit dwindled into gibberish. A distinctive trait of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā is that they often adopt the *campū* form.

BURMA

In Burma, inscriptions in Pali associated with Theravāda Buddhism have been found. But those antedating the eleventh century are only Buddhist formulae or fragments of the Pali canon. Later on, Pali is employed, along with

[72] *ISCC*, LXV; *IC*, IV, pp. 254-56.

[73] Cf. J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (Nagpur, 1952), pp. 100 ff.; C. Hooykaas, *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyana, an exemplary Kakawin as to form and content* (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXV, No. 1, Amsterdam, 1958).

[74] J. Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[75] J. Wackernagel and L. Renou, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, *Introduction générale* (Gottingen, 1957), p. 18; cf. A. Barth, *ISCC*, p. 5.

the local languages, in narrative accounts.[76] The most important Sanskrit inscription is the Mrohaung (Arakan) pillar inscription of Ānandacandra, assigned to the eighth century A.D.,[77] which constitutes 'a rare instance of a Sanskrit epigraph of the *praśasti* type found in that country'[78]. Though composed in a simple style, this inscription is not free from blemishes of grammar and prosody.

SIAM (THAILAND)

As already indicated, part of modern Siam was included in the ancient Kambuja-deśa. In southern Siam was situated the kingdom of Dvāravatī from which inscriptions in Pali and Sanskrit (sixth-eighth centuries) have come down to us. But these short texts either relate some religious foundations or contain some Buddhist formulae or fragments of the Pali canon. The only texts that have some literary value are two Pali inscriptions belonging to the kingdom of Sukhodaya (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).[79] Both are composed in the *campū* form. One of them (VI), whose prose portion is unfortunately mutilated, relates poetically in its metrical portion the ordination (*upasampadā*) of a king who threw off the royal burden (*rājabhāra*) in order to put on the yellow robe (*kāsāyavattha*) in the midst of tears of ministers, subjects, friends and relations, and 'women as beautiful as celestial damsels' (*devaṅganābhāhi sundarīhi*). The other inscription (XII), relating the installation of two footprints of Buddha, is practically a string of grandiloquent epithets in prose followed by four simple verses.

CENTRAL ASIA

A huge number of epigraphical documents, written in the Kharoṣṭhī script, have been unearthed in Central Asia ('Serindia'). The bulk of these texts comes from Niya, and dates from the third century A.D. The language used generally is a variety of Prakrit whose original home is supposed to be the north-western regions of the Indian Sub-continent. Some of these documents are composed in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. Most of them are administrative documents and have no literary value. A notable exception is No. 523 of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions,[80] which contains an exhortation, couched in four different metres, against the hoarding of riches. The author drew his inspiration from such texts as the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, and the *Mahābhārata*. The language is Sanskrit with a number of Prakritisms and grammatical errors here and there.

[76] See the Myazedi Inscriptions, published in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, I, Part I (1919); Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions* (Rangoon, 1892).

[77] E. H. Johnston in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XI (1943-46), pp. 358 ff.

[78] D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1965), p. 210.

[79] G. Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, I, Nos. VI and XII.

[80] See *JA* (1908), pp. 319-27.

PART III

MAJOR LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF MODERN INDIA

27

ASSAMESE

THE LANGUAGE

THE State of Assam within the Union of India was known in ancient times as Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa.[1] The present name 'Assam' derives from the name of a Sino-Tibetan tribe, the Ahoms, who came from North Burma and conquered eastern Assam in A.D. 1228.

The Ahoms were referred to in the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings as Āsam, Asām, Acam, or Ācām; and their kingdom was generally known as Āsam-, Asām-, Acam-, or Ācām-rājya, even though in the royal epigraphs the country is called Saumāra or Saumāra-Kāmarūpa. In the nineteenth century, English writers called the land Asam or Assam and its people Asamese or Assamese. The term *asamīyā* universally used today to mean the people and their language seems to have come into vogue in the nineteenth century. Some scholars take the view that the word *assam* is derived from *a-sama*, that is, 'unequalled' or 'without parallel', to signify that the people of this region are unique or peerless in their many qualities.

Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese form the easternmost group of the New Indo-Aryan languages, and they have a common source in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, the principal dialect which developed for the Old Eastern Prakrit. This dialect spread in three directions: to the north-east, developing into Assamese; to the south, into Oriya; and in the area between the two, into Bengali.

Bengali and Assamese have much in common, being written in the same script (except for two letters ৱ and ৰ, corresponding to the English 'w' and 'r'). The grammar of the two languages is also very similar. It is the pronunciation that makes them seem different. For instance, Assamese turns the sibilant (ś, ṣ, s) into the guttural unvoiced spirant like the German 'ch' or the Persian or Arabic 'kh'.

The Assamese vocabulary is mainly derived from Sanskrit. In spoken dialect, however, the original Sanskrit words are mostly replaced by *tadbhava* (words derived from Sanskrit) or *ardha-tatsama* (half-Sanskrit) words. There are a number of Assamese words which have their parallel formations or equivalents in Hindustani, Marathi, and Gujarati. There are others borrowed from Arabic and Persian and also from Portuguese, English, and other European languages. The principal non-Aryan sources are: (i) Austro-Asiatic (Khasi, of the Mon-Khmer family); (ii) Tibeto-Burman (Bodo); and (iii) Thai (Ahom). Assamese

[1] The *Kālikā Purāna* (tenth century A.D.) and the *Yoginī Tantra* (sixteenth century A.D.) give a graphic account of the geographical limits of Prāgjyotisa or Kāmarūpa. The earliest reference to Prāgjyotisa is to be found in the *Mahābhārata* (*c.* second to fourth century A.D.), and to Kāmarūpa in the works of Kālidāsa (*c.* fourth-fifth centuries A.D.) and the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (*c.* A.D. 335-80).

is a language of the plains, being confined more or less to the valley of the Brahmaputra.

The earliest reference to the Assamese language is found in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited the region on invitation from Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, during the first half of the seventh century A.D. Speaking of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, Hiuen Tsang referred to its language as slightly differing from that of Mid-India.[2] This indicates that by the middle of the seventh century the Indo-Aryan language had filtered into Assam and that it differed to some extent from the Māgadhī dialects then current in Central India.

The history of the Assamese literature may be divided into three periods as follows:

(i) Early Assamese, from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. This again can be divided into two sub-periods, the pre-Vaiṣṇava literature and the Vaiṣṇava renascence.
(ii) Middle Assamese, from the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century.
(iii) Modern Assamese, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to present times.

EARLY ASSAMESE LITERATURE

The beginnings of Assamese literature may be traced to the mystic lyrics known as the *caryās* centring round the esoteric doctrines and erotic practices of the later Sahajayāna form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Written by twenty-three *siddha-puruṣas* (eighth to twelfth century A.D.), they belong to eastern India as a whole, and have been claimed as their own by Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Mithilā. It is likely that some of these *caryās* or *caryā* writers had something to do with Kāmarūpa, a great centre of crypto-Buddhism.

PRE-VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

The emergence of Assamese as a distinct language is marked by the outburst of a rich poetical literature based on the two great Indian epics and the Purāṇas. The first two great poets in Assamese, Hema Sarasvatī and Harivara Vipra, belong to the reign of King Durlabhanārāyaṇa (*c.* A.D. 1300). *Prahlāda-caritra* of Hema Sarasvatī is considered to be the first literary production in Assamese. Here the poet has rendered in a century of verses the story of Prahlāda and Hiraṇyakaśipu from the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. He is also the author of a more voluminous work, *Hara-Gaurī-saṁvāda*, based on several Purāṇas. Harivara Vipra's chief works are *Lava-Kuśar Yuddha* and *Vabruvāhanar Yuddha*. Though derived from the *Jaiminīya Mahābhārata*, each of them testifies also to the imagi-

[2] Cf. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 186.

native genius of its poet. Kaviratna Sarasvatī, another poet of the period, turned a small section of the *Droṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* into Assamese verse with adaptation. The work is entitled *Jayadratha-vadha.* Mādhava Kandali (*c.* fourteenth century A.D.) is the most distinguished poet of this period. His works include a translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into lively and idiomatic Assamese verse. This period is marked by a wonderful zeal for story-telling and a developed form of *tripadī* and *payāra* versification.

VAISNAVA RENASCENCE

By the end of the fifteenth century there had started a great and vigorous renascence in Assam in the form of the neo-Vaiṣṇava movement of Śaṅkara Deva (? 1449-1568). Three poets, Mankara, Durgāvara Kāyastha, and Pītāmbara Kavi, who do not seem to have belonged to this movement, wrote mostly in the early part of the sixteenth century. Mankara attempted in his *Behulā-Lakhindara* to create a novel Purāṇa for the new-born cult of the serpent-goddess, Manasā, in a sequence of lyrics in the Assamese language. Durgāvara in his *Gīti-Rāmāyaṇa* adapted the *Rāmāyaṇa,* particularly its pathetic sections, into a small series of very lively lyrics in *rāgas* interspersed with ordinary verses. Pītāmbara wrote in the similar technique his *Uṣā-pariṇaya, Bhāgavata* (Books I and X), and *Caṇḍī-ākhyāna.* The works of these three poets differ from the contemporary Vaiṣṇava writers in their form which is called Pācālī or Pāñcālī, a type very common in Bengal, as well as in their content which appeals more to the senses than to the intellect.

Śaṅkara Deva's school of Vaiṣṇavism has a monotheistic doctrine as its central religious tenet. It believes in the repetition mentally or through speech and song of the various names of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and the accounts of His divine sports (*līlā*) as the principal way of getting to the Lord. It is, therefore, called *ekaśaraṇa nāmadharma* (the religion of complete surrender to the One). It enjoins the worship of this one deity, and interdicts its followers from the worship of any other god or goddess. The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult is not included in this system of Vaiṣṇavism. This neo-Vaiṣṇava movement brought in its trail a great literary upheaval in Assam. The royal patronage that came from the Koch king Naranārāyaṇa (1533-84) was a most significant factor so far as this literary upsurge was concerned. Śaṅkara Deva and his favourite disciple and chief apostle Mādhava Deva (1489-1596) composed a good number of songs, dramas, verse-narratives, and other types of literature. This period of Assamese literature might be called the age of one scripture, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* and one god, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. Śaṅkara Deva himself is said to have rendered eight out of the twelve books of this *Purāṇa* into Assamese, besides guiding and inspiring other scholars to take up the rest of the work. His masterpiece, *Kīrtana-ghoṣā,* gives the very quintessence of this great scripture. His *Bhakti-pradīpa* is a theological

work giving an analysis of the nature of *bhakti* (devotion). His *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, *Hariścandra-upākhyāna*, and *Balī-chalana* are narrative poems full of poetic flavour and charm. Śaṅkara Deva's language is endowed with the boldness of a creative genius. He coined the novel idiom of Brajabuli,[3] based on Maithili, Western Hindi, and Assamese, for a number of his *bar-gītas*[4] (noble songs) and his *aṅkī-yā-nāṭs* (one-act plays): *Patnī-prasāda*, *Kāliya-damana*, *Keli-gopāla*, *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, *Pārijāta-haraṇa*, and *Rāma-vijaya*. These dramas, having some characteristics of the Sanskrit play (like the *sūtradhāra*, *prarocanā*, *nāndī*, etc.), differ from the classical art in other aspects and in general construction.

Mādhava Deva's *bar-gītas* and *aṅkīyā-nāṭs* (*Arjuna-bhañjana*, *Cordharā*, *Pim-parā-gucuvā*, *Bhojana-vihāra*, etc.) evince an artistic skill even finer than that of his master. *Vātsalya* (affection towards offspring) predominates over other sentiments in these writings as *dāsya* (devotion of a servant to his master) does in the case of Śaṅkara Deva's. He ever revels in the depiction of the childhood frolics of Kṛṣṇa, and is struck with a mystic awe that this Child God played all sorts of pranks with his foster mother Yaśodā and the *gopīs* of Vṛndāvana and even obeyed their commands. He translated Viṣṇu Purī's *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* into Assamese verse at the behest of his master. His other popular works are: *Rāja-sūya Yajña*, *Ādikāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa*, etc. But *Nāma-ghoṣā* or *Hājāri-ghoṣā*, a book of a thousand couplets, is his most outstanding work showing him at his best as an ardent devotee and yet a Vedāntic thinker.

Ananta Kandali and Rāma Sarasvatī are two other great poets of Śaṅkara Deva's time. Ananta Kandali's most popular work is *Kumāra-haraṇa* narrating the romantic story of Uṣā and Aniruddha. He translated several books of the *Bhāgavata* and made an abridged version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where, however,

[3] Brajabuli is an archaic speech said to have been used by Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* of Vraja (Vṛndāvana). This literary medium was popular among the medieval Vaiṣṇavite poets of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. 'It is difficult to guess why Śaṅkara Deva made a departure from the popular language of his poems and chose Brajabuli for his devotional lyrics and plays. The reason may be that Brajabuli as a language had less use of compound consonants, a preponderance of vowels, an alliterative fineness of texture, and a subtlety of implication, and these phonetic and other traits may be said to have made it a more flexible medium for lyric compositions. In addition to this flexibility, some element of sacredness was associated with this artificial language, as it was traditionally considered to be the hallowed language of Vraja. This archaic language with a deep tone and feeling was employed to "meet requirements which do not arise in ordinary speech", and it immensely succeeded in interpreting the Vaiṣṇavite renaissance. Śaṅkara Deva was our first great poet to use this artificial language, and superb was the use he made of it in his *bar-gītas* and *aṅkīyā-nāṭs*. The Buddhist *caryāpadas* may be said to have served for structural models of these *bar-gītas*.' *Vide* Birinchi Kumar Barua, *History of Assamese Literature*, p. 30.

[4] These *bar-gīta* lyrics were something new in the field of poetry which Śaṅkara Deva introduced into Assamese. They are essentially devotional poems, sometimes ecstatic in an *abandon* of faith, sometimes contemplative and reflective, at times exhortatory and seeking to create a distaste for the world with a love of God. These are still very popular, being frequently sung. The *deha-vicārar gītas* or 'songs of the transitoriness of the body' form another series of poems composed by Śankara Deva, corresponding to the *deha-tattver gīta* poems of Bengali, which, although not lofty in sentiment or poetry, seek to create among the masses the feeling of other-worldliness and devotion to God.—Editor.

he plagiarized the work of Mādhava Kandali to a great extent. He has several other poetical works to his credit, namely, *Mahīrāvaṇa-vadha*, *Hari-Hara-yuddha*, *Vṛtrāsura-vadha*, *Bharata-Sāvitrī*, and *Jīva-stuti*. Rāma Sarasvatī is a prolific writer on the *Mahābhārata* topics taken mainly from the *Vanaparvan*. He writes with vigour but goes to exaggerated lengths in his few *vadha-kāvyas* with fabricated stories of the killing of demons by the Pāṇḍavas. He had good followers like Sāgarakhari, author of *Khaṭāsura-vadha*. Rāma Sarasvatī made an Assamese version of the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. He is responsible for one book of genial humour, *Bhīma-carita*, with the story of Lord Śiva as a farmer and Bhīma as the farmer's servant. A similarly amusing poem is *Kāṇ-khovā* which invokes the figure of a nursery bogey in order to enlarge on the subject of the former incarnations of Kṛṣṇa. Written by Śrīdhara Kandali, author of *Ghunucā-yātrā*, it retains its popularity in Assam even today. Other talents, besides Śaṅkara Deva and Ananta Kandali, who concentrated upon the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, are: Aniruddha Kāyastha (sections of Books IV and V), Gopālacaraṇa Dvija (Book III), Keśavacaraṇa (Books VII and IX), Ratnākara Miśra (sections of Book V), and others. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* was first rendered into Assamese verse by Govinda Miśra. The rendering is lucid, chiselled, and forceful. The *Harivaṁśa* found very good adapters in Gopālacaraṇa Dvija (sixteenth century) and Bhavānanda Miśra (sixteenth century), the latter deviating considerably from the original. Kaṁsāri Kāyastha's well-known translation of the *Mahābhārata* is faithful to a large extent to the original. Kalāpacandra, Rāma Sarasvatī's son, wrote a verse-romance called *Rādhā-carita*, besides translating a portion of the fourth book of the *Bhāgavata*. *Rādhā-carita* is a unique work in the Assamese Vaiṣṇava literature so far as its depiction of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is concernd. The period witnessed also the production of a few valuable non-religious works in verse like Vakula Kāyastha's *Kitāvat-mañjarī* (*c.* 1434), a work on arithmetic, book-keeping, and land survey.

MIDDLE ASSAMESE LITERATURE

The bulk of the literary productions of the Middle Assamese period is mostly in the nature of translations, adaptations, or compilations and in the main it is religious. Writers like Gopīnātha Pāṭhaka (early seventeenth century), Dāmodara Dāsa, Lakṣmīnātha Dvija, and Pṛthurāma Dvija translated portions of the *Mahābhārata* into Assamese verse, while Hṛdayānanda Kāyastha and other minor poets dealt with portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Purāṇas attracted numerous versifiers. Among works of translation and adaptation from the Purāṇas may be mentioned: *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* by Bhāgavata Miśra[5] (seventeenth century), *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* by Bhuvaneśvara Vācaspati Miśra (early eighteenth century), *Dharma Purāṇa* by Kavicandra Dvija (eighteenth century),

[5] Bhāgavata Miśra has also rendered the *Sāttvata Tantra* into Assamese verse.

Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa by Balarāma Dvija (eighteenth century) and Durgeśvara Dvija (eighteenth century), *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (*Caṇḍī-ākhyāna*) by Raṅganātha Cakravartī (seventeenth century) and Rucinātha Kandali (eighteenth century), and *Harivaṁśa* by Vidyācandra Bhaṭṭācārya (eighteenth century). Nityānanda Kāyastha (seventeenth century) and others worked on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

There are several verse-romances in the Middle Assamese literature, for instance, Rāma Dvija's *Mṛgāvatī-carita*, Dīna Dvijavara's *Mādhava-Sulocanā-upākhyāna*, and the anonymous *Madhumālatī*. The influence of North Indian poets like Kutuban and Manjhan is to be marked in the growth of this class of literature. The wandering minstrel Kavirāja Sūryavipra's (*c*. 1616) *Śiyāl-gosāiñ* is a unique piece of metrical work. Rāmānanda Dvija's *Mahāmoha-kāvya* is a poem based on Kṛṣṇa Miśra's famous play, *Prabodha-candrodaya*. The *Hitopadeśa* and the *Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā* were retold in Assamese by Rāma Miśra who, curiously enough, gives interesting topical accounts of different temples and holy spots of Vṛndāvana in his *Vṛndāvana-carita*.

Bar-gīta lyrics of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva were imitated by the numerous *mahantas* (pontiffs) of *sattras* (Vaiṣṇavite monasteries). Some of these writers like Gopāla Deva, Aniruddha, Śrīrāma, Yadumaṇi, and Rāmānanda attained some distinction in the line. These *ekaśaraṇa* Kṛṣṇaite lyrics were supplemented in the early eighteenth century by Śākta and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaite songs, written by the Ahom kings, Rudra Siṁha (1696-1714) and Śiva Siṁha (1714-44), and other poets of their reign. Notable among them is Rāmanārāyaṇa Kavirāja Cakravartī who translated the *Gītagovinda*, the *Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa* of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, and the episode of Śaṅkhacūḍa and Tulasī from the *Prakṛti-khaṇḍa* of the same *Purāṇa*, and wrote *Śakuntalā-kāvya* which includes the small verse-romance of Candraketu and Kāmakalā. The *Yoginī Tantra* was partially translated by a royal officer, Rāmacandra Barpātra. Ananta Ācārya, taking inspiration from Śaṅkara's famous Śākta hymn to the Mother Goddess, wrote in Assamese verse *Ānanda-laharī*. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Ananta Ācārya was assigned by King Śiva Siṁha to render the *Ānanda-laharī* into Assamese.[6] Besides Rucinātha Kandali's translation, there is another Assamese version of the *Caṇḍī-ākhyāna* by Madhusūdana Miśra. The cult of Manasā was celebrated in Nārāyaṇa Deva's *Padmā Purāṇa*. Many pontiffs of the Vaiṣṇava *sattras* composed dramas in the style of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva. Some of these have real merit and are staged in the countryside even today.

[6] The Ahom court encouraged the production of literature on sexology and erotics and consequently several Sanskrit texts dealing with *kāma-śāstra* (the science of erotics) were translated into Assamese. Kaviśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya compiled a treatise on erotics in verse for the enlightenment and entertainment of Prince Cāru Siṁha, son of King Rājeśvara Siṁha (1751-69).

The vogue of writing *carita-puthis* (biographies) in verse was started by Daityāri Ṭhākur,[7] Bhūṣaṇa Dvija, Vaikuṇṭhanātha Dvija, and Rāmānanda Dvija (seventeenth century). All of them gave accounts of the lives of Vaiṣṇava masters like Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva, and the vogue was kept up by later writers. Rāma Rāya (seventeenth century) and Nīlakaṇṭha Dāsa (eighteenth century) wrote biographies of Dāmodara Deva (1488-1598), a follower of Śaṅkara Deva, who later broke away from his camp. These *carita-puthis* are important also as documents of the contemporary religious and social life of Assam. *Vaṁśāvalīs* constitute another type of historical writing. They usually record the history of noble families and are significant reflections of the social and political conditions of the land. Sūryakhari Daivajña's metrical chronicle, *Daraṅg Rāja-vaṁśāvalī*,[8] composed during the latter part of the eighteenth century, gives accounts of the kings of Cooch Behar and Darang. Two later writers, Vishweshwar Vaidyadhip (*Belimārar Burañjī*, probably composed between 1838 and 1846) and Dutiram Hazarika (*Kali Bhārata*, 1862), rendered into verse the annals of the fall of the Ahom kingdom.[9]

EARLY PROSE

The first specimens of Assamese prose, which has built a firm tradition for itself, are to be found in the Brajabuli idiom of the dramas of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva. Vaikuṇṭhanātha Bhāgavata Bhaṭṭācārya (*c.* 1558-1638), popularly known as Bhaṭṭa Deva, utilized the artificial diction and syntax of the old poets in his mature prose translations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*Bhāgavata-kathā*) and the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*Gītā-kathā*).[10] About the same time Gopālacaraṇa Dvija, a poet of some note, rendered Śaṅkara Deva's Sanskrit treatise on *bhakti*, *Bhakti-ratnākara*, into very elegant Assamese prose Another noteworthy prose work of this period is the *Padma Purāṇa : Kriyā-yoga-sāra* (1618, author unknown). Other old religious books in prose of following centuries include *Sāttvata Tantra* of Kṛṣṇānanda, *Kathā-ghoṣā* (1715) of Paraśurāma, and *Kathā Rāmāyaṇa* (*c.* 1758) of Raghunātha Mahanta.[11]

But we come nearer the prose of everyday life in the biographies of the

[7] Daityāri Thākur has another work to his credit called *Nṛsiṁha-yātrā*.

[8] Hemchandra Goswami edited and published this work.

[9] Another milestone in the development of the Middle Assamese literature of antiquarian interest was reached by several historical ballads. A most important of the kind is *Barphukanar Gīta*. It narrates the events centring round Badancandra Barphukan, an Ahom viceroy at Gauhati. It closely follows actual events and is 'remarkable for its dramatic interest, descriptive quality, vivid characterization and racy humour' (*Vide* E. A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, p. 284). *Bakhararbarar Gīta* and *Padum Kuvārīr Gīta* are two other very popular historical ballads composed during the period under review.

[10] He has to his credit two manuals on *bhaki* cult. They are, *Śarana-saṅgraha* and *Prasaṅga-mālā* dealing with the procedure of Vaisnavite *dīkṣā* and various forms of devotional services.

[11] He has to his credit two more long metrical compositions, *Śantruñjaya* and *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*.

Vaiṣṇava saints, known as *kathā-guru-caritas*, and the chronicles of the Ahom kings called *burañjīs*.[12] Both these types of prose literature seem to have an unbroken history at least from about the last two decades of the seventeenth century. *Puraṇī Asam-burañjī*,[13] *Asam-burañjī*,[14] and *Kathā-guru-carita*[15] provide very early and notable examples of the *carita* and *burañjī* prose, both in literary excellence and able treatment of the subject-matter. This type of writings continued till the beginning of the nineteenth century when Maniram Dewan Barua (the 1857 martyr), Kasinath Phukan, and Harakanta Barua compiled their histories of Assam. *Burañjīs* represent a remarkable chapter in Assamese literature. They also supply interesting information about the political, social, and cultural history of Assam from the thirteenth to the early nineteenth century. The language in which they have been composed is direct and lucid.

The services of the new prose were utilized for works on some useful arts also. Mention might be made in this connexion of Sukumāra Barkāth's *Hasti-vidyārṇava*[16] (1734), a beautifully illustrated treatise on elephantology based on a Sanskrit text (*Gajendra-cintāmaṇi* by Śambhunātha); the anonymous *Ghoḍā-nidāna*[17] on medicine for horses; Kavirāja Çakravartī's *Bhāsvatī* on astronomy (based on the Sanskrit text *Sūrya-siddhānta*); and Kāśīnātha's *Aṅkar Āryā* on arithmetic. Another notable prose work of this period is a gloss on Śubhaṅkara Kavi's *Hasta-muktāvalī*, a work on dance technique. It is an elegant rendering of the original Sanskrit text into suitable Assamese prose.[18]

[12] The *burañjīs* were at first written in original Ahom, the language of the rulers. Later the Ahoms gradually became Assamese-speakers, and the *burañjīs* came to be composed into Assamese from the middle of the seventeenth century.

[13] Ed. Hemchandra Goswami (1922).

[14] Ed. Suryakumar Bhuyan (1945). The *burañjīs* are numerous but only a few others have come to light so far : *Deodhanī Asam-burañjī* (1932), *Tuṅgakhuṅgīyā-burañjī* (1932), *Kāchāri-burañjī* (1936), *Pādśvah-burañjī*, etc.

[15] Ed. Upendrachandra Lekharu (1952).

[16] The Publication Board, Assam, has recently (1976) brought out Sukumāra Barkāth's now fragmentary *Hasti-vidyārṇava* with photographic reproduction of the text and paintings of the extant folios in a costly volume.

[17] The Government of Assam has published a printed edition of this valuable treatise in 1932 under the editorship of Tarinicharan Bhattacharyya.

[18] Quite a mass of literature (in both prose and verse) known as the *mantra-puthis*, of unknown authorship, is found in Middle Assamese. The earliest of the *mantras* or magic incantations show evidences of Buddhistic impact and therefore must go back to the period before A.D. 1500. The *mantra-puthis* contain magical formulae to cure snakebite, to scare away devils and evil spirits, to cure various kinds of diseases, to succeed in love-making and other erotic affairs, to protect the fields from the evil eye, to ensure good harvest, and so on. An idea of the range and variety of the *mantra* literature can be had from the following few titles: *Sāpar-dharaṇī-mantra, Karati-mantra, Sārvadhāk-mantra, Mohinī-mantra, Kāma-ratna-mantra, Bhutar-mantra, Khetra-mantra*, etc. Strictly speaking, these *mantra-puthis* have no literary merit but they are significant in another respect. 'These *mantras*,' as E.A. Gait writes in his *A History of Assam* (p. 282), 'are interesting and important as documents of social history, folk-beliefs and superstitions.'—Editor.

MODERN ASSAMESE LITERATURE

For a quarter of a century after the annexation of Assam to British territory by the Treaty of Yandabo (1826) between the British and the Burmese, the land was a veritable valley of the shadow of death. Assamese was replaced by Bengali in schools and courts in 1836. But the feeling of pride in one's own language could not be extinguished and it began to assert itself by the middle of the century. The American Baptist missionaries who came to Assam gave fresh vigour to this awakening by publishing books in, and on, Assamese, like Kasinath Phukan's (?1810-80) *History of Assam* (1844), Rev. Nathan Brown's *Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language* (1848), and Rev. Miles Bronson's *Assamese-English Dictionary* (1867). Already in 1813, the English missionaries at Serampore in Bengal had brought out the *Bible* in Assamese, which was the first Assamese book in print. W. Robinson, an English missionary, brought out in 1839 *A Grammar of the Assamese Language*. It was a book of Assamese grammar in English and the first of its kind. The Baptists from the United States of America established the first printing press in Assam in 1836 and started the monthly, *Aruṇodaya*, in 1846. This journal was the first of its kind in Assamese and was mainly responsible for introducing a modern tone and outlook into the language. It was principally through the efforts of Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan (1829-96) and the American missionaries that Assamese was restored to its former official prestige in 1872. A literary revival now started.

The first great figure in modern Assamese literature is Hemchandra Barua (1835-96) who set the standards for modern Assamese language through his grammar, *Asamīyā Vyākaraṇa* (1895), and his Anglo-Assamese dictionary, *Hemakoṣa* (1900). He tried to remove social evils through the satirical essay, *Bāhire Raṅgcaṅg Bhitare Kovābhāturī* (1861), which could also be called a novelette, and the playlet, *Kanīyā-kīrtana* (1861). Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) is the first historian and biographer in modern Assamese literature. His historical piece, *Asam-burañjī* (1884) and his biography of Dhekiyal Phukan published in 1880 are both remarkable books. His *Rāma-navamī* (1857) might be called the first modern tragic drama in the Assamese language.

POETRY

In the field of poetry Ramakanta Chaudhuri (1846-89) and Bholanath Das (1858-1929) were the first to adopt blank verse for their *kāvyas*, *Abhimanyu-vadha* (1875) and *Sītā-haraṇa* (1888) respectively. But the most significant phenomenon in the history of modern Assamese literature is the appearance of Lakshminath Bezbarua (1868-1938) on the literary scene. He is by far the most outstanding figure in modern Assamese literature. He together with his friends, Chandrakumar Agarwala (1867-1938) and Hemchandra Goswami (1872-1928), started a new monthly, the *Jonākī*, in 1889, which played a vital role in providing

some novel features to Assamese poetry. The delicate flavour of early nineteenth century English romanticism was infused into Assamese poetry by these three stalwarts. Poetry became more subjective and secular, and achieved a very wide range. The collection of Bezbarua's poems is entitled *Kadamkali* (1913). The most endearing quality in his other writings— drama, farce, essay, short story, and novel— is the depiction of essentially Assamese character. Bezbarua brought Hemchandra Barua's style to perfection and made it a suitable vehicle for the various forms of modern Assamese literature. Hemchandra also greatly influenced him in his social, political, and literary satire. Chandrakumar Agarwala struck a highly idealistic note in his poems, now included in *Pratimā* (1914) and *Vīṇa-varāgī* (1923). Hemchandra Goswami is the first Assamese writer of sonnets, although in later years he devoted himself to a fruitful scholarly study of the country's antiquity. His collected poems were brought out in the form of a book entitled *Phular Cāki* (1907). Kamalakanta Bhattacharya (1853-1936) brought into his rough-hewn verses and virile prose a keenly patriotic and intellectual quality. *Cintānala* (1890) and *Cintātaraṅgiṇī* (1933) are two important collections of his poems. Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871-1946), who successfully explored the possibilities of writing history in the forms of drama and fiction, was an effective poet too. His *Phular Cāneki* is a collection of nature lyrics. *Juraṇi* (1900) is another collection of his lyrics. He attempted an epic narrative in blank verse in *Līlā* (1901). This was written on the death of his wife, but not in the style of an elegy. He had his own distinctive prose style also. Hiteswar Barbarua (1876-1939) is a narrative poet of great note. *Kāmatāpura Dhvaṁsa* (1912) is one of his beautiful *kāvyas*. He has to his credit two collections of sonnets, *Mālac* (1918) and *Cakulo* (1922). The lyricist Durgeswar Sarma (1885-1961) excels in his homely poetic diction. His poems have been published in two collections, *Añjali* (1910) and *Nivedana* (1920).

The new writers of the twentieth century mainly tried to be faithful to the ideals of the *Jonākī*. Bezbarua's monthly, the *Bāhī* (1909-45), was also one of the main instruments in introducing and shaping new literary talents. Raghunath Chaudhari (1879-1968) sang of the religion of nature in his bird poems (*Sādarī*, 1910; *Ketekī*, 1918; *Dahikatarā*, 1931) which are of rare artistic perfection. Ambikagiri Ray Chaudhuri's (1885-1967) poems are characterized in their various phases by a mystic note of love, a strong sense of the vigour of life, and an intense patriotism. His *Tumi* (1915) is a symbolic *kāvya* full of music and melody. A brooding melancholy and a romantic morbidity pervade the fine lyrics and prose-poems (*kathā-kavitā*) of Jatindranath Dowerah (1892-1964) whose sensitive mind has imbibed the poetic beauties of different ages and climes only to recreate them in a new light. His *Omar-tīrtha* (1926) is an interpretation of Omar Khayyam and his *Milanar Sura* (1960) that of Hāfiz. The lyrics of Suryakumar Bhuyan (*Nirmāli*, 1918), Ratnakanta Barkakati (*Śevāli*,

1932), Lakshminath Phukan (*Sonālī Sapan*, 1961), Sailadhar Rajkhowa (*Nijarā*), Nalinibala Devi (*Sandhiyār Sura*, 1928), and Dharmeswari Devi (*Phular Sarāi*, 1929) have distinctive characteristics of form and content. The twenties and thirties witnessed a group of poets in Dimbeswar Neog (*Indradhanu*, 1930), Binandachandra Barua (*Śaṅkhadhvani*, 1925), Atulchandra Hazarika (*Pāñcajanya*, 1931), and Daibachandra Talukdar (*Prema-paṭa*). Devakanta Barua (b. 1914), possibly the best poet of the thirties and mid-forties, infused a new questioning vigour and thought-content into love poetry (*Sāgara Dekhicha*, 1945), while Ganeshchandra Gogoi (1907-38) evinces a keen sensitiveness and melancholy in his love lyrics (*Svapna-bhaṅga*, 1934). Mention may be made of a few other poets of distinction belonging to the first half of this century: Chandradhar Barua (*Rañjana*), Padmadhar Chaliha (*Gīta-laharī*, 1921), Nilamani Phukan (*Mānasī*, 1943), Dandinath Kalita (*Bahurūpī*, 1926), Umeschandra Chaudhari (*Mandākinī*), Kamaleswar Chaliha (*Chanditā*, 1941), Prasannalal Chaudhuri (*Agnimantra*, 1952), and Anandachandra Barua (*Pāpaḍi*).

The Second World War radically disturbed life in Assam and virtually atrophied all literary effort. Publications became rare and the periodicals, which maintained some semblance of life, dwindled. There was furthermore a startling break from past ideals and existing literary conventions when books and periodicals began to reappear. Influences from far and near came to bear conflictingly upon the thin lingering current of literature. Psycho-analysis had already appeared in the novel and short story But the change has particularly been felt in poetry where experiments have been carried out boldly and often successfully. A host of poets like Hem Barua, Amulya Barua, Navakanta Barua, Hari Barkakati, Mahendra Bora, Nilamani Phukan (Junior), Dinesh Goswami, Keshab Mahanta, Nirmalprabha Bardalai, Amalendu Guha, Homen Bargohain, Biren Bhattacharya, Ram Gogoi, and Abdul Malik have sought inspiration from many widely different sources—from Rabindranath Tagore and Jivanananda Das at the one end to Sigmund Freud, Carl Gustave Jung, Alfred Adler, T. S. Eliot, the Japanese and Arabic poets, and the French symbolist poetry at the other.

DRAMA

The earliest dramas of modern Assamese are *Rāma-navamī* (1857) of Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) and *Kanīyā-kīrtana* (1861) of Hemchandra Barua (1835-96). These dramas introduced the tradition of socio-realistic type of plays in the Assamese language. Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871-1946) was a powerful dramatist writing on historical themes. His dramas, *Jayamatī* (1900), *Gadādhara* (1907), *Sādhanī* (1911), and *Lācit Barphukan* (1915) are based on Ahom history. Of his three farces, *Gāobuḍā* (1899), *Ṭeṭon Tāmulī* (1909), and *Bhūta Ne*

Bhrama (1924), the first is the best; it gives a realistic view of an aspect of British administration in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is a play with a definite purpose and resembles Dinabandhu Mitra's (1829-74) Bengali drama *Nīla Darpaṇa* (1860) to some extent. Lakshminath Bezbarua's plays on historical themes, namely, *Cakradhvaja Siṁha*, *Jayamatī Kuvārī*, and *Belimār* (all written between 1914 and 1916), and his farces, *Lītikāi*(1890), *Nomal* (1913), *Pācanī* (1923), and *Cikarpati Nikarpati* (1913) are some of the gems in the domain of modern Assamese drama. Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872-1955), writer of *Candra-sambhava-kāvya*, was also a leading dramatist. Some of his plays—social, romantic, and mythological—are: *Tini Ghaiṇī*, *Seutī Kiraṇa* (1894), *Duryodhanar Urubhaṅga* (1903), and *Dakṣa-yajña* (1908). His most important work is, however, *Asamīyā Khaṇḍa Vākya-koṣa*, a dictionary of Assamese phrases and idioms. Among the early mythological plays, Durgaprasad Majumdar Barua's *Guru-dakṣiṇā* (1903) and *Vṛṣaketu* deserve mention. His *Maharī* (1893), a socio-realistic drama, has exposed the vices of the administration of the tea-gardens leased by the European managers.

Atulchandra Hazarika (b. 1906) is a very prolific and celebrated writer in the field. Chief among his historical and mythological plays are: *Chatrapati Śivājī* (1927), *Narakāsura* (1930), *Beulā* (1933), *Kanauj Kuvārī* (1933), *Kurukṣetra* (1936), *Rāmacandra* (1937), *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa* (1949), and *Vīrāṅganā* (1952). Jyotiprasad Agarwala (1903-51) in his mythological *Śoṇita Kuvārī* (1924) and historico-social *Kāreṅgar Ligirī* (1934) attained to a high degree of technical and artistic perfection. Chandradhar Barua's (1874-1961) *Meghanāda-vadha* (1905), *Tilottamā-sambhava* (1924), and *Bhāgya-parīkṣā*; Durgeswar Sarma's *Pārtha-parājaya* (1909), and *Bāli-vadha* (1912); Kamalananda Bhattacharya's *Avasāna* and *Nāga Kuvār* (1935); Daibachandra Talukdar's *Asam-pratibhā* (1924), *Vāmuṇī Kuvār* (1929), and *Bhāskaravarmā* (1952); Sailadhar Rajkhowa's *Vidyāpati* (1918) and *Pratāpasiṁha* (1926); and Dandinath Kalita's *Agni-parīkṣā* (1937) also deserve special mention. Mitradev Mahanta's *Viyā-viparyaya* (1924) and *Kukurikaṇār Āṭhmaṅgalā* (1927), Indreswar Barthakur's *Śrīvatsa-Cintā* (1927), Nakulchandra Bhuyan's *Badan Barphukan* (1927) and *Candrakānta Siṁha* (1931), Prasannalal Chaudhuri's *Nīlāmbara*, and a number of other dramas provided good food to the amateur theatres of Assam.

Assam does not yet have a professional theatre. Though there is an unprecedented zeal for writing plays among younger writers, the drama is still lagging behind. The mythological dramas of the past are steadily being forgotten. Historical plays also seem to be going out of fashion, as the old chauvinism that ran high during the Indian nationalist movement is now on the decline. Nevertheless, such personalities as Lachit Barphukan (who fought successfully against the Moguls at Gauhati), Maniram Dewan (1857 martyr), Tikendrajit (fighter against the British in Manipur), and Kushal Kowar (1942 martyr)

still attract playwrights.[19] Social themes and the one-act form seem to be the order of the day. Some of the social plays of the post-Independence period are: Sarbeswar Chakrabarti's *Kaṅkaṇa* (1956), Prabin Phukan's *Viśvarūpā* (1961), Satyaprasad Barua's *Jyoti-rekhā* (1958), Nagen Sarma's *Ulkār Jui* (1961), Sarada Bardalai's *Pahilā Tārikh* (1956), Anil Chaudhuri's *Prativāda* (1953), and Girish Chaudhuri's *Mīnābājār* (1958). 'Vīṇā' Barua's *Ebelār Nāṭ* and Pravin Phukan's *Tritaraṅga* (a collection of three plays) are successful experiments in the field of one-act play in Assamese. Bhaben Saikia, Kiran Sarma, Mahendra Bora, and others have distinguished themselves in the *genre*. Assam, anyway, has yet to have an outstanding dramatist. In recent years attempts at drama of the Absurd have been made, and Arun Sarma has made several experiments in that line.

NOVEL AND SHORT STORY

The Assamese novel shows a slow but steady growth. It was Padmanath Gohain Barua to whom goes the credit of successfully exploring the fields of historical fiction. His novels, *Lāhari* (1890) and *Bhānumatī* (1893), have been written in the background of the Ahom history. Rajanikanta Bardalai (1867-1939) emulated Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94) in his historical and romantic novels: *Miri-jīyarī* (1895), *Manomatī* (1900), *Rahdai Ligirī* (1900), *Danduvā Droha* (1909), *Raṅgilī* (1925), *Nirmala Bhakat* (1926), and *Tāmreśvarī Mandira* (1936). Lakshminath Bezbarua's historical novel *Padum Kuvārī* (1905) also deserves mention. Dandinath Kalita (1890-1950) and Daibachandra Talukdar (1900-1970) are two celebrated novelists after Padmanath Gohain Barua, Rajanikanta Bardalai, and Lakshminath Bezbarua with whom, it may be said, the novel in the modern sense began. Kalita has a number of novels to his credit: *Sādhanā* (1938), *Āviṣkāra* (1950), *Paricaya* (1950), and *Gaṇa-viplava* (1951). Of Talukdar's novels, the following are important: *Āgneyagiri* (1924), *Vidrohī* (1939), and *Ādarśapīṭha*. Among other notable novels, the following may be mentioned: *Jīvanar Bāṭat* (1945) of 'Vīṇā' Barua (Birinchikumar Barua), *Cāknaiyā* (1954) of Radhikamohan Goswami, *Kapilī-pariyā Sādhu* (1954) of Navakanta Barua, *Kecā Pātar Kapani* of Prafulladatta Goswami, *Herovā Svarga* (1952) of Mohammed Piar, *Jīvanar Tini Adhyāya* of Adyanath Sarma, *Soṇār Nāṅgal* of Chandrakanta Gogoi, *Saṅgrāma* of Dinanath Sarma, *Dāvar Āru Nāi* (1955) of Jogesh Das, *Sūrujmukhīr Svapna* (1960) and *Rūpatīrthar Yātrī* (1963) of Abdul Malik, *Eyeto Jīvana* (1962) of Hitesh Deka, *Kono Khed Nāi* (1963) of Padma Barkakati, *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī* (1958) of 'Rāsnā' Barua (Birinchikumar Barua), *Iyāruiṅgam* (1960) of Birendrakumar Bhatta-

[19] Pravin Phukan (*Lācit Barphukan*, 1948; *Maṇirāma Devān*, 1948), Atul Hazarika (*Ṭikendrajit*, 1959), and Surendranath Saikia (*Kuśala Kovār*, 1949). Some other dramas depicting historical situations and personalities are: Jyotiprasad Agarwala's *Labhitā* (1948), Chandrakanta Phukan's *Piyalī Phukan* (1948), Phani Sarma's *Bhogjarā* (1957), Abdul Malik's *Rājadrohī* (1958), etc.

charya, *Meghamallāra* (1963) of Chandraprasad Saikia, *Anāmī Nāginī* (1963) of Kailash Sarma, and *Subālā* (1963) of Homen Bargohain. Premnarayan Datta built for himself a tradition in the field of the detective novel. Mention may be made of his *Dinḍakāit* (1947) and *Rāmṭāṅgon* (1950).

The present century has been most fruitful in the field of the short story. It should be mentioned in this connexion that Lakshminath Bezbarua was the first conscious artist to raise the short story to the status of a distinct literary art in Assamese. Bezbarua's short stories have been collected in three independent volumes: *Surabhi* (1909), *Sādhu-kathār Kuki* (1912), and *Jonabiri* (1913). He invented a new literary form 'half-way' between the short story and essay. One of the most delightful specimens of this particular type is *Kṛpāvar Barbaruār Kākatar Topolā* (1904). The character of Kripabar Barbarua is a prototype of Sir Roger de Coverley and Dean Swift. Saratchandra Goswami (1886-1945) was another leading figure in this field. His collections of short stories are *Galpāñjali* (1914), *Maynā* (1920), *Vājīkara* (1930), and *Paridarśana* (1956). The thirties produced a host of very good story-writers. Mahichandra Bora and Haliram Deka wrote stories in a vein of satire and humour. *Abhaya, Kerāṇīr Kapāla, Ukilar Āpad, Yoga Āru Viyoga, Asāre Khalu Saṁsāre, Jaya-parājaya, Lābha-lokcān,* etc. are some of the stories of Mahichandra Bora, well known for their oblique approach. Some of the stories of Haliram Deka are *Photographer, Sahaja Samādhāna, Parājaya,* and *Re Bare Bhāi.* 'Vīṇā' Barua (*Paṭa-parivartana,* 1948), Rama Das (*Śreṣṭha Galpa*), Trailokyanath Goswami (*Marīcikā*), Dinanath Sarma (*Dulāl,* 1952) are a few other notables in the field. Lakshmidhar Sarma's stories, collected in *Vyarthatār Dāna* (1938), show depth of insight combined with a rare facile expression. After the Second World War, the short story has taken a new direction. Abdul Malik (*Paraśmaṇi,* 1946) is a very popular post-War story-writer because of his sympathy for the have-nots and an easy flow of language. A number of writers also have come to the forefront bringing with them a new outlook on life, new modes of expression, and a subtle and sometimes complex style. Some of these story-writers are: Lakshminath Phukan (*Ṭāipiṣṭar Jīvana*), Jogesh Das (*Madārar Vedanā,* 1963), Homen Bargohain (*Prema Āru Mṛtyur Kāraṇe,* 1958), Saurabh Chaliha (*Aśānta Electron,* 1962), Mahin Bora (*Kathanivari Ghāṭ,* 1961), and Nirod Chaudhuri (*Aṅge Aṅge Śobhā*). Writers like Bhaben Saikia (*Praharī,* 1963) and Lakshminandan Bora (*Dṛṣṭirūpa,* 1958) have made a definite mark with their depiction of the intensity of life and their characteristic style. Among other writers, mention may be made of Birendrakumar Bhattacharya, Rohinikumar Kakati, Chandraprasad Saikia, Mamani Goswami, Anima Bharali, and Priti Barua.

OTHER DOMAINS OF ASSAMESE LITERATURE

In the field of critical literature Lakshminath Bezbarua's *Śaṅkara Deva*

(1912) is a pioneering work. Though it was primarily a biographical treatise, it gave also a literary assessment of the works of the great Vaiṣṇava saint. Padmanath Gohain Barua, reputed stylist in prose, devoted himself to religious subjects in later life. His *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* (1930), evidently influenced by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's Bengali classic *Kṛṣṇa-caritra* (1882), is a monumental work in three volumes. It is in the main a biographical treatise, but here 'for the first time in Assamese we find historical analysis and critical enquiry applied to the study of the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa, who is admired and exalted by the author not so much as an *avatāra* or incarnation of God but as man'.[20] Lambodar Bora's (1860-92) *Kālidāsa Āru Śakuntalā*[21] (essay), Satyanath Bora's (1860-1925) *Sāhitya-vicāra*,[22] Deben Bezbarua's *Asamīyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhityar Burañjī* (1912), and Nılamani Phukan's (b. 1885) *Sāhitya-kalā* (1940) are important works in the domain of literary criticism. But it was Banikanta Kakati (1894-1952) who really focussed the light of modern literary evaluation on old as well as modern Assamese literature in such works as his *Puraṇī Asamīyā Sāhitya* (1940). A number of other writers have worked in the same field. Mention may be made of Birinchikumar Barua (*Kāvya Āru Abhivyañjanā*, 1941; *Asamīyā Kathā-sāhitya*, 1950), Upendrachandra Lekharu (*Asamīyā Rāmāyaṇa Sāhitya*, 1948), Trailokyanath Goswami (*Sāhitya-ālocanā*, 1950), Prafulladatta Goswami (*Asamīyā Jana-sāhitya*, 1943), Maheswar Neog (*Asamīyā Premagāthā*, 1958; *Asamīyā Gīti-sāhitya*, 1958; *Asamīyā Sāhityar Rūparekhā*,1962), Satyendranath Sarma (*Asamīyā Sāhityar Itivṛtta*, 1959; *Asamīyā Nātya-sāhitya*, 1962), Upendranath Goswami (*Bhāṣā Āru Sāhitya*, 1956); Atulchandra Barua (*Sāhityar Rūparekhā*, 1958), and Mahendra Bora (*Asamīyā Kavitār Chanda*, 1962). As a literary historian, Dimbeswar Neog (b. 1900) occupies an important position. His works include *Asamīyā Sāhityar Burañjī* (1957). He has also some purely historical writings to his credit such as *Vaiṣṇava Dharmar Kramavikāśa* (1943), *Prāgaitihāsika Asam* (1949), etc. Suryakumar Bhuyan (1894-1964) is well known in the field of historical essays. His books are: *Āhomar Dina* (1918), *Burañjīr Vāṇī* (1951), *Mirjumlar Asam Ākramaṇa* (1956), etc. Among scholars who showed their craftsmanship in the field of historical literature, the following may be mentioned: Benudhar Sarma (*Dūrvīn*, 1951), Nakulchandra Bhuyan (*Bāra Bhūñyā*, 1961), Lila Gogoi (*Hārovā Dinar Kathā*, 1958), and Maheswar Neog (*Puraṇī Asamīyā Samāja Āru Saṁskṛti*, 1957). Of the philosophical writings, Radha Phukan's *Vedānta Darśana* (1951) and *Janmāntara-rahasya* (1957), and Sarat Goswami's (Junior) *Socrates, Plato Āru Aristotle* (1952) are well known. Bhuban Das's *Vivartanar Pathat Mānava* (1960) is an illuminating study of the phases of human civilization. Tilak Hazarika's *Āḍḍā* (1958) and *Kata Kathā* (1960),

[20] *Vide* Birinchi Kumar Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[21] His other prose works include *Jñānodaya*, *Ānandarāma Baruār Jīvana-carita*, etc.

[22] His other works are : *Sārathi* (1915), *Kendra-sabhā* (1929), *Ākāśa-rahasya*, and *Cintākali* (1935).

Hemchandra Sarma's *Svagata* (1963), and Bhadra Bora's *Madhureṇa* (1961) are some of the notable examples of *belles lettres* of the recent period. The vogue of biographical writings was actually started by Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) with his work *Ānandarāma Dhekiyal Phukanar Jīvana-carita* (1880). Padmanath Gohain Barua, Lakshminath Bezbarua, and several others wrote their autobiographies. Gradually the vogue became very popular and consequently a large number of biographies came to be written in the language. Mention may be made of Padmanath Gohain Barua's *Jīvanī-saṅgraha* (1915), Suryakumar Bhuyan's *Gopālakṛṣṇa Gokhale* (1916) and *Ānandarāma Baruā* (1920), Dandinath Kalita's *Candranātha Śarmā* (1924), Mahadev Sarma's *Buddhadeva* (1914) and *Mohammed-carita* (1928), Kamakhyacharan Bhattacharya's *Dhīreśvarācārya* (1928), and Haren Sarma's *Kamal Pasha* (1931). But biographical writings do not seem to have attracted recent writers. The documented biography, however, has won its niche through Maheswar Neog's *Śrī Śrī Śaṅkara Deva* (1948), and a nationalist zeal has brought the past to life before us in Benudhar Sarma's *Maṇirāma Devān* (1950). Suryakumar Bhuyan's *Harihar Ātā* is the record of the life of an erratic saint; it is precise in matter and style. Some of the recent autobiographical works are Maulana Tayebulla's *Kārāgārar Ciṭhi* (1962) and Padmadhar Chaliha's *Jīvana-vīṇār Sura* (1963). Birinchikumar Barua (*Switzerland Bhramaṇa*, 1948), Prafulladatta Goswami (*Vilātat Sātmāh*, 1958), Amalendu Guha (*Sovietdeśat Abhumuki*, 1958) and others have given us experiences of their travels in Europe. Hem Barua brings the aroma of poetry and romance into his well-written descriptions of visits to the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Israel.

The literary atmosphere of Assam today is remarkably full of life and vigour and confidence. In achievement, Assamese may not yet be on a par with some of the other leading languages of India, but its output is great and can well be compared with the literary production of the other major regional languages of India.

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BENGALI

THE LANGUAGE : ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BENGALI is one of the major Indo-Aryan languages of India. It sprang from a late Middle Indo-Aryan language once spoken in eastern India from Banaras in the west to Gauhati in the east, and from Nepal in the north to Orissa in the south. It is recognized under the Indian Constitution and is the official language of West Bengal with a population of nearly forty-five million. It is also the official language of the adjoining Republic of Bangladesh with a population of nearly eighty million.

The beginnings of Bengali as a New Indo-Aryan language are traceable to between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200. *Caryāpadas* or *caryāgītis* are the earliest known specimens of this language. Although saturated with Sanskrit words and Avahaṭṭha (from Sanskrit *apabhraṣṭa,* meaning a language fallen away from the Sanskrit language) forms and idioms, the bulk of the *caryā* songs show full and unmistakable characteristics of the Bengali language. During this period (A.D. 1000-1200), Bengali had not yet cast off the traits shared in common with the sister languages which also sprang from Avahaṭṭha, such as Maithili, Oriya, and Bhojpuri. That is why some scholars from these language areas also claim the *caryā* songs as the earliest form of their respective languages.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Since its origin from the spoken Laukika or Apabhraṁśa (Avahaṭṭha), the Bengali language has passed through successive stages of development. The Old Bengali stage roughly covered the period from A.D. 950 to A.D. 1350. Old Bengali presented a simple structure. The Middle Bengali stage stretched from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1800. It presented two distinct strata, the early and the late. The early Middle Bengali period covered the period from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1500, and the late Middle Bengali period extended from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1800. There is no authentic specimen of early Middle Bengali to analyse. It can, however, be safely presumed that the Bengali language during this period cast off the lingering Avahaṭṭha forms, developed the *payār* metre and absorbed a large number of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic words. During the Middle Bengali period, there grew a distinct poetic language or jargon that was cultivated almost exclusively by the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. This poetic language or *kunstsprache* is called 'Brajabuli'. The currency of Brajabuli did not die out with Middle Bengali. With the strong tradition of Vaiṣṇava poetry, it lingered throughout the nineteenth century. The last notable specimens of poetry in Brajabuli came from the pen of Rabindranath Tagore, under the pseudonym 'Bhānusiṁha'. The Modern Bengali period (from *c.*A.D.1800) saw the emergence

and establishment of the prose style and it is interesting to note that it was European missionaries who were responsible for this. The Portuguese missionaries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries wrote some tracts in Bengali prose for the propagation of Christianity in Bengal. Of these tracts, only *Brāhmaṇa-Romān Kyāthalik Saṁvāda* is available today. It was Manoel da Assampcam, a Portuguese missionary, who wrote a Bengali grammar in Portuguese and a book of catechism in Bengali. The two books were printed in Roman script in Lisbon (1743). Subsequently, the work started by the Portuguese was taken up by the British. It was necessary for the foreign administrators to learn the local language, but there was no grammar and no prose text suitable for them. Charles Wilkins first designed and prepared Bengali types (and also types for Hindi and Persian) for the press. N. B. Halhed prepared a Bengali grammar in English which was printed at Hooghly in 1778. This was the first book printed in Bengali type. The translation of legal compendiums in Bengali soon followed. Thus started the earlier phase of Bengali prose. The influence of Persian on the documentary style, however, continued to dominate up to the middle of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century when it ceased to be the official language of revenue and internal administration.

SĀDHU-BHĀṢĀ AND CALITA-BHĀṢĀ

The literary style, always in prose and regularly in poetry, known as *sādhu-bhāṣā* (the elegant language) retained its supremacy up to the first decade of the present century. This style was archaic in grammar and followed the rules of Sanskrit compound formation and borrowed freely from Sanskrit. The First World War, however, synchronized with the emergence of a new literary style known as *calita-bhāṣā* (the current language). This style was based on the spoken language of the educated and the cultured people of Calcutta originally hailing from areas of Gangetic West Bengal. It preferred to avoid Sanskritic compounds and used common words although there was no bar to borrowing from Sanskrit. *Calita-bhāṣā* gradually became more than a serious rival of *sādhu-bhāṣā*, and after the Second World War most writers had practically discarded the traditional literary style cultivated through *sādhu-bhāṣā*. Rabindranath's role in popularizing *calita-bhāṣā* was phenomenal.

OLD BENGALI LITERATURE : THE CARYĀS

Old Bengali is properly, if not adequately, represented by the *caryās*, the mystic and religious songs (about four dozen in number) discovered by Haraprasad Sastri in 1916 from an old manuscript preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. These songs, however, could not be considered as literary compositions in the accepted sense, for it was the content and not the form in which the composers as well as their limited audience were primarily interested. The

songs always carried a double meaning, the literal meaning disguising the inner sense, i.e. the mystic experiences etc. of the masters. This *double entendre* was known as *sandhā vacana*, the code language. The authors mostly belonged to the Tāntric cult of esoteric Mahāyāna and some probably belonged to other esoteric cults.

SONGS IN THE GĪTAGOVINDA

The existence of lyrical songs on legendary or traditional themes is presumed from the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, last Hindu king of Bengal. It is this poem, or rather the twenty-four songs that form its essence, that can claim to be the main fountain-head not only of Bengali but also of other New Indo-Aryan lyric poetry. The songs of the *Gītagovinda* were written in Sanskrit, but their diction as well as rhythm and rhyme belonged to Laukika (Avahaṭṭha) poetry. In everything except content, they were closely similar to the *caryā* songs. They served to establish the theme of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as one of the most popular subjects of Indo-Aryan vernacular lyric poetry for several centuries. It is not, therefore, an exaggeration to say that Jayadeva's songs exercised the greatest influence upon the development of Vaiṣṇava poetry in Bengal and Mithilā.

LATER LYRIC POETRY

Both the *caryā* and *Gītagovinda* types of songs remained productive till the end of the Middle Bengali period. The cultivation of the *caryā* songs, however, went underground as their composers belonged to religious groups that were not generally accepted at the time. But Caitanya's movement brought them out as esoteric (or Tāntric) Vaiṣṇavas, and then their songs became acceptable to a section of enlightened Vaiṣṇavas. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they split into a large number of religious groups that deviated from the orthodox Vaiṣṇava faith. These are the Bāuls, the Kartābhajās, etc. Some of the followers of these groups produced fine lyric songs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which deeply impressed Rabindranath Tagore and were accepted as a genuine and profound form of Bengali literature.

VIDYĀPATI AND 'BAḌU' CAṆḌĪDĀSA

The *Gītagovinda* type of songs became immensely popular with the upper classes of society, especially with the royal courts, almost throughout Aryan-speaking India—Mithilā, Bengal, Gujarat, Orissa, Assam, and elsewhere. Some Dravidian literature, such as Telugu and Kannada, was also influenced by it. In the meantime, a new and finished poetic language, known as Brajabuli, had developed from a serious cultivation of Avahaṭṭha and proto-New Indo-Aryan lyric songs. These songs, dealing exclusively with the activities of

the young Kṛṣṇa, played the most important part in the development of the *kīrtana* style of music. The greatest and best known poet of such songs was Vidyāpati (*c.* A.D. 1380-1460)[1] of Mithilā. The songs of Vidyāpati seem to have helped considerably the flowering of Brajabuli lyrics in Bengal. In fact, Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyric poets of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries avidly cultivated the diction and style of this great Maithili poet.

Among the Bengali lyric poets who did not write in Brajabuli, one of the oldest and best known is 'Baḍu' Caṇḍīdāsa. Nothing definite is known about him except that some of his songs delighted Caitanya in his later days at Purī (1514-33). Even his real name is a subject of dispute. His *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*[2] is a most remarkable poem on the Kṛṣṇa legend in the language. The language of the poem, which consists of a chain of lyric songs depicting the principal amorous episodes of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, is, on the whole, older than any other known Middle Bengali text. The tone of the poem is entirely secular, often verging on crudeness and vulgarity. The style and diction are agreeable and the lyric effect is heightened by dramatic movement. It is not difficult to detect the similarity of this poem with the *Gītagovinda* in structure as well as in treatment. The language of the poem, as originally written, may be roughly assigned to the sixteenth century. The kernel may, however, be still older.

RELIGIOUS NARRATIVE POETRY : PĀÑCĀLĪ OR MAṄGALA

A new kind of religious literature, which drew its material usually from non-Aryan sources and popular tales, came to be known as Pāñcālī or Maṅgala literature in Bengal. This popular *genre* which originally emerged in the twelfth or thirteenth century found its efflorescence in the eighteenth. The earliest such extant poem is Kṛttivāsa's *Śrī Rāma-pāñcālī* (*c.* fifteenth century). Three other old narrative poems of this type are *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* (1480) of Mālādhara Vasu, *Manasā-vijaya* (1495) of Vipradāsa, and *Manasā-maṅgala* (*c.* 1494) of Vijaya Gupta. One outstanding poem on the Manasā legend written sometime in the middle of the seventeenth century is Ketakādāsa's *Manasā-maṅgala*. The *Caṇḍī-maṅgala* poems were written more carefully than the average *Manasā-maṅgala* ones and, therefore, the former was not as prolific as the latter. By far the best writer of *Caṇḍī-maṅgala* poetry and undoubtedly the best and most representative poet in Middle Bengali is Mukundarāma Cakravartī 'Kavikaṅkaṇa', whose *Caṇḍī-maṅgala* (mid-sixteenth century) presents a gallery of good pictures of the domestic, social, economic, and cultural life of the day. The

[1] There is a great controversy about the date of Vidyāpati. It is supposed that he was born round about A.D. 1380; but nothing is definitely known about when he died. There are evidences that he was alive and quite active in A.D. 1460.

[2] The manuscript of Caṇḍīdāsa's work, however, does not show any title. The present title of the book (published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, in 1916) has been supplied by its discoverer and editor Basantaranjan Ray.

oldest extant *Dharma-maṅgala* poem is by Rūparāma Cakravartī. It can be assigned to 1649. In the eighteenth century some half a dozen distinguished writers wrote *Dharma-maṅgala* poems. Of them the best known are by Ghanarāma Cakravartī and Māṇikarāma Gaṅgopādhyāya, who wrote in 1711 and 1781 respectively. Another most famous literary work of the Pāñcālī type is the *Mahābhārata* poem, *Pāṇḍava-vijaya* (seventeenth century), ascribed to Kāśīrāma Dāsa. The whole poem, although attributed to Kāśīrāma, is virtually a compilation.

Mention may be made of some mushroom Maṅgala poems of insignificant literary merit portraying lesser local deities of folklore origin. A typical writer of this category is Kṛṣṇarāma Dāsa whose first work *Kālikā-maṅgala*, really a version of the story of Vidyā and Sundara, was written in 1676. This was followed by other Maṅgala poems such as *Ṣaṣṭhī-maṅgala* (1679), *Rāya-maṅgala* (1686), *Śītalā-maṅgala*, and *Lakṣmī-maṅgala*.

Two competent Muslim poets of the seventeenth century, Daulat Kazi and Saiyad Alaol, wrote Pāñcālī poems in Bengali under the aegis of the Arrakan court. Kazi's rendering of the story of Lor, Candrāṇī, and Mayanā current in upper India and Alaol's translation of Jayasi's *Padmāvat* won enthusiastic appreciation. Alaol appears to be the first Bengali writer to translate from Persian poetry. A number of other Muslim writers, some of whom wrote good Vaiṣṇava lyrics, flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Maṅgala poetry continued to be written also during the eighteenth century and reached its climax at the hand of Bhāratacandra Rāya 'Guṇākara' (1712-60), the most significant poet of the century. He completed his *magnum opus*, *Annapūrṇā-maṅgala*, in 1753. It is a trilogy comprising three practically independent poems: *Annadā-maṅgala* eulogizing Goddess Durgā as the giver of food, *Mānasiṁha* narrating the downfall of Pratāpāditya, and *Vidyā-Sundara* depicting the erotic romance of Vidyā and Sundara. His earliest attempts at Maṅgala or Pāñcālī poetry, however, were two very short poems on the new deity Satya-Nārāyaṇa, written in 1737. As a master craftsman of verse, Bhāratacandra won immediate attention and his poetry set the standard for later writers till the emergence of the new poetry in the fifties of the nineteenth century. Another outstanding poem written in the Maṅgala style is Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭācārya's *Śiva-saṅkīrtana* or *Śivāyana* (1710) delineating the domestic life of Śiva and Gaurī.

The eighteenth century's real contribution to Bengali literature was short and simple songs mostly on devotional and amatory topics. Even in the long poems of Bhāratacandra, the most enduring parts are the songs. A slightly younger contemporary of Bhāratacandra was Rāmaprasāda Sena 'Kavirañjana' who also wrote a *Vidyā-Sundara* poem (sixth or seventh decade of the eighteenth

century). But his devotional songs, addressed to Goddess Kālī and couched in the most simple and charming language, are really the best that were produced in the latter half of the century. These songs are sung to a haunting melody known as *Rāmaprasādī* and they are very popular even today. Ramnidhi Gupta, better known as Nidhu Babu (1742-1839), was by far the best writer of love songs of his time and he bridged the gulf between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nidhu Babu's quatrains show a definite note of genuine feeling, a rare thing in Bengali poetry in that age. Dasarathi Ray's (1806-57) new Pāñcālī compositions (as they included both traditional and topical themes) struck a compromise between the *kavi* song and the *purāṇa* recitation, on the one hand, and the traditional *yātrā* (musical play) and *kīrtana* on the other. These compositions furnished the best popular entertainment throughout West Bengal in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

CAITANYA MOVEMENT : A NEW URGE IN LITERATURE

Caitanya's (1485-1533) emergence as a unique religious teacher in Bengal in the sixteenth century was instrumental in giving a considerable fillip to intellectual activity and creating a new interest in life and a new urge in literature. Caitanya was a lover of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, and Caṇḍīdāsa, and he imparted this love and impulse to those who came in personal contact with his magnetic and overwhelming personality. The emotional upsurge thus awakened, invariably flowed into poetry and music. Lyric songs on the story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were already known. But now they were charged with a new spiritual meaning, as the new poets saw in Caitanya's divine passion the manifestation of the anguish of lovelorn Rādhā. Mention may be made here of some notable Vaiṣṇava lyric poets of the sixteenth century like Murāri Gupta, Vāsudeva Ghoṣa, Narahari Dāsa, Jñāna Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Locana Dāsa, Govindadāsa Cakravartī, Govindadāsa Kavirāja, and Narottama Dāsa. To the last mentioned goes the credit for the formulation and standardization of the *kīrtana* style of music. The lyric sensitivity attained by the best of these writers could be surpassed only by Tagore. In the next two centuries Vaiṣṇava *padāvalīs* (lyric songs) continued to be written with great gusto not only as a matter of spiritual discipline, but also as scripts for *kīrtana* music which was practised in different Vaiṣṇava centres in Bengal. For the use of Vaiṣṇava *kīrtana* singers several anthologies of *padāvalī* songs were compiled, of which the earliest is *Rasakalpāvallī* (mid-seventeenth century) and the latest and greatest is *Padakalpataru* (late eighteenth century). The latter contains more than three thousand lyrics by about three hundred poets.

Caitanya was looked upon by his followers as an incarnation of God. This faith found enthusiastic expression in the long narrative poems glorifying his life. These poems centred round Caitanya introduced a new note and vitality

in Indo-Aryan literature, the conventional stories being replaced by contemporary events, a human being taking the place of traditional divinities. The first attempts in this direction were, however, in Sanskrit, viz. Murāri Gupta's *Kaḍcā*, Raghunātha Dāsa's poem, Paramānanda Sena's *Caitanya-candrodaya* (1538) and *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (1542). The first biographical poem on Caitanya written in Bengali is *Caitanya-bhāgavata* by Vṛndāvana Dāsa. It can be safely assumed that the work was begun when Caitanya was living and was completed sometime about 1540, a few years after his death (1533). Vṛndāvana Dāsa's picture of Caitanya is entirely human and provides a refreshing contrast with the stereotyped characters delineated in contemporary Maṅgala poems. The most authentic, scholarly, and best written biography of Caitanya is Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's masterpiece *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, a work written sometime between 1575 and 1595. The book is more important than any other work on Caitanya, his faith, and philosophy. As a biography, as a work of art, and also as a thought-provoking piece, Kṛṣnadāsa's book is indeed a landmark in Bengali literature. Among the other narrative poems on Caitanya written in the sixteenth century the following deserve special mention: *Caitanya-maṅgala* by Locana Dāsa, *Gaurāṅga-vijaya* by Cūḍāmaṇi Dāsa, and *Caitanya-maṅgala* by Jayānanda. Some of the long narrative poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend written in this century are *Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgiṇī* by Raghu Paṇḍita, *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-maṅgala*, the longest of such poems, by Mādhava Ācārya, *Gopāla-vijaya* by Devakīnandana Siṁha 'Kaviśekhara', and *Govinda-maṅgala* by Śyāmadāsa. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was no break in the mass production of Vaiṣṇava narrative and biographical poems. Mention may be made of a few of them, viz. *Harivaṁśa* (early seventeenth century) by Bhavānanda, *Jagannātha-maṅgala* (1643) by Gadādhara Dāsa, *Bhakti-ratnākara* (eighteenth century) by Narahari Cakravartī, and *Bhaktamāla* (eighteenth century) by Lāl Dāsa.

BENGALI PROSE : THE FIRST PHASE

Bengali literary prose began with the translation of the *Bible* by the Baptist missionaries of Serampore headed by William Carey (1761-1834). The first book to appear was the *Gospel of St. Matthew* in May 1800. In Calcutta in the same month and year the East India Company started Fort William College where the newly arrived servants of the Company could learn certain Indian languages, one of the most important of which was Bengali. Carey was put in charge of the Bengali (and later also of the Sanskrit) department. Prose works which would be useful as text books for the young British clerks were carefully prepared by Carey and his assistants, the two most notable among them being Ramram Basu (d. 1813) and Mrityunjay Vidyalankar (d. 1819). Basu's *Rājā Pratāpāditya-caritra* (Serampore, 1801) was the first original book in prose in Bengali, and was written in a simple style. As a prose writer, Vidyalankar was

ponderous and pedantic. His best book *Prabodha-candrikā* (Serampore, 1833) contained both translation and original writing and displayed both the scholastic and the colloquial prose styles. The claim that he was the father of literary prose in Bengali is extravagant, but it cannot be denied that he wrote rather well and on a variety of topics. Vidyalankar is also to be remembered as a strong opponent of Rammohun Roy (1774-1833). His *Vedānta-candrikā* (1817) was pitted against Rammohun's *Vedānta-grantha* (1815) and *Vedānta-sāra* (1815). Between 1817 and 1823, Rammohun wrote several pamphlets in Bengali prose defending his stand on various issues including the doctrine of Vedānta which he considered as the real base of Hinduism. His Bengali, though somewhat archaic, was simple, direct, and expressive and it heralded the footfalls of developing Bengali prose. He translated some of the Upaniṣads, rendered the *Bhagavad-Gītā* into Bengali verse, and also wrote some devotional songs in Bengali. Rammohun should also be remembered for his Bengali grammar in English (1826), which he later translated into Bengali (published posthumously in 1833). This was the best Bengali grammar that had yet been written, and in some respects it has still not been surpassed.

The publication (May, 1818) and success of *Samācāra-darpaṇa* (a weekly journal of the Serampore missionaries) led to the growth of many periodicals in Calcutta and some mofussil towns.[3] Bengali prose received further stimulus from *Tattva-bodhinī Patrikā* (1843), noted monthly paper of the Brāhmo Samāj. Among its distinguished contributors were Devendra Nath Tagore (1817-1905), Akshay Kumar Dutta (1820-86) and Rajnarayan Basu (1826-1900). Rajendralal Mitra's (1822-91) 'penny' magazine, *Vividhārtha-saṅgraha* (1851), also contributed much to the new literary movement that was gradually gaining ground. *Saṁvāda-prabhākara* (1831) of Iswar Chandra Gupta (1812-59) was the best known Bengali journal-cum-magazine till the middle of the nineteenth century. It provided literary apprenticeship to a large number of promising youngsters including Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Madhusudan Dutt. In 1872 Bankim Chandra Chatterjee brought out the famous monthly *Vaṅgadarśana* in order to stimulate the intellect of the Bengali-speaking people through a literary campaign and to bring about a cultural revival thereby.[4]

[3] The first journal published and printed in Bengali was, however, *Digdarśana* (April, 1818). It was a monthly, published by the Serampore Baptist Mission.

[4] In the history of the development of modern Bengali language and literature, various journals and periodicals played a most significant role. Apart from those already referred to, there are many others published during the nineteenth century, which have made commendable contribution towards the rapid progress of the language and literature. We mention here only a few important ones published in the second half of the nineteenth century. They are *Somaprakāśa* (1858) of Dwarakanath Vidyabhusan (1819-86), *Bhāratī* (1877) of the Tagores, *Vaṅgavāsī* (1881) of Jogendranath Basu (1854-1907), *Sāhitya* (1890) of Sureshchandra Samajpati (1870-1921), *Sādhanā* (1891-95) of Rabindranath Tagore, and *Udbodhan* (1899) of the Ramakrishna Mission. *Pravāsī* was started in 1901 from Allahabad by

Akshay Kumar Dutta, who edited *Tattva-bodhinī* for many years, wrote *Bhāratavarṣīya Upāsaka Sampradāya* in two volumes (1870 and 1883). It was a monumental research work of permanent value. His style was marked by coherence in diction and precision in expression. The father of modern Bengali literary prose was, however, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91). His *Śakuntalā* (1854), *Sītār Vanavāsa* (1860), and *Bhrānti-vilāsa* (1869), based on dramas by Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, and Shakespeare respectively, show his style at its best. They set the standard for Bengali prose writers during the last decades of the nineteenth century. His *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati* (1847) is, indeed, a landmark in the history of Bengali prose. The sonorousness of Vidyasagar's solid style has a subtle charm which few of his followers could achieve and none but Rabindranath could surpass.

RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BENGALI DRAMA

While Bengali prose was thus making rapid progress, Bengali drama was not lagging far behind. European stage-craft was first shown to the Bengali public in Calcutta in November, 1795, when Gerasim Lebedeff, a Russian adventurer, presented on the stage the Bengali version of an English comedy, *The Disguise*. Lebedeff thus gave, though unwittingly, a new life to the contemporary *yātrā* type of plays. The first two dramatic compositions in Bengali, *Bhadrārjuna* by Taracharan Sikdar and *Kīrtti-vilāsa* by Govinda Chandra Gupta, published in 1852, were never staged.

The proper foundation of Bengali drama was laid by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna (1822-86), Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-73), Dinabandhu Mitra (1829-74), and Manomohan Basu (1831-1912). Tarkaratna's translation of *Ratnāvalī* (1858), first performed at the garden house of the rajas of Paikpara, may be said to have set the Bengali drama on its popular career. His first dramatic sketch *Kulīna Kulasarvasva* (1854) was, however, a satirical piece written in response to a prize offered for the best dramatic work on the evils of the system of polygamy prevalent among the *kulīna* Brahmins of those days. Michael Madhusudan wrote two comedies, *Śarmiṣṭhā* (1858) and *Padmāvatī* (1860), one tragedy, *Kṛṣṇakumārī* (1861), and two farces, *Ekei Ki Bale Sabhyatā* and *Buḍo Śāliker Ghāḍe Ron* (both 1859). Though the influence of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* on the first play is obvious, the author is not a slave to the dicta of Sanskrit dramaturgy. The second is the one in which Madhusudan introduced a few passages in unrhymed verse which was its first occurrence in

Ramananda Chatterjee. From 1905 up to Tagore's death (1941) *Pravāsī* was almost the exclusive periodical that had the privilege of the first publication of Tagore's writings. For a long time *Pravāsī* was the most important journal published in an Indian language. It stood for progressiveness in literature, art, and social reform as well as in constructive political thought. For a detailed information on the subject *Baṅglā Sāmayikapatra* (2 vols., 1942 and 1952) by Brajendranath Banerjee (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta) may be consulted.

Bengali. The third, the best play of the author, is the first successful tragedy in Bengali. It is significant in yet another respect; it is the first historical play in the language. The last two set the standard of the *genre* for the next fifty years or more. Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nīla Darpaṇa* (1860), translated into English, created a furore in England against the British indigo-planters. It was this play with which the first public stage of Bengal, the National Theatre, opened in December, 1872. Mitra's other plays are: *Navīna Tapasvinī* (1863), *Sadhavār Ekādaśī* (1866), *Viye-pāglā Buḍo* (1866), *Līlāvatī* (1867), *Jāmāi Bārik* (1872), and *Kamale Kāminī* (1873). *Sadhavār Ekādaśī* is the best work of Mitra and one of the best plays in the language, in spite of its grossness and vulgarity. Manomohan Basu's plays on Purāṇic topics brought the newly-sprung Bengali drama again to the *yātrā*. Among his plays are *Rāmābhiṣeka* (1867), *Satī Nāṭaka* (1873), *Hariścandra* (1875), etc. Jyotirindranath Tagore (1848-1925) also wrote some plays. His first play, *Kiñcit Jalayoga* (1872), was a burlesque. This was followed by *Puru-vikrama* (1874), *Sarojinī* (1875), *Aśrumatī* (1879), *Alīka Bābu* (1900), and others.

The note of religious devotion in Bengali drama initiated by Manomohan Basu in the late sixties was steadily becoming stronger and sharper, and reached its climax in the plays of Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844-1911) who had become a devotee of the prophet of the age, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836-86). Girish Chandra was undoubtedly the most renowned actor and playwright of the nineteenth century, and his plays—devotional, social, mythological, and historical—did much to popularize the stage. He wrote more than eighty plays. Mention may be made of *Buddhadeva-carita* (1885), *Vilvamaṅgala Ṭhākur* (1886), *Prafulla* (1891), *Balidāna* (1905), *Janā* (1894), *Pāṇḍava-gaurava* (1899), *Sirajuddaula* (1905), and *Mirkasim* (1906). The contemporary Swadeshi movement stimulated the last group of his plays (1905-11) which gush patriotism. But the dominant note is not of fiery activity and vindictiveness but of sober adherence to the ancient ideal of forbearance, which indicates the strong influence of Swami Vivekananda's (1863-1902) teachings. Girish Chandra dominated the Bengali stage up to the end of his life and made an abiding mark on the development of Bengali drama. Amritalal Basu (1853-1929) excelled in comedies and delightful farces. Among his plays mention may be made of *Kṛpaṇer Dhana* (1900), *Corer Upar Bāṭpāṛi* (1876), and *Vivāha Vibhrāṭa* (1884). The names of Rajkrishna Ray (1852-94), a prolific writer, and Upendranath Das (1848-95) may also be mentioned. The latter's *Surendra-Vinodinī* (1875) was very successful on the stage. An exalted heroic note as well as a melodramatic sentimentality characterize the dramas of Dwijendralal Ray (1863-1913). His first play *Kalki Avatāra* (1895) was, however, a burlesque. This was followed by: *Pāṣāṇī* (1900), *Sītā* (1902), *Tārābāī* (1903), *Pratāpasiṁha* (1905), *Durgādāsa* (1906), *Nurjahan* (1908), *Mevār-Patana* (1908), *Sorab-Rostam* (1908), *Sajahan* (1910), *Candragupta*

(1911), and *Bhīṣma* (1913). Some of his farces are: *Tryahasparśa* (1900), *Prāyaścitta* (1902), *Punarjanma* (1911), and *Ānanda Vidāya* (1912). Kshirod Prasad Vidyavinod (1863-1927) wrote many plays—musical, historical, devotional, comic, and romantic. His *Alibaba* (1897) is an ever-popular operatic play of the Bengali stage. *Pratāpāditya* (1903) and *Alamgir* (1921) are his two most well-known historical plays.

MODERN BENGALI POETRY

The credit for preparing the ground for the appearance of the new poetry belongs to Iswar Chandra Gupta, founder-editor of *Saṁvāda-prabhākara*, who was a skilful metrician and a vigorous poet. By writing satirical verses on topical matters, he broke away from the poetry of the previous age. Rangalal Banerjee's (1826-86) *Padminī Upākhyāna* (1858) was the first Bengali narrative romance in the new pattern. But it was Michael Madhusudan who really ushered the new poetry into Bengali. He discarded the *payār* metre, introduced blank verse, and created a new language for poetry, though he did not neglect tradition altogether. The introduction of blank verse was a revolutionary phenomenon in the history of Bengali literature. His first *kāvya*, *Tilottamāsambhava* (1860), was followed by *Meghanāda-vadha* (1861), *Vrajāṅganā* (1861), *Vīrāṅganā* (1862), and a book of sonnets, *Caturdaśapadī Kavitāvalī* (1866). The odes of *Vrajāṅganā* on Rādhā's forlorn love shows Madhusudan's undoubted skill as a versifier, but breathes the spirit of the old poetry. *Meghanāda-vadha* is the first epic poem in Bengali in the Western sense of the term. The next such poem was *Vṛtrasaṁhāra* (published in two parts in 1875 and 1877) by Hemchandra Banerjee (1838-1903). Among his other works mention may be made of *Cintātaraṅginī* (1861), *Vīrabāhu* (1864), and *Chāyāmayī* (1880). The next notable work was Nabin Chandra Sen's (1846-1909) trilogy on the Kṛṣṇa story as found in the *Mahābhārata*, entitled *Raivataka* (1886), *Kurukṣetra* (1893), and *Prabhāsa* (1896). It was his earlier work, *Palāśīr Yuddha* (1875), which first brought him in the limelight.

Biharilal Chakravarti (1834-94) introduced introspection and warmth into his poems, and his romantic lyricism was the most original turn taken by Bengali poetry after Madhusudan. The group of romantics led by Biharilal was distinguished not only by their intense subjectivity, but also by their stress on love, especially woman's love. Biharilal's best known poem is *Sāradā-maṅgala* (1879). Some of his other poems are *Bandhu-viyoga* (1863), *Prema-pravāhiṇī* (1863), *Nisarga-sandarśana* (1869), *Vaṅga-sundarī* (1869), and *Sādher Āsana* (1888-89). Surendranath Majumdar's (1838-78) best piece, *Mahilā*[5] (published posthumously in two parts in 1880 and 1883), is a beautiful poem of love, no doubt,

[5] The poet did not complete the poem nor did he give any name to it. The title was supplied by his younger brother Devendranath Majumdar who published the book.

inspired by Biharilal's *Vaṅga-sundarī*. Mention may be made of Dwijendranath Tagore's (1840-1926) two original poems, *Svapna-prayāṇa* (1875) and *Yautuka nā Kautuka* (1883). The former is an allegorical poem like *The Faerie Queene* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and the latter a narrative poem in a light vein. Devendranath Sen (1855-1920) was a lover of flowers and a poet of domestic love. *Aśokaguccha* (1901) was the first anthology of his poems. This was followed by *Golāpguccha* (1912), *Śephāliguccha* (1912), *Pārijātaguccha* (1912), etc. Others are *Apūrva Naivedya*, *Apūrva Śiśu-maṅgala*, *Apūrva Vrajāṅganā* (1913), etc. Govinda Chandra Das (1855-1918) was a poet with unmistakable talent. He was a poet of love. But it is passion and sensuousness which moved him most. His best poems were collected in several small books like *Prema O Phul* (1887), *Kuṅkuma* (1891), *Kastūrī* (1895), *Candana* (1896), *Vaijayantī* (1905), etc. *Kavitāhāra* (1873), *Bhārata-kusuma* (1882), *Aśrukaṇā* (1887), and *Ābhāsa* (1890) are some of the books of Girindramohini Dutta (1854-1924). Swarnakumari Devi (1855-1932) was the first to introduce the romantic ballad in Bengali, four of which were compiled in *Gāthā* (1890). Akshay Kumar Baral (1861-1919) was a close follower of Biharilal. He was essentially an emotional poet. His first work *Pradīpa* (1885) was followed by *Kanakāñjali* (1885), *Bhul* (1887), *Śaṅkha* (1910), and *Eṣā* (1912).

MODERN BENGALI FICTION

Bengali fiction began in the middle of the nineteenth century with didactic tales of the classroom type. *Ālāler Gharer Dulāl* (1858) by Peary Chand Mitra, 'Ṭekcānd Ṭhākur' (1814-83), is, however, an exception. It is the first specimen of original fiction in Bengali. Though an enjoyable work, *Hutom Pyāncār Nakśā* (1862) by Kaliprasanna Simha (1840-76) is no more than a humorous sketch and its chief value now is only historical.

The Bengali novel in its true sense came into being in 1865 when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94) published his first prose work, a semi-historical romance, *Durgeśanandinī* (1865), which won immediate success. The novels that followed, more than a dozen in number, captured the hearts of the reading public, and the author was acclaimed as the best writer in Bengali. Some of his best known novels are *Kapālakuṇḍalā* (1866), *Viṣavṛkṣa* (1873), *Kṛṣṇakānter Will* (1878), *Rājasiṁha* (1881), *Ānandamaṭha* (1882), and *Devī Caudhurāṇī* (1884). The theme of *Kapālakuṇḍalā* is lyrical and gripping and, in spite of the melodrama of the dual story, the execution is skilful. The author's narrative skill had its full play in *Viṣavṛkṣa*. It is a domestic tragedy brought about by widow-remarriage. *Kṛṣṇakānter Will* comes nearest to the Western novel. The author here handles the episode of a domestic intrigue—the infatuation of a married man for a young widow and the ruin it brought upon the family. *Rājasiṁha* is the best historical novel written by Bankim Chandra. Though not an outstanding work

of fiction, *Ānandamaṭha* is a most significant work in so far as the later religious, patriotic, and national activities in dependent India, particularly Bengal, are concerned. It gave India her first national anthem, *Vande Mātaram*, and offered an interpretation as well as an illustration of the Hindu concept of Karma as indicated in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Despite some artistic shortcomings *Devī Caudhurāṇī* is a very delightful and interesting novel. Bankim Chandra was also a good essayist, and his best essays were collected in *Kamalākānta* (1885). His *Kṛṣṇa-caritra* (1882) and *Dharmatattva* (1888) are masterpieces on religious subjects. For a fairly considerable period Bankim Chandra was the ideal and the source of inspiration not only to his contemporaries, but also to a host of writers who belonged to the generation that followed.

Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909) played an important role in the literary history of Bengal. He wrote four historical romances, *Vaṅga-vijetā* (1874), *Mādhavī-kaṅkaṇa* (1877), *Mahārāṣṭra-jīvana-prabhāta* (1878), and *Rājput-jīvana-sandhyā* (1879), and two domestic novels, *Saṁsāra* (1886) and *Samāja* (1894). Romesh Chandra translated the whole of the *Ṛg-Veda* into Bengali prose (1885-87) and also published translations of important Sanskrit religious texts under the title *Hindu-śāstra* (1885-96). Damodar Mukherjee (1853-1907) wrote *Mṛnmayī* (1874) and *Nawabnandinī* as sequels to Bankim Chandra's *Kapālakuṇḍalā* and *Durgeśanandinī* respectively. He also adapted Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* in his *Kamalakumārī* and Willkie Collins's *The Woman in White* in his *Śuklavasanā Sundarī*. Besides these, he had more than a dozen original novels to his credit. Bhudev Mukherjee (1825-94) was among the first to write historical fiction in Bengali. His *Aitihāsika Upanyāsa* (1862) contains a story and a novelette. The second tale *Aṅgurīya-vinimaya* supplied an essential feature to the story of Bankim Chandra's *Durgeśanandinī*. Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee (1834-89) wrote a few novels such as *Kaṇṭhamālā* (1877), *Mādhavīlatā* (1878-80), and *Jāl Pratāpcānd* (1881). The most characteristic and the best known work of Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee is his travelogue *Pālāmau* (1880-82). Taraknath Ganguli (1845-91) portrayed the day-to-day life of the lower middle class in *Svarṇalatā* (1873), first domestic novel in Bengali with some genuine realism. Sivanath Sastri's (1847-1919) *Mejabau* (1879) and *Yugāntara* (1895) present good pictures of contemporary domestic and social life. Srischandra Majumdar (1860-1908) in his *Śakti-kānana* (1887), *Phuljāni* (1894), and *Viśvanātha* (1896) shows rare gifts in describing the charms of village life and the idyllic beauty of nature. The literary activities of Swarnakumari Devi included novels, short stories, poetry, and drama. Of her novels, mention may be made of *Dīpanirvāṇa* (1876), *Chinna-mukula* (1879), *Mālatī* (1879), *Mivār-rāja* (1887), *Vidroha* (1890), *Snehalatā* (1892), and *Milanarātri* (1925). Mir Mosarraf Hossain (1848-1912) was a gifted writer. His literary fame mainly rests on his prose epic, *Viṣāda-sindhu* in three volumes (1885, 1887, and 1891).

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The most outstanding figure in Bengali literature is undoubtedly Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) who not only attempted and excelled in every literary form, but also introduced some that had not as yet been attempted. In fact, in stature, stride, and sweep Rabindranath is a gigantic creative genius the like of whom has seldom been seen in any language in any country.

Rabindranath's first truly mature work *Kaḍi O Komala* (1886) reveals almost all the potentialities of his future greatness. Since then, up to 1941, more than forty books containing his poems and songs have been published. Unpublished works are still being discovered. Among his published books of poem we mention only a few: *Mānasī* (1890), *Sonār Tarī* (1893), *Citrā* (1896), *Kathā O Kāhinī* (1900), *Naivedya* (1901), *Kheyā* (1906), *Gītāñjali* (1910), *Balākā* (1916), *Pūravī* (1925), *Mahuyā* (1929), *Prāntika* (1938), *Navajātaka* (1940), and *Janmadine* (1941). Tagore wrote exquisite poems on, as well as for, children. His *Śiśu* (1903) and *Śiśu Bholānātha* (1922) belong to this class. He wrote some two thousand songs which still capture the heart of every Bengali and are much appreciated abroad. The melodies of the songs of Tagore are mostly of his own creation and the genius that produced these melodies is indeed of a very high order. *Gītāñjali* (1910) earned for the poet the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913. The award of the Nobel Prize was of tremendous significance for India, being the first recognition of contemporary India as an equal partner in the literary assembly of the progressive world. Rabindranath introduced 'prose-poems' in Bengali. *Punaśca* (1932), *Śeṣa Saptaka* (1935), *Patrapuṭa* (1936), and *Śyāmalī* (1936) are the results of this new experiment.

Tagore enriched Bengali drama by introducing the form of *nṛtya-nāṭya*, the dance-drama. Mention may be made of *Citrāṅgadā* (1936), *Śyāmā* (1938), and *Caṇḍālikā* (1938). He wrote, besides, a number of plays, both serious and light. Among the serious plays are *Rājā O Rāṇī* (1889) and its later version *Tapatī* (1920), *Visarjana* (1890), *Mālinī* (1895), and *Bāṅśarī* (1933). Among the light plays we have *Goḍāy Galad* (1892), *Vaikuṇṭher Khātā* (1897), and *Cirakumāra-sabhā* (1901). Among his symbolic plays are *Rājā* (1910), *Acalāyatana* (1911), *Ḍākghar* (1912), *Muktadhārā* (1922), *Raktakaravī* (1924), and *Tāser Deśa* (1933). His short stories, collected together as *Galpaguccha*, show rare skill in a form that was new to Bengali literature. His first mature novel was a domestic tragedy, *Bauṭhākurāṇīr Hāṭ* (1885). The next, *Cokher Bāli* (1902), turned the Bengali novel away from the tradition of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Among his later novels, *Gorā* (1910), *Caturaṅga* (1916), *Ghare Bāire* (1916), *Śeṣer Kavitā* (1929), *Yogāyoga* (1930), and *Cār Adhyāya* (1934) are of special importance. *Gorā*, however, is the most outstanding of them all. Tagore's non-fictional prose writings include all kinds of essays: literary, religious, philosophical, historical, political, autobiographical, biographical, and humorous. Some of these essays reveal him as

a most profound thinker. Mention may be made of *Pañcabhūta* (1897), *Svadeśī Samāja* (1904), *Śabdatattva* (1909), *Bhāratvarṣer Itihāser Dhārā* (1911), *Mānuṣer Dharma* (1933), *Bāṅglā-bhāṣā-paricaya* (1939), and *Sabhyatār Saṅkaṭa* (1941), to show the wide range of his subjects. The pen of Rabindranath raised letter-writing to the status of a literary *genre* in Bengali. This is evident from his *Europe-pravāsīr Patra* (1881) and *Chinnapatra* (1912). The style of *Jīvanasmṛti* (1912), an autobiography of his early life, is entirely captivating.

BENGALI LITERATURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Rabindranath dominated the literary field of Bengal till his death in 1941, and he is still a living force. There were many others, his senior and junior contemporaries, whose creative talent substantially enriched Bengali literature in its various fields during the present century. In this flow of talents there were many who consciously or unconsciously came under the influence of Rabindranath and yet a host of others who contributed, or scrupulously tried to contribute, in their own way.

PROSE

Haraprasad Sastri (1853-1931), a celebrated Indologist, was also a good writer of Bengali prose. In fact, he wrote better Bengali than many of his contemporaries. Although a Sanskritist of the first grade, he never loaded his literary style with learned words and Sanskritisms. His historical novels, *Kāñcanamālā* (1916) and *Beṇer Meye* (1920), clearly show his power as a literary artist. *Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta* in five volumes (1902, 1904, 1908, 1910, 1932) by Mahendranath Gupta (1854-1932), a devotee of Sri Ramakrishna,[6] is a remarkable addition not only to the prose literature of Bengal, but also to the religious literature of the whole of India. Swami Vivekananda, chief disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, was also a vigorous writer in Bengali.[7] Akshay Kumar Maitreya

[6] Sri Ramakrishna, besides being the great pioneer in the field of religious harmony, happened also to be instrumental in facilitating the development of Bengali prose. Mahendranath Gupta's ('M') *Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta* is one of the successful experiments in the use of *calita-bhāṣā*. It records Sri Ramakrishna's dialogues with his devotees and others, in the course of which he expounded in a most lucid and simple style the sublime thoughts and profound philosophies contained in the Hindu scriptures. The similes, metaphors, and analogies which Sri Ramakrishna used, and the pictures he projected in his very simple and unsophisticated language, created for *calita-bhāṣā* a new prestige and confidence. Hence the language of *Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta* stands out as a fresh literary form and style which is a class by itself.—Editor.

[7] The nineties of the nineteenth century brought into the Bengali literary scene the dynamic Hindu monk, Swami Vivekananda, whose literary genius found expression in a style at once dignified and marked out by its individuality. His speeches and writings are, however, mostly in English. But there are a few books which contain his original writings in Bengali. These are: *Prācya O Pāścātya*, *Bhāvvār Kathā*, *Vartamāna Bhārata*, and *Parivrājaka*. Each of them is really a masterpiece in Bengali literature. They set a new pattern for Bengali prose. Even Rabindranath is reported to have spoken eloquently in favour of Vivekananda's prose, particularly his use of *calita-bhāṣā* in *Prācya O Pāścātya*. Vivekananda's

(1861-1930) was another able writer of Bengali prose and an expert in historical subjects. His works *Sirajuddaula* (1897), *Mirkasim* (1904), and *Phiriṅgī Vaṇik* (1922) show the first attempts on the part of Indian scholars to read history independently and from a nationalistic viewpoint.

Ramendrasundar Trivedi (1864-1919) was one of the best known essayists in the language, and his writings are remarkable for deep and varied scholarship and for compact and adequate expression. *Prakṛti* (1896), *Jijñāsā* (1903), and *Karmakathā* (1913) are collections of his reflective and philosophical essays. His essays on linguistics were collected in *Śabdakathā* (1917). Three more volumes of collected essays were published posthumously. He translated into Bengali the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the oldest of the Vedic prose texts. Dinesh Chandra Sen (1866-1939), a pioneer in the study of the history of Bengali literature, published his book *Vaṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya* in 1896. His *Rāmāyaṇī Kathā* (1911) is a marvellous study of the characters in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He wrote several novels including *Tin Bandhu* (1911), *Āloke Āndhāre* (1925), and *Cākurir Viḍambanā* (1926). *Gharer Kathā O Yugasāhitya* (1922) is an autobiographical work. Pramathanath Chaudhuri (1868-1948), well known by his pen-name 'Vīrabala', was one of the principal stalwarts in establishing *calita-bhāṣā* as a vigorous rival of *sādhu-bhāṣā*. He made his style popular through his reputed journal, *Sabuja Patra*, published in 1914. His works include *Tel Nun Lakḍi* (1906), *Cār-iyāri-kathā* (1916), *Vīrabaler Hālkhātā* (1917), *Nānā-kathā* (1919), etc. Sudhindranath Tagore (1869-1929) produced some good short stories collected later in several volumes: *Mañjuṣā* (1903), *Karaṅka* (1912), *Citrālī* (1916), etc. Balendranath Tagore (1870-99) wrote essays on ancient literature and art, some of which were published in *Citra O Kāvya* (1894). His collection of stories appeared as *Sāji* (1900). Abanindranath Tagoré (1871-1951), founder of the modern school of Indian art, exhibited his literary talent in *Rājakāhinī* (1909), *Pathe-vipathe* (1919), *Khātāñcir Khātā* (1916), *Bāṅglār Vrata* (1919), *Gharoyā* (1941), *Joḍāsānkor Dhāre* (1944), *Bhārataśilper Ṣaḍaṅga* (1947), etc. These also show the varied nature of his interests. Prabhatkumar Mukherjee (1873-1932) was one of the best short story writers in Bengali literature. His books of short stories number more than a dozen. Of these the best known are: *Navakathā* (1900), *Deśī O Bilātī* (1910), *Galpāñjali* (1913), *Patrapuṣpa* (1917), and *Jāmātā Bābājī* (1931). He also wrote

letters in Bengali were later published as *Patrāvalī*. They are also full of literary grace. Vivekananda was a brilliant talker too. *Svāmi-śiṣya-saṁvāda* records his witty and thoughtful conversations. But his genius was not limited to the creation of prose literature only. His poems and songs are equally remarkable for their intensity of emotion, solemnity of thought, and charm of diction and imagery. Mention may be made of *Sakhār Prati*, *Nācuk Tāhate Śyāmā*, *Gāi Gīta Śunāte Tomāy* and *Nāhi sūrya, nāhi jyotiḥ*. To put it in Vivekananda's own words, 'Simplicity is the secret. My ideal of language is my Master's language, most colloquial and yet most expressive. It must express the thought which is intended to be conveyed' (cf. *Complete Works*, V, p. 259). Regarding dialect, he observed : 'We must accept that (dialect) which is gaining strength and spreading through natural laws, that is to say, the language of Calcutta' (cf. *ibid.*, VI, p. 188).—Editor.

some novels such as *Navīna Sannyāsī* (1912), *Ratnadīpa* (1915), *Jīvaner Mūlya* (1916), and *Sindūra-kauṭā* (1919).

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee (1876-1938) was the most popular novelist and story-writer of his time. Notwithstanding his defects, he is still among the most widely read. From 1913 onwards, some of his best known stories came out in different periodicals and he became famous overnight. His stories and novels were very striking for their obvious sincerity, humanism, and basic realism. The important novels of Sarat Chandra are: *Śrīkānta* in four parts (1917, 1918, 1927, 1933), *Birāj Bau* (1914), *Pallī Samāja* (1916), *Caritrahīna* (1917), *Gṛhadāha* (1919), *Denā-Pāonā* (1923), *Pather Dāvī* (1926), *Śeṣapraśna* (1931), and *Vipradāsa* (1935). Among his stories, mention may be made of *Bindur Chele* (1913), *Rāmer Sumati* (1914), *Pariṇītā* (1914), *Arakṣaṇīyā* (1916), and *Devadāsa* (1917). His *Maheśa* is a profound short story and one of the best specimens of the *genre* written in any literature. Charu Chandra Banerjee (1876-1938) produced about a dozen books of short stories including *Varaṇaḍālā* (1910), *Puṣpapātra* (1910), *Saogāt* (1911), and *Vanajyotsnā* (1938). Among his novels are: *Sroter Phul* (1915), *Dui Tār* (1918), *Pargāchā* (1917), and *Herpher* (1919). Indira Devi (1880-1922) has to her credit four volumes of original short stories and a novel, *Sparśamaṇi* (1918). Among her books of short stories mention may be made of *Nirmālya* (1912) and *Ketakī* (1915). Anurupa Devi's (1882-1958) novels include *Jyotihārā* (1915), *Mantraśakti* (1915), *Mahāniśā* (1919), and *Mā* (1920). Nirupama Devi (1883-1951) wrote some short stories collected in *Āleyā* (1917), and more than a dozen novels including *Annapūrṇār Mandira* (1913), *Didi* (1915), *Śyāmalī* (1919), *Ucchṛṅkhala* (1920), and *Devatra* (1927). Saurindramohan Mukherjee (1884-1966) wrote both short stories and novels. Collections of his short stories are: *Śephāli* (1909), *Nirjhara* (1911), *Puṣpaka* (1913), etc. His novels include *Bandī* (1911), *Janaika*, and *Mātṛ-ṛṇa*. He also wrote an original play, *Svayaṁvarā* (1931), on the story of Sāvitrī from the *Mahābhārata*. Rakhaldas Banerjee (1885-1930), an Indologist, wrote three domestic and seven historical novels; amongst them are: *Pāṣāṇer Kathā* (1914), *Śaśāṅka* (1914), *Dharmapāla* (1915), *Karuṇā* (1917), and *Asīma* (1924). From a purely literary point of view, his historical novels do not show much advance on Bankim Chandra, but what is most striking in them is his power of creating a convincing historical atmosphere. *Udyānalatā* (1919) was the joint venture of Santa Devi (b. 1894) and Sita Devi (1896-1974). Of Santa Devi's works, mention may be made of *Uṣasī* (1918), *Smṛtir Saurabha* (1918), and *Cirantanī* (1922). Sita Devi's works include *Vajramaṇi* (1918), *Chāyāvīthi* (1919), and *Rajanīgandhā* (1921). Nares Chandra Sengupta (1882-1964) wrote both short stories and novels, the best known being *Dvitīya Pakṣa* (1919), *Śubhā* (1920), and *Pāper Chāp* (1922).

The best novel of Gokul Chandra Nag (1895-1925), joint founder of *Kallola*, is *Pathika* (1925). Its easy and mindful style introduced a new mode of fiction

in the language. The stories and novels of Sailajananda Mukherjee (1900-1976) are based on personal experience or immediate knowledge which has been transcribed faithfully and poignantly without any emotive imposition. His early stories were collected in a book called *Āmer Mañjarī* (1923). Among his short and long stories (compiled in several volumes), the best known are: *Atasī* (1925), *Nārīmedha* (1928), *Kaylā-kuṭhi* (1930), *Vadhū-varaṇa* (1931), *Pauṣa-pārvaṇa* (1931), *Dinmajur* (1932), and *Nārījanma* (1934). Among his novels we may mention *Māṭir Ghar* (1923), *Joyār-bhāṇṭā* (1924), *Anāhūta* (1931), and *Anivārya* (1931). Sailajananda's works form a landmark in Bengali literature not only for their vivid realism and grim tragedy, but also for introducing for the first time the vogue of regional fiction. Bibhutibhusan Banerjee (1899-1950) was a romantic and a lover of nature. He had also a definite bias towards the occult and the spiritual. His masterpiece *Pather Pāñcālī* was published in 1929 and its sequel *Aparājita* in 1932. They are based on the author's own life-story and bear the stamp of a rare sincerity and fullness of heart. His other novels include *Dṛṣṭi-pradīpa* (1935), *Āraṇyaka* (1938), *Ādarśa Hindu Hotel* (1940), *Devayāna* (1944), and *Ichāmatī* (1949). His short stories are collected in more than a dozen volumes. Some of them are: *Meghamallāra* (1931), *Maurīphul* (1932), *Kinnardal* (1938), and *Yātrā Badal* (1943). The short stories of Bibhutibhusan Mukherjee (b. 1896) have been collected in several volumes, namely, *Rāṇur Prathama Bhāga* (1937), *Rāṇur Dvitīya Bhāga* (1938), *Rāṇur Tṛtīya Bhāga* (1940), *Ataḥ Kim* (1943), *Haimantī* (1944), etc. Among his novels the most popular are: *Nīlāṅgurīya* (1942), *Viśeṣa Rajanī* (1944), and *Svargādapi Garīyasī* (1944). Rabindranath Maitra (1896-1933) wrote short stories showing snapshots of the surface of real life. They were published in several volumes: *Third Class* (1928), *Vāstavikā* (1931), *Udāsīr Māṭh* (1931), etc. His comic play *Mānamayī Girls' School* (1932) was very popular at one time. Kedarnath Banerjee (1863-1949) wrote light stories and novels of which the best known are: *Koṣṭhīr Phalāphala* (1929), *Bhāduḍī Maśāy* (1931), *Duḥkher Deoyāli* (1932), *I Has* (1935), *Namaskārī* (1944), etc. Rajshekhar Basu (1880-1960) was one of the best writers of the humorous story in Bengali. His stories have been published in collections such as *Gaḍḍalikā* (1925), *Kajjalī* (1927), *Hanumāner Svapna* (1937), *Kṛṣṇakali* (1953), etc. He also wrote some thoughtful essays which were collected in *Laghuguru* (1939) and *Vicintā* (1956). He translated (abridged) some of the great Sanskrit classics into Bengali prose, for example, the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1947), and the *Mahābhārata* (1950). His handy dictionary of the Bengali language, *Calantikā* (1952), has proved very useful. Prabodhkumar Sanyal (b. 1907) is a prolific writer. His short stories have been collected in volumes like *Niśipadma* (1931), *Avikal* (1931), and *Aṅgarāga* (1937). Among his novels are *Yāyāvar* (1928), *Kājallatā* (1931), *Priyabāndhavī* (1933), etc. His travel narrative *Mahāprasthāner Pathe* (1933) is a remarkable book. The earliest work of Premendra Mitra (b. 1904) is *Pāṅk* (1927), a novelette. His short stories

have been published in several books: *Pañcaśara* (1929), *Benāmī Bandar* (1930), *Mṛttikā* (1932), *Mahānagara* (1943), etc. *Vṛṣṭi Elo* (1954) is a book of essays. He has published several volumes of poetry: *Prathamā* (1932), *Samrāṭ* (1940), *Pherārī Phauj* (1948), *Sāgara Theke Pherā* (1956), etc.

Achintyakumar Sengupta (1903-76) produced more than thirty volumes of novels and long stories and more than twenty books of short stories. Among his novels the following may be mentioned: *Vibāher Ceye Baḍo* (1931), *Prācīra O Prāntara* (1932), and *Ūrṇanābha* (1933). Among his books of short stories are: *Akāla Vasanta* (1932), *Double Decker* (1938), *Jatan Bibi* (1944), *Hāḍī Muci Ḍom* (1948), etc. In the later phase of his literary career Achintyakumar turned his attention to the life-histories of great religious leaders, and such biographical works as *Parama Puruṣa Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa* (1952-53) and *Paramā Prakṛti Sāradāmaṇi* (1954) have been well received by the reading public. He also produced several books of verse: *Āmrā* (1935), *Priyā O Pṛthivī* (1936), and *Nīla Ākāśa* (1950). Buddhadev Basu (1908-74) was equally facile in writing prose and verse, although from the beginning his verse was more mature than his prose. *Marmavāṇī* (1925), *Bandīr Vandanā* (1930), *Pṛthivīr Pathe* (1933), *Kaṅkāvatī* (1937), *Damayantī* (1943), *Draupadīr Śāḍi* (1948), etc. number among his books of poetry. Among his novels mention may be made of *Akarmaṇya* (1931), *Yedin Phuṭlo Kamala* (1933), *Bāsarghar* (1935), *Tithiḍor* (1949), and *Nirjana Svākṣara* (1951). His short stories are collected in several books, for example, *Abhinaya Abhinaya Nay* (1930), *Rekhācitra* (1931), and *Pheriolā* (1940). His critical essays have been published in the books *Uttaratiriś* (1945), *Kāler Putul* (1946), and *Sāhityacarcā* (1954). His other prose works include *Haṭhāt Ālor Jhalkāni* (1935), *Āmi Cañcala He* (1936), *Samudratīra* (1937), and *Sab Peyechir Deśe* (1941). Annadashankar Ray (b. 1904) writes both prose and poetry, but prose is his forte. His short stories are collected in *Prakṛtir Parihāsa* (1934), *Mana Pavana* (1946), *Yauvanajvālā* (1950), and *Kāminīkāñcana* (1954). Some of his novels are: *Āgun Niye Khelā* (1930), *Asamāpikā* (1931), *Putul Niye Khelā* (1933), *Satyāsatya* (in six parts, 1932-42), *Nā* (1951), and *Kanyā* (1953). *Pathe Pravāse* (1931) deserves mention as a fine travelogue. Annadashankar has written several books of essays: *Tāruṇya* (1928), *Jīvanaśilpī* (1941), *Jīvanakāṭhi* (1949), *Pratyaya* (1951), etc. His books of verse include *Rākhī* (1929), *Ekṭi Vasanta* (1932), *Kāmanā Pañcaviṁśati* (1934). Tarashankar Banerjee (1898-1971) was a prolific writer of stories and novels, and he was one of the most widely read novelists for the last two or three decades. His stories are collected in several books: *Chalanāmayī* (1936), *Jalsāghar* (1937), *Rasakali* (1938), *Prasādamālā* (1945), etc. Of his novels mention may be made of *Caitālī Ghūrṇī* (1931), *Rāikamala* (1935), *Dhātrī Devatā* (1939), *Kālindī* (1940), *Kavi* (1941), *Gaṇadevatā* (1942), *Hānsuli Bānker Upakathā* (1947), *Ārogyaniketana* (1952), *Nāginī Kanyār Kāhinī* (1952), and *Vicāraka* (1957). Balaichand Mukherjee (b. 1899) writes (under

the pseudonym 'Vanaphul') poems, short stories, novels, and dramas. Among the collections of his short stories are *Vanaphuler Galpa* (1936), *Vaitaraṇī-tīre* (1937), *Bāhulya* (1943), etc. His characteristic novels are *Tṛṇakhaṇḍa* (1935), *Dvairatha* (1937), *Mṛgayā* (1940), *Nirmoka* (1940), *Jaṅgama* (1943), *Sthāvara* (1951), *Kaṣṭipāthar* (1952), *Pañcaparva* (1954), etc. *Śrī Madhusūdana* (1939) and *Vidyāsāgara* (1941) are two of his biographical plays. Parimal Goswami (1899-1976) is a writer of humorous stories like *Budbud* (1936), *Black Market* (1945), *Mārke Leṅge* (1950), etc. Saradindu Banerjee (1899-1970), author of the series *Vyomkeśer Diary* (1934), was by far the best writer of detective fiction in Bengali. Among his other works are: *Jātismara* (1933), *Kāncāmiṭhe* (1942), *Kālakūṭa* (1945), and *Tuṅgabhadrār Tīre* (1965). He wrote also some plays which were successfully staged: *Bandhu* (1937), *Path Bendhe Dilo* (1941), and *Kālidāsa* (1943).

One of the most significant writers of the thirties and the forties, Manik Banerjee (1908-56) wrote stories as well as novels. The erosion of social values observed among the middle classes of his time is reflected in his works. His style is terse and his approach objective. Manik Banerjee's influence on contemporary and later writers is unmistakable. His works include *Divārātrir Kāvya* (1935), *Jananī* (1935), *Atasī Māmī* (1935), *Putulnācer Itikathā* (1936), *Padmānadīr Mājhi* (1936), *Catuṣkoṇa* (1948), *Sonār Ceye Dāmī* (in two volumes, 1951-52), *Haraph* (1954), and *Halud Nadī Sabuj Vana* (1956). Pramathanath Bisi (b. 1901) is a prolific writer. He generally writes in a light vein. The more important of his books of short stories are *Śrīkānter Pañcama Parva* (1939), *Brahmār Hāsi* (1948), and *Aśarīrī* (1951). Among his novels mention may be made of *Padmā* (1935), *Joḍādhīghir Caudhurī Parivāra* (1938), *Kopavatī* (1941), and *Kerī Sāheber Munsī* (1958). Among his comic plays *Ṛṇaṁ Kṛtvā* (1935), *Ghṛtaṁ Pibet* (1936), *Parihāsavijalpitam* (1940), and *Maucāke Ḍhil* (1948) are popular on the amateur stage. Some of his books of verse are: *Vasantasenā* (1927), *Vidyā-Sundara* (1935), *Haṁsamithuna* (1951), and *Uttaramegha* (1953). *Ravīndra-kāvyapravāha* (1939) and *Ravīndra-nāṭyapravāha* (1948), etc. are his books of literary criticism.

POETRY

Though profoundly impressed by the style of Rabindranath, Kamini Ray (1864-1933) temperamentally belonged to the classicists. Her poetical works include *Ālo O Chāyā* (1889), *Nirmālya* (1891), *Paurāṇikī* (1897), *Mālya O Nirmālya* (1913), and *Dīpa O Dhūpa* (1929). Besides being a playwright, Dwijendralal Ray wrote many comic songs as well as serious poems. Mention may be made of *Āryagāthā* in two parts (1882, 1893), *Āṣāḍhe* (1898), *Mandra* (1902), *Ālekhya* (1907), and *Triveṇī* (1912). Rajani Kanta Sen (1865-1910) wrote poems as well as songs. His patriotic songs created a stir during the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and thereafter. Among his books the following

may be mentioned: *Vāṇī* (1902), *Kalyāṇī* (1905), *Amṛta* (1910), *Abhayā* (1910), *Ānandamayī* (1910), and *Śeṣadāna* (1927). Priyamvada Devi (1871-1935) published a book of sonnets, *Reṇu*, in 1900. Some of her later poems were collected in three small books: *Patralekhā* (1911), *Aṁśu* (1927), and *Campā O Pāṭala* (1939), the last being a posthumous publication. Atulprasad Sen (1871-1934) began by writing poems and later concentrated on songs of which a few patriotic and devotional ones are still very popular. A collection of his songs was published as *Kayekṭi Gāna*, the revised edition of which was *Gītiguñja* (1931).

Satyendranath Datta (1882-1922), well known for his verbal music, exerted his influence on almost all the contemporary writers of Bengali verse. His works include *Veṇu O Vīṇā* (1906), *Homaśikhā* (1907), *Phuler Phasal* (1911), *Kuhu O Kekā* (1912), *Abhra-āvīra* (1916), *Belāśeṣer Gāna* (1923), *Vidāya Ārati* (1924), etc. A small collection of his humorous and satirical poems was published in 1917 under the title *Hasantikā*. He excelled in translation. The poems in translation were published in three volumes: *Tīrthasalila* (1908), *Tīrthareṇu* (1910), and *Maṇimañjuṣā* (1915). The poems translated include Vedic hymns and classical Sanskrit verses as well as poems in almost all the important classical and modern languages of the world. Jatindramohan Bagchi (1878-1948) wrote verses which were published in several collections such as *Lekhā* (1906), *Rekhā* (1910), *Aparājitā* (1913), *Nāgakeśara* (1917), *Nīhārikā* (1927), *Mahābhāratī* (1936), etc. Jatindramohan was a lover of rural landscape and his verse is smooth and picturesque. Karunanidhan Banerjee (1877-1955) published several books of verse like *Prasādī* (1904), *Jharāphul* (1911), *Śāntijala* (1913), *Dhān-dūrvā* (1921), etc. His poems are simple and rich in imagery. In devotional fervour they can be compared with the poems of Devendranath Sen. Kumudranjan Mullick (1882-1971) was essentially a devotional poet. His poems deal with rural life in Bengal and have been published in several volumes including *Ujānī*, *Vanatulasī*, *Śatadala* (all published in 1911), *Nūpura* (1920), and *Svarṇa-sandhyā* (1948). His style is unpretentious and full of Purāṇic allusions. Kalidas Ray (1889-1975) produced a number of books: *Kunda* (1908), *Kiśalaya* (1911), *Parṇapuṭa* (1914), *Haimantī* (1934), and *Vaikālī* (1940). His verse is smooth and easy and is enlivened by a romantic love of nature. An immediate product of post-War dissatisfaction and non-co-operation was the poetry of Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1976). His first book of poems *Agnivīṇā* (1922) was followed by several others like *Dolancāmpā* (1923), *Biṣer Bāṅśī* (1924), *Bhāṅgār Gāna* (1924), *Pūver Hāoyā* (1925), *Sarvahārā* (1926), *Bulbul* (1928), *Sindhu-hindola*, etc. When published, his vigorous songs and poems inspired tremendous patriotic zeal. His songs, devotional, patriotic, and otherwise, form a class by themselves and are still very popular for their verbal charm, intensity of feeling, and captivating melody. Mohitlal Majumdar (1888-1952) started his literary career as an admirer of Devendranath Sen and published his first book of verse in his praise, *Devendra-*

maṅgala (1912). His *Svapan-paśārī*, which marked him as a poet of power and promise, was published in 1922. His other volumes of poetry are: *Vismaraṇī* (1927), *Smara-garala* (1936), *Hemanta-godhūli* (1941), and *Chanda-caturdaśī* (1944). Mohitlal also wrote a number of critical essays later collected and published as *Ādhunika Bāṅglā Sāhitya* (1936), *Sāhityakathā* (1938), *Sāhityavitāna* (1942), etc. Jatindranath Sengupta (1887-1954) published several collections of verse: *Marīcikā* (1923), *Maruśikhā* (1927), *Marumāyā* (1930), *Sāyam* (1940), and *Tri-yāmā* (1948). *Niśāntikā* (1957) is a posthumous collection.

The poetical works of Achintyakumar Sengupta, Premendra Mitra, Buddhadev Basu, Annadashankar Ray, and Pramathanath Bisi have already been referred to in connexion with their prose works. Ajit Datta's (b. 1907) books of verse are *Kusumer Māsa* (1930), *Pātālakanyā* (1938), *Naṣṭacānd* (1945), *Punarṇavā* (1947), and *Chāyār Ālpanā* (1951). *Janāntike* (1949) and *Manapavaner Nāo* are books of personal essays. Jivananda Das (1899-1954) is one of the most heterodox and original poets after Rabindranath. His first significant book *Dhusara Pāṇḍulipi* was published in 1936. His other books of poetry are *Vanalatā Sena* (1942, enlarged 1952), *Mahāpṛthivī* (1944), *Sāṭṭi Tārār Timira* (1948), *Śreṣṭha Kavitā* (1954), and *Rūpasī Bāṅglā* (1957). Bishnu Dey's (b. 1909) books of poetry number more than half a dozen, including *Urvaśī O Artemis* (1932), *Corābāli* (1938), *Sandīper Car* (1947), *Nāma Rekhechi Komala-gāndhāra* (1953), and *Smṛti Sattā Bhaviṣyat* (1963). He has also written several critical essays. Sudhindranath Datta (1901-61) published his first book of poems *Tanvī* in 1930. This was followed by *Orchestra* (1935), *Krandasī* (1937), *Uttaraphālgunī* (1940), *Saṁvarta* (1953), and *Daśamī* (1956). His literary essays are included in the volume *Svagata* (1948). Humayun Kabir (1906-69) is the author of two popular books of poems, *Svapna-sādha* (1927) and *Sāthī* (1932). Sajanikanta Das (1900-1962) wrote a few good parodies in verse such as *Path Calte Ghāser Phul* (1929), *Aṅguṣṭha* (1931), etc. His serious volumes of verse are: *Rājahaṁsa* (1935), *Ālo Āndhārī* (1936), and *Panciśe Vaiśākha* (1942), etc. He also wrote a novel, *Ajaya* (1931). Amiya Chakravarti (b. 1901) has a number of books of poems to his credit including *Khasḍā* (1938), *Ekmuṭho* (1939), *Pārāpāra* (1953), and *Pālābadal* (1955). Chakravarti's poetry is his own, and it occasionally reveals a strange affinity with Tagore's poetry. Samar Sen (b. 1916) is another writer of the new school of poetry of the thirties and forties. His poems are collected in several small volumes: *Kayekṭi Kavitā* (1937), *Grahaṇa* (1940), *Nānākathā* (1942), and *Tin Puruṣa* (1944).

It is not possible to cover the whole range of Bengali poets, novelists, writers of short stories, dramatists, and essayists of the twentieth century within the short compass of an article. Besides those referred to in the foregoing pages, we mention here only a few more names of authors who enriched Bengali literature during the twentieth century: Jaladhar Sen (1860-1939),

Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1944), Upendranath Ganguli (1883-1960), Apareshchandra Mukherjee (1875-1934), Jogeshchandra Chaudhuri (1887-1948), Hemendrakumar Ray (1888-1963), S. Wazed Ali (1890-1951), Sachindranath Sengupta (1892-1961), Premankur Atarthi (1892-1964), Abdul Odud (1894-1970), Jagadishchandra Gupta (1886-1957), Dhurjatiprasad Mukherjee (1894-1962), Narendranath Mitra (1916-1975), Sukanta Bhattacharyya (1926-47), Bijayalal Chatterjee (1898-1974), Dilipkumar Roy (b. 1897), Sarojkumar Raychaudhuri (1902-1972), Manoj Basu (b. 1901), Shibram Chakravorty (b. 1905), Narayan Ganguli (1918-70), Santoshkumar Ghosh (b. 1920), Romapada Chaudhuri (b. 1922), Benoy Kumar Mukherjee ('Yāyāvar', b. 1918), Kamakshiprasad Chatterjee (1917-76), Phalguni Mukherjee (1905-75), Ashapurna Devi (b. 1908), Saiyad Mujtaba Ali (1904-74), Bimal Mitra (b. 1912), Gajendrakumar Mitra (b. 1909), Subodh Ghosh (b. 1910), Sumathnath Ghosh (b. 1910), Subhash Mukherjee (b. 1919), Gopal Haldar (b. 1902), Manish Ghatak (b. 1901), Jyotirmoyi Devi (b. 1894), Narendra Dev (1889-1971), and Radharani Devi (b. 1904).

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ENGLISH

IT is a question of nomenclature: How shall we describe the Indian contribution to English literature? 'Indo-Anglian', 'Anglo-Indian', 'Indo-English', even 'Indo-Anglican' have all had some vogue. Now 'Indo-Anglican', which has vague theological implications, just will not do. 'Indo-English' should be used to cover the mass of writing in English arising out of the British impact on India. This is really Janusfaced, 'Anglo-Indian' on one side and 'Indo-Anglian' on the other. Where the writing is by Englishmen in India or on Indian themes, it is 'Anglo-Indian' literature; but where we have in mind Indian writing in English, it is appropriate to call it 'Indo-Anglian' literature. As early as 1883, a book was published in Calcutta entitled *Indo-Anglian Literature*, containing 'specimen compositions from native students'. During the last three or four decades the descriptive term *Indo-Anglian* has acquired considerable currency. Indo-Anglian literature is of course a matter of recent history. But so is Australian, Canadian, or even American literature itself, in its latest or 'modern' phase, not much more than a century old. Indo-Anglian literature or Indian writing in English is essentially Indian, although it has an apparently alien garb. As the late C. R. Reddy declared over thirty years ago:

'Indo-Anglian literature is not essentially different in kind from Indian literature. It is a part of it, a modern facet of that glory which, commencing from the Vedas, has continued to spread its mellow light, now with greater and now with lesser brilliance under the inexorable vicissitudes of time and history, ever increasingly up to the present time of Tagore, Iqbal, and Aurobindo Ghose, and bids fair to expand with our humanity's expanding future.'

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When the British first came to India after the incorporation of the East India Company in 1600, they brought with them, not only the tools of trade and the implements of war, but also their language and their literature. At first they were compelled to learn the indigenous language to be able to carry on the business of commerce and the tasks of administration. And yet the average administrator or trader had little or no permanent interest in the country; he came, if possible, to shake 'the pagoda tree' and to line his pockets at the expense of both the country and the Company. With the Mogul rule in total disintegration and with the new British administration careering without a thought to the cultural wants of the Indian millions, it was inevitable that culture should be in jeopardy and civilization at its lowest ebb; no wonder, eighteenth century India was culturally little better than a 'waste land'. The old civilization was

dead, or seemed to be; and there were no signs as yet of a new civilization springing up from the wreckage, and redeeming the time.

But the fact of the British having brought their language and literature with them inevitably, if also slowly, altered the aspect of affairs. From the very beginning there were a few who took an interest in the culture and literature of the people in whose midst destiny had thrown them. Likewise, there were also many Indians who, either out of inclination or out of necessity, sought to master the language of the foreigner and even, however haphazardly, to read and enjoy his rich and varied literature. Besides, some at least of the British administrators thought in terms of the welfare, material and cultural, of the Indian people. Warren Hastings helped to found the Calcutta Madrasa, a school for Muslim students, in 1781; eleven years later, the Sanskrit College at Banaras came into existence; and the arrival of the Christian missionaries in India in growing numbers also gave a fillip to the new movement.

While all were agreed that a forward educational policy should be laid down and carried out, there was for a time little agreement with regard to its precise nature. The 'Orientalists' advocated a revival of Sanskrit and Persian learning; noted Hindu leaders like Raja Rammohun Roy, and Christian missionaries like William Carey advocated 'Western' education through the medium of English; and the Government was unable to make up its mind. Macaulay's celebrated Minute, however, settled the matter. He argued that since the indigenous languages were inadequate and chaotic, the indigenous systems of medicine were a disgrace, indigenous astronomy, science, history, and geography were but things to laugh at, and indigenous arts and literature were just petty futile things, only 'Western' education with English as the sole medium would deliver the goods. Nay, more; for Macaulay hopefully thought that 'if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytize; without the smallest interference in religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection'.

In 1835 Government adopted Macaulay's scheme of modern education through English medium, and English became the official language of India. Slowly but steadily, English medium schools and colleges increased in number and commanded more and more prestige, and within a generation or two, a very considerable number of Indians had been introduced to the multitudinous riches of European, especially English, literature and culture. No doubt the new education did not, as Macaulay had anticipated, revolutionize the structure of religious belief in Bengal or India; conversions were few and far between, and Hindus and Muslims, while readily accepting the 'blessings' of 'Western' education, remained Hindus and Muslims. Be that as it may, the English-educated Indians now often sought self-expression through the medium of

English and learned with growing success to speak in English, to write in English, and even to think in English. This they did in order to compel more easily the attention of their English 'masters'. They also sought their models in English literature, which was the only modern European literature that they knew. In due course with the Indian writings in English a modern Indian literature was born. Like modern Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, or Urdu literature, Indo-Anglian literature is also Indian literature, with a bright tradition of its own and still exhibiting signs of abundant life and energy.

THE PIONEERS

Rammohun Roy (1774-1833) was truly, and in every sense, a pioneering spirit. The first great master of effective Bengali prose, he was also the first great Indian writer of lucid English prose. His *Precepts of Jesus* (1820) and his *English Works* now collected in several volumes testify to the astonishing range and power and originality of his thinking and writing. It was indeed his destiny to clear the ground of much rubbish and lay the foundations of 'New India'.

If Rammohun was the first of the Indo-Anglians to write lucid and effective prose, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-31) was the first of the Indo-Anglian poets. A teacher of English at the Calcutta Hindu College in his eighteenth year, Derozio had a chequered career. He has left behind him a creditable body of English verse. His sonnets and lyrics are competent, revealing sensibility as well as craftsmanship, and the influence of Romantics like Byron, Keats, and Thomas Moore is obvious. Derozio's most ambitious poem, *The Fakir of Jungheera*, tells movingly the tragic story of Nuleeni, a Brahmin widow, who is rescued from the funeral pyre by a robber chief only to be widowed a second time so that the finality of death alone could end her misery. Creditable as are his achievements in poetry, he is to be admired especially for the singular promise underlying his actual output. Kashiprosad Ghose, Derozio's contemporary, published in 1830 *The Shair and Other Poems*, revealing a certain fluency and industry though not intrinsic poetic quality. On the other hand, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, an Indian Christian, was a truly gifted poet, even more in Bengali than in English. His metrical romance, *The Captive Ladie* (1849), tells the story of Pṛthvīrāja and Saṁyuktā. He was deeply influenced by Milton (he was the Bengali Milton, the author of the *Meghanāda-vadha-kāvya*) as may be inferred from a passage like the following that attempts the well nigh impossible task of projecting an image of the fallen archangel, Satan:

> A form of awe he was—and yet it seemed
> A sepulchre of beauty—faded, gone,
> Mouldering where memory fond mourner keeps
> Her lonesome vigils sad—to chronicle

The Past—and tell its tale of coming years.
Or, like a giant tree in mighty war
With storm on whirlwind car and fierce array
Blasted and crushed—all of its pride bereft.

Another pioneering Indo-Anglian poet was Sashichunder Dutt. A convert to Christianity, he was the author of *Miscellaneous Poems* (1848). Other members of the Dutt family of Rambagan, Calcutta—three brothers and their nephew, Oomeshchunder—contributed to *The Dutt Family Album* (1876) which contains competent effusions in English verse.

With Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt, daughters of Govindachunder Dutt, one of the contributors to the *Album*, we reach the first truly significant chapter of fulfilment in the history of Indo-Anglican poetry. Their stay in Italy, France, and England for a period of four years quickened their native poetic impulse, and they acquired an astonishing mastery of French and English. Returning to Bengal in 1873, the sisters surrendered to feverish poetic composition and the fury of sustained intellectual effort. Aru died in 1874 aged twenty, and Toru in 1877 in her twenty-first year. Thus they, like Derozio, were the inheritors of unfulfilled renown.

Some of Aru's exquisite verse renderings in English of the French Romantic lyrics were included in *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876), mainly the work of Toru. Aru's rendering of Victor Hugo's *Morning Serenade*, included in the volume, filled Edmund Gosse with 'surprise and almost rapture'. Toru's contribution to the volume consisted of about 200 verse translation from poets like Hugo, Soulary, and de Gramont. 'If modern French Literature were entirely lost,' wrote Edmund Gosse, 'it might not be found impossible to reconstruct a great number of poems from this Indian version.' Toru's posthumously published *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) is a maturer work, and the oft-told tales of Sāvitrī, Prahlāda, Dhruva, Ekalavya, Lakṣmaṇa, and the rest are here told with a new urgency and charm, and also with a 'Vedic solemnity and simplicity of temper'. Apart from the 'ballads' and 'legends', there are original pieces like *Sita* and *Our Casuarina Tree* that achieve a true elegiac note.

The Ancient Ballads proved Toru's facility and power of poetic utterance in a foreign medium. Had her life not been cut short, Toru could certainly have achieved great things as a poet in English. H. A. L. Fisher has observed that she will ever remain 'in the great fellowship of English poets'. Already at her death she left behind her a complete French novel, an unfinished English novel, and these many poems and several sensitive letters addressed to an English friend.

THE AGE OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY AWAKENING

The last three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the splendid flowering of a new spiritual renaissance, and the advent of Ramakrishna

Paramahamsa (1836-86) was unquestionably the most significant of the forces that ensured the religious and cultural awakening of the country. He opened the eyes of Indians, who had for a time been almost blinded by the glare of Western civilization, to the splendours in the firmament of the spirit. Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), his chief disciple, was soon to carry his Master's message to the very ends of the civilized world. He turned the English language for the purposes of his exposition of the Vedānta and missionary exhortation. His *Complete Works* have since been published in eight independent volumes. He was a very effective speaker, bold, fluent, and essentially educative. He essayed English verse too, and a poem like *Kali the Mother* becomes almost an apocalyptic vision of breaking of the worlds and the dance of Doom. *Song of the Free* is strictly Vedāntic, and images the glory of the enfranchised Self:

> From dreams awake, from bonds be free!
> Be not afraid. This mystery,
> My shadow, cannot frighten me!
> Know once for all that I am He !

Several of the evangelists of the Brāhmo Samāj, Ārya Samāj, Prārthanā Samāj, and Theosophical Society movements too wielded the English language with consummate mastery and ease. Mention may be made of Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-84), Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1834-83), Madhav Govind Ranade (1842-1901), Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-93), Madame Blavatsky and her associates.

The new spiritual dawn and sunrise that was the age of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda was also the age of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94),—'Rishi' Bankim, as Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) has called him. The Indian renaissance was now a full-blooded affair, and there was a stir of new activity everywhere—in religion, in literature, in social reform, and in politics.

Although Bankim is one of the Titans of Bengali literature and one of the makers of the modern Indian novel, it is worth mentioning that he first wrote a novel in English, *Rajmohan's Wife* published serially in *Indian Field* in 1864. The novel came out in book form in 1935. His other works in English include *Letters on Hinduism* and *Essays and Letters*.[1] Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909), another pioneer in the field of the Bengali novel, made some valuable contributions to Indo-Anglian literature. Mention may be made of *A History of Civilization in Ancient India* (1890), *Lays of Ancient India* (1894), *Economic History of British India* (1902), and *India in the Victorian Age* (1904). But his fame as an Indo-Anglian writer rests mainly on his classic verse renderings of the *Mahābhārata* (1898) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1900). These remain still the

[1] Some of his Bengali novels found their Indo-Anglian translations during Bankim's lifetime. For example, *Durgeśanandini* or *The Chieftain's Daughter* came out in 1880 in an English translation by C. C. Mookerjee.

best English verse introductions to the two great Indian epics. Romesh Chandra's success as a translator is primarily due to his mastery over language as well as metre—the metre popularized by Tennyson in his *Locksley Hall.* In portraiture or dialogue, in description or exhortation, Romesh Chandra always rings true; alike in depicting the horrors of war or in delineating the verities of home life, he proves not unworthy of his originals; and his renderings have appropriately found a place in Dent's Everyman's Library of the World's Best Books. Two of his Bengali novels also appeared in English with the titles *The Lake of Palms* (1902) and *The Slave-Girl of Agra* (1909). Nabakrishna Ghose tried to cultivate a private garden of poetic sensibility. He assumed the *nom de plume* of 'Ram Sharma', and wrote ceaselessly, but his work is of uneven quality. His collected verses run to 300 pages, and there are a few sustained pieces like *The Last Day* and the *Bhagabati Gita.* In Bombay, Behramji Malabari tried his hand with some success in verse as well as prose, and *The Indian Muse in English Garb* (1876) and *The Indian Eye on English Life* (1893) have more than a historical interest. A far more accomplished poet was Nagesh Wishwanath Pai. His *Stray Sketches in Chakmakpore* (1894) presents facets of Indian life with sympathy and profound understanding, and also with a sense of humour out of the common. His narrative poem, *The Angel of Misfortune* (1904), is half-legendary, and presents Vikramāditya in heroic terms. It is among the best longer poems written in English by Indians. From Madras, Ramakrishna Pillai published *Tales of Ind* (1895) in imitation of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.* Pillai also published two novels, *Padmini* (1903) and *The Dive for Death* (1912). The action of *Padmini* is played against the background of the Talikota battle, which brought the never-to-be-forgotten Vijayanagar Empire to a tragic close.

THE FLOW OF TALENTS : RABINDRANATH, AUROBINDO, AND OTHERS

Essentially a Bengali classic, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) made significant contribution to Indo-Anglian literature also. *Gitanjali* (1912), *The Crescent Moon* (1913), and *The Gardener* (1919) were turned into English from the original Bengali by Tagore himself; and in plays like *Chitra* (1914), he altered the original in many places. His prose works like *Sadhana* (1913), *Personality* (1917), *The Religion of Man* (1931), and *Nationalism,* being meant for an international public, were originally written in English. *Gitanjali,* for which Tagore won the Nobel Prize, is a jewel of philosophical poetry, and sounds utterly genuine even though it is a translation. The only poem written by him originally in English was *The Child* (1931), almost certainly inspired by Gandhiji's march to Dandi in 1930, and also by the Passion Play at Oberammergau, which Tagore happened to see soon afterwards. It is an impressionistic description of the pilgrimage of men and women of all types to the inaccessible Shrine of Fulfilment. Re-

reading the poem today we cannot but wonder whether Tagore had not had a vision of Gandhiji's coming martyrdom:

'We refused him in doubt, we killed him in anger,
now we shall accept him in love,
For in his death he lives in the life of us all, the great Victim.'

Many of Tagore's plays too are a part of Indo-Anglian literature; suggestive, symbolistic, full of spiritual undertones, plays like *Chitra* and *The King of the Dark Chamber* (1914) form almost a distinctive *genre* in English drama. Tagore's novels, notably *Gora* (1924), have given a lead to modern Indian fiction, and it is seldom in doubt that they are the work of a poet. Judged by any standards whatsoever, Tagore's achievements as a man of letters compel respectful recognition; and he is not of India alone, but of the whole world. 'He has knocked at our gate and all the bars have given way. Our doors have burst open.'

A professor of English at the Presidency College, Calcutta, Manmohan Ghose (1867-1924) had an entirely English education, finishing at Christ Church, Oxford. He was a genuine poet and of him Oscar Wilde wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette*: 'Mr Ghose ought someday to make a name in our literature'. Reviewing his *Love Songs and Elegies* (1898), Oscar Wilde said that the poems 'show how quick and subtle are the intellectual sympathies of the Oriental mind'. The posthumously published *Songs of Love and Death* (1926) contains some of his best works as a poet. There is a deep and profound note in these poems. Poems like *Immortal Eve* and *Orphic Mysteries* are indubitable poetic achievements. The technical finish of Manmohan's poems makes them always maintain a reasonably uniform level of excellence. His Nature poems also are charged with a beauty and strength all their own. Recollecting in tranquillity the faded visions and experiences of his life in England, Manmohan creates them anew in the images of poetry; and March with its sunny crocuses, June with its moonlight and roses, and November with its heaps of dead leaves, and London's 'murmur of men more sweet than all the world's caresses', all are evoked with a sure and sensitive artistry. But it must be added that, even when Manmohan seems to be describing English scenes, his poems are not divorced from their ultimate Indian origins, and they do breathe also her spirit of restrained rapture and tranquillity. Although many of his poems remain unpublished, he is even as it is, in Laurence Binyon's words, 'a voice among the great company of English singers; somewhat apart and solitary, with a difference in his note, but not an echo'.

Unlike Tagore, who belongs both to Bengali and Indo-Anglian literature, Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) did almost all his writing in English. Like his brother Manmohan, Aurobindo had an entirely English education, but finished at King's College, Cambridge. While in England, he mastered many languages—English and French, Greek and Latin—and acquired some acquaintance with

other European languages as well. A master of many languages and disciplines, Sri Aurobindo is without doubt the most outstanding of the Indo-Anglians, and also one of the major literary figures of the century. *Collected Poems and Plays* (1942) in two volumes, the colossal symbolistic epic *Savitri*[2] (1950-51), the unfinished epic *Ilion*, a series of blank verse plays (*Vasavadutta*, *Rodogune*, *The Viziers of Bassora*, and *Eric*), and various other collections of lyrics and translations constitute Sri Aurobindo's achievement in poetry and poetic drama. In *Savitri*, the story is taken from the *Mahābhārata* but is rendered anew in terms of Vedic symbolism and Aurobindonian Yoga and metaphysics. It is an extraordinary story of spiritual action involving the defeat of Death, the expulsion of Darkness, and the liquidation of the primordial force of the evil of Ignorance. It is written in blank verse of singular purity and strength, and the rhythm springs with the puissance of a *mantric* chant. The Aurobindo poetic canon also includes his early narrative poems *Urvasie* (1896), *Love and Death*, and *Baji Prabhou*, philosophical poems like *The Rishi* and *Ahana*, poems trembling with a mystical ecstasy like *The Rose of God* and *Thought the Paraclete*, and the five-act play, *Perseus the Deliverer*. In many of his later poems, Sri Aurobindo tried, not unsuccessfully, classical quantitative metres like the Homeric hexameter (in *Ahana* and *Ilion*) and Catullan hendecasyllabics (in *Thought the Paraclete*). More importantly, Sri Aurobindo also tried to evolve a form of poetic utterance in English akin to the Sanskrit *mantra*; the poet becoming a seer and attempting to reveal to man 'his eternal self and the godheads of its manifestation'. The ecstasy that is to be communicated being beyond the bounds of everyday language, a new rhythm and a symbolic language are resorted to so that the listener may have the sense 'of a rhythm which does not begin or end with the line, but has for ever been sounding in the eternal planes and began even in Time ages ago'. Sri Aurobindo's illuminating treatise *The Future Poetry* constitutes a massive body of creative and prophetic literary criticism in English, and it also gives an unacademic but illuminating assessment of the work of the glories yet to come. As for Sri Aurobindo's other prose works, *The Life Divine* (1940) is a philosophical treatise and a prose symphony; it is a plea and a programme to divinize man, to plan and to establish here 'a new Heaven and a new Earth'. *Essays on the Gita* is a luminous exposition of the Lord's Song, and is admirable in presentation and style. Among his yet other prose writings are *The*

[2] Begun late in the eighteen-nineties, almost contemporaneously with *Urvasie* and *Love and Death*, *Savitri* was fifty years a-growing, undergoing numerous revisions, now taken up, now set aside, anon forged in the fire of a new inspiration into a marvellous splendour of revelation. In the final form this blank verse epic consists of three parts, divided into twelve books or forty-eight cantos, making up a total of about 24,000 lines. Aurobindo has given to the familiar *Mahābhārata* story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān a mystical colouring and transcendence, and perhaps future literary historians will hail it as the greatest English epic after *Paradise Lost*. For a critical study of the poem, see Prema Nandakumar's *A Study of Savitri* (1962).

Secret of the Veda, *The Synthesis of Yoga*, *The Human Cycle*, *The Ideal of Human Unity*, and *Foundations of Indian Culture*. Notable among his shorter prose works are *The Mother* (1928), *Heraclitus* (1941), and *The Renaissance in India*.

Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949) and her brother Harindranath Chattopadhyay gained quick recognition as poets when they were still quite young, but neither, though for different reasons, could maintain this early promise in their later years. Proceeding to England as a girl, Sarojini made valuable contacts with some of the leading literary lights of the time—for example, Edmund Gosse, Arthur Symons, and the members of the Rhymers' Club—and published her first collection of poems, *The Golden Threshold* (1905), in her twenty-sixth year. It was followed by *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917). Her easy mastery over English verse forms is obvious. As a poet, she particularly excels in describing familiar things: a June sunset, the full moon, nightfall in the city, temple bells, etc. She can suggest, too, immensities and imponderables, and in her exquisite lyrics such as *To a Buddha Seated on a Lotus* and *The Flute-player of Brindavan*, she can achieve the fusion of the real and the ideal, and bring earth and heaven together. The lyric-sequence, *The Temple*, is, however, her most mature work. In this recordation of the vicissitudes of Love's pilgrimage—the glow, the surrender, the ecstasy, the recoil, the resentment, the despair, the reaction, the abasement, the acceptances—all are fused into fierce and beautiful poetry.

Harindranath Chattopadhyay's *The Feast of Youth* (1918) offered, indeed, as befits the title, youth's fervour and excitement, youth's self-laceration, youth's self-assertions and high-vaulting idealisms. Sri Aurobindo found in the book 'a rich and finely lavish command of language, a firm possession of the metrical instrument, an almost blinding gleam and glitter of the wealth of imagination and fancy ... the beginnings of a supreme poetic utterance of the Indian soul in the rhythms of the English tongue'. Several more volumes have followed: *The Magic Tree* (1922), *Grey Clouds and White Showers* (1924), *The Dark Well* (1939), and *Blood of Stones* (1944). But while the talent and fluency are still there, the prophesied mastery and supremacy of poetic utterance have failed to materialize.

ERA OF THE GANDHIAN REVOLUTION

By the end of the First World War, English education had sent out tens of thousands of graduates and several millions of matriculates into the sub-continent, and in these the Indo-Anglians found a congenial audience in their own country. With the coming of Gandhiji on the political scene, not only Hindi and regional languages, but even English itself, saw increasing literary activity. The political pulse of the nation had quickened considerably, and sometimes rose to feverish pitch; and this too gave an impetus to literature. The award

of the Nobel Prize to Tagore in 1913 and the blaze of publicity that attended upon his post-War European and world tours also acted as a spur to literary aspirants in India. More and more young men and women resorted to English as a medium of self-expression, and poems, stories, novels, essays, playlets, critical appreciations, philosophical and historical monographs, all came tumbling after in increasing number and velocity. Also, the revolutions in taste which the European or American literary scene witnessed during the nineteen-twenties, thirties, and forties had their reflections and repercussions in India; and the issue between tradition and experiment, convention and revolt, was fought here as much as in Britain or America, and with equally uncertain results.

FICTION

During the period between the two World Wars, a number of Indians essayed fiction in English, some of it of international standard. The English versions of Tagore's novels and short stories[3] had led the way, and writers like K. S. Venkataramani, R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Bhabani Bhattacharya, and Raja Rao were enterprising enough and talented enough to follow his lead and to accomplish triumphs of their own. Venkataramani's *Paper Boats* (1921) and *On the Sand-dunes* (1923) first won for him a discriminating audience that responded with pleasure to his observant humour and to the singular quality of his poetic prose. It was, however, in his novels—*Murugan the Tiller* (1927) and *Kandan the Patriot* (1932)—and the stories in the *Jatadharan* (1937) volume that Venkataramani rose to his full stature as a writer of fiction who integrates in his work the Gandhian ideals of truth—*ahiṁsā*, *satyāgraha*, and *sarvodaya*.

R. K. Narayan's (b. 1907) first novel *Swami and Friends* (1937) gave a physiognomy and a name to 'Malgudi', which has since become one of the familiar localities in the world of fiction. Several other novels have followed: *The Bachelor of Arts*, *The Dark Room* (1938), *The English Teacher* (1945), *Mr. Sampath* (1949), *The Financial Expert* (1952), *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955), *The Guide* (1959), *The Man-Eater of Malgudi* (1961), and *The Sweet-Vendor* (1967). Narayan is an artist, a sensitive delineator of the quiddities of South Indian middle class life, and he has no axes to grind. *Swami and Friends*, *The Bachelor of Arts*, and *The English Teacher* form almost a trilogy; the names of the central characters differ, but emotionally and spiritually it is the story of the development of a boy into a young man who grasps happiness only to lose it. *Waiting for the Mahatma* introduces Gandhiji as a character, and concludes with his death. His post-Independence novels have rather more of the touch of

[3] For example, *The Home and the World* (*Ghare Bāire*), translated by Surendranath Tagore (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1919), and *The Post Office* (*Ḍākghar*), translated by Devabrata Mukerjea (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1914).

satire than the earlier novels, but even so Narayan's art is governed as much by restraint as it is leavened by humour. *The Guide* (for which Narayan won the Sahitya Akademi Award) tells the story of a scamp whom circumstances transform into a 'Swami' who dies in the course of a fast undertaken to end a drought. *The Man-Eater of Malgudi* is a modern rendering of the Bhasmāsura myth. Taken all in all, Narayan is the most distinguished, and the most artistically satisfying, of the Indo-Anglian novelists.

Mulk Raj Anand's (b. 1905) early novels—*Coolie* (1933), *Untouchable* (1935), *Two Leaves and a Bud* (1937)—quickly established his fame as a novelist of power and purpose. *Coolie* follows the fortunes of a peasant-boy from his village to town, town to city, city to 'Gateway of India', and then to Simla—where he dies of consumption. Wherever he goes, he has the brand of 'coolie' and is a creature to be exploited; only in death he can find his peace. *Untouchable* tells the story of a single day in the life of an untouchable boy. *Two Leaves and a Bud* is the story of exploitation and cruelty in a tea estate. Many more novels have followed—*The Village* (1939), *The Big Heart* (1945), *Seven Summers* (1951), *Private Life of an Indian Prince* (1953), *The Old Woman and the Cow* (1960), *The Road* (1961), and *Morning Face* (1968)—and there is always much vitality and urgency in his writing. Anand is a 'committed' writer, and he is almost the prose laureate of the waifs, the have-nots, and the exploited. His 'axes' notwithstanding, Anand's portrayal of the Indian scene has a basic veracity.

Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* (1938), like Venkataramani's *Kandan the Patriot*, has for its background the Salt Satyagraha movement of 1930-31. But Raja Rao's rather oblique method of narration gives it a power and a suggestiveness out of the ordinary. The events that happen to the satyagrahis in Kanthapura are prototypical of what happened almost everywhere in India. Raja Rao's post-Independence novel *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960) is a longer and stronger work, and is full of philosophical undertones; acclaimed as a major achievement, it won the Sahitya Akademi Award. *The Cat and Shakespeare* (1965) is much shorter, but is no less a success as a philosophical novel. He is also, like Narayan and Anand, a fine short story writer, and the collection *The Cow of the Barricades* is full of poetic touches and epiphanic portraits.

Bhabani Bhattacharya's *So Many Hungers* (1947) covers the years of the Second World War—the uncertainties, agonies, and frustrations in India following the 'Quit India' movement. The pictures of famine-ridden Bengal are lacerating, but they are also touched by compassion. Men are fools rather than criminals and they commit sin because they are blind. *So Many Hungers* had been preceded by *Indian Cavalcade* (1942), and followed by four novels: *Music for Mohini* (1952), *He Who Rides a Tiger* (1954), *A Goddess Named Gold* (1960), and *Shadow from Ladakh* (1966). *A Goddess Named Gold* is a vivid portrait of post-Independence India, while *Shadow from Ladakh*, which won the Sahitya Akademi

Award, is set against the background of the Chinese invasion of India in 1962. Of other novelists these few may be mentioned: Shanker Ram (*The Love of Dust*, 1938); D. F. Karaka (*Just Flesh*, 1940; *There Lay the City*, 1941); Humayun Kabir (*Men and Rivers*, 1945); Ahmed Ali (*Twilight in Delhi*, 1940); A. S. P. Ayyar (*Baladitya*, 1930; *Three Men of Destiny*, 1939); V. V. Chintamani (*Vedantam, the Clash of Traditions*, 1928); and Purushottam Tricumdas (*The Living Mask*, 1945).

POETRY

To return to the Indo-Anglian poets who were commendably active during the period between the two wars, the most successful were Govind Krishna Chettur, P. Seshadri, V. N. Bhushan, P. R. Kaikini, K. D. Sethna, Shahid Suhrawardy, Manjeri Isvaran, and Subho Tagore. Chettur's most mature work was *The Shadow of God* (1935), written under the shadow of his mother's death, and it perhaps anticipated his own death in 1936. Seshadri was a scholarly poet and an accomplished sonneteer. Bhushan's poetic sensibility found free scope in a series of slim volumes (*Flute Tunes*, *Star Fires*, *Horizons*, *Footfalls*), while P. R. Kaikini, in volumes like *Shanghai* and *The Snake in the Moon* (1942), gave expression to the tormented unrest of the times. K. D. Sethna is a very sensitive and accomplished poet who has been profoundly influenced by Sri Aurobindo, and the collection, *The Secret Splendour* (1941), contains some of his best works as a poet. Suhrawardy's *Essays in Verse* (1937) is no less competent in its fusion of mood, word, and rhythm. Manjeri Isvaran has travelled far from his first book *Saffron and Gold* (1932), and in his mature works (*Brief Orisons*, 1941; *The Fourth Avatar*, 1946) he is revealed as a very good poet indeed. Subho Tagore's *Peacock Plumes* and *Flames of Passion* (1944) include several pieces that are sensuous and richly articulate. There are other names too, but many of them belong really to the post-1947 period. Worthy of special mention are the Goan poets—Joseph Furtado (*A Goan Fiddler*, 1901; and *Selected Poems*, new edition, 1967), Aramando Menezes (*Selected Poems*, 1969), Manuel C. Rodrigues, S. R. Dongerkery (*The Ivory Tower*), Fredoon Kabraji (*A Minor Georgian's Swan Song*), R. de L. Furtado, and R. V. Pandit. Armando Menezes has had classical training, and his poems (*Chords and Discords*, 1936; *Chaos and Dancing Star*, 1940) have accordingly a classical finish.

DRAMA AND OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

Compared to Indo-Anglian poetry and fiction, drama has put up a rather poor show. There are, of course, the poetic plays of Tagore and Sri Aurobindo, Harindranath Chattopadhyay and Bharati Sarabhai (*The Well of the People*, 1943), and there are the farces and comedies included in the two volumes of V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Dramatic Divertissements* (1921). Fyzee

Rahamin's *Daughter of Ind* (1940) is a tragedy, and has been performed. T. P. Kailasam was a master of the *genre* but he wrote only a few short pieces (*The Burden and Fulfilment, Karna*). A. S. P. Ayyar's *The Slaves of Ideas* (1941) is a collection of prose plays. Mrinalini Sarabhai (*Captive Soil*, 1945), J. M. Lobo Prabhu (*The Family Cage*), and Purushottam Tricumdas (*Sauce for the Goose*) also cultivated the dramatic form with power and skill.

The light humorous essay has not found many successful practitioners among the Indo-Anglians. Malabari and Nagesh Pai have been mentioned already. Of latter-day essayists the more important are S.V.V. (*Soap Bubbles, More Soap Bubbles*), K. Iswara Dutt (*And All That*), R. Bangaruswami (*My Lord Ku Ku Doon Koon*, 1945), and columnists in the newspapers like Pothan Joseph and D. F. Karaka. Philosophical prose of considerable distinction has come from S. Radhakrishnan, M. Hiriyanna, R. D. Ranade, S. N. Dasgupta, and P. N. Srinivasachari. Historians like Jadunath Sircar, R. C. Majumdar, K. M. Panikkar, and Nilakanta Sastri have made major contributions to our understanding of India's past. Biography has been cultivated by Rustum Masani, D. F. Wacha, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and S. Natarajan, who have written about Dadabhai Naoroji, J. N. Tata, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, and Lallubhai Samaldas respectively. Surendranath Banerjee's *A Nation in Making* (1925) is more than a mere autobiographical work. It also throws considerable light on some of the most interesting chapters in the contemporary history of India. The autobiographies of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru have become classics, each of a different kind. Literary and art criticism of a creative nature has come from Sri Aurobindo (*The Future Poetry*) and Ananda Coomaraswamy (*The History of Indian and Indonesian Art, The Dance of Shiva*, and *An Introduction to Indian Art*), Humayun Kabir (*Poetry, Monads and Society*), and competent critical monographs from N. K. Sidhanta (*The Heroic Age of India*, 1929), S. C. Sengupta (*The Art of Bernard Shaw*, 1936), C. Narayana Menon (*Shakespeare Criticism*, 1938), Amiya Chakravarti (*The Dynasts and the Post-War Age in Poetry*, 1938), and K. K. Mehrotra (*Horace Walpole*). Orators, jurists, and journalists have also had to wield the prose medium, and at their best their work can be compared effectively with similar work elsewhere. In non-fiction prose, among the more important masters are Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and S. Radhakrishnan. These three stand out by reason of their eminence as men of action or of thought, and the marvellous competence or adequacy of their style for the varied demands made upon it. The English version of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1940),[4] was actually the work of Mahadev Desai (with V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's assistance). Desai had caught the Master's style with an admirable fidelity, and in the result a beauti-

[4] The first edition of Gandhiji's autobiography was published in two volumes, Vol. I in 1927 and Vol. II in 1929. In 1940 the second edition was issued by Mahadev Desai in one volume.

ful serenity shines on the pages of the book, as indeed on almost everything that Gandhiji ever wrote. There is in Gandhiji's style a biblical simplicity and sufficiency, verily the model of the clear and simple style. Jawaharlal Nehru's *An Autobiography* (1936) and *Discovery of India* (1946) are the works of a master of English prose whose sensibility had been nurtured and tempered in English literature and modern European thought. He equally drew his inspiration from the wells of Indian or Asian tradition. His style was indeed the man, and alike in his writing and speeches, the whole man—his culture, humanity, and integrity—were revealed as in a mirror. Radhakrishnan's monumental volumes (two) of *Indian Philosophy* (1923, 1927) set a standard for Indian philosophical writings. In his later works—notably in his *An Idealist View of Life* (1932) and *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (1939)—the constructive philosopher was more in evidence than the historian of Indian philosophy, and always it was his prose style—adequate in every sense, often eloquent, and interspersed with choice quotations from the literatures of the West and the East—that carried all before it.

POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

Although after Independence in 1947 the claims of Hindi are being canvassed, English still largely retains its pre-Independence hold on the Indian intelligentsia and in all those areas where it had earlier held sway. Indian writing in English and Indian talking in English are, perhaps, more in evidence today than ever before, and no wonder an interesting new chapter is being added to the history of Indo-Anglian literature.

Since Independence a number of novelists have gained recognition in India, and in England and America. While R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, and Bhabani Bhattacharya have greatly extended their pre-Independence vogue, the new 'arrivals'—Khushwant Singh, Kamala Markandaya, Ruth Prawar Jhabvala, Nayantara Sahgal, Anita Desai, Shantha Rama Rau, Manohar Malgonkar, Balachandra Rajan, Sudhin N. Ghose, Anand Lall—have in greater or lesser measure contributed to the variegated richness of the present-day Indo-Anglian literary scene. Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* (1956) presents with surgical precision the pity and the horror of the 'partition' as they particularly affected the inhabitants of a border village, Mano Majra. His later novel *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale* (1961) is a fictional study of the inner tensions in a Sikh family of pre-Partition days. Kamala Markandaya's novels—*Nectar in a Sieve* (1954), *Some Inner Fury* (1957), *A Silence of Desire* (1961), *Possession* (1963), *A Handful of Rice* (1966), *The Coffer Dams* (1969), and *The Nowhere Man* (1973)—show a fine creative talent at work, and *Some Inner Fury* does give a vivid image of India during the 'Quit India' holocaust. Nayantara Sahgal's four novels, *A Time to be Happy* (1958), *This Time of Morning* (1965),

Storm in Chandigarh (1969), and *The Day in Shadow* (1972), and Anita Desai's *Cry the Peacock* (1963), *Voices in the City* (1965), and *Bye-Bye, Blackbird* (1971) are all competently done; the former's New Delhi and the latter's Calcutta come out vividly alive in their best novels. Ruth Prawar Jhabvala's *To Whom She Will* (1955), *Edmond in India* (1958), *The Householder* (1960), *Get Ready for Battle* (1962), and other novels, and her collections of short stories like *A Stranger Climate* (1968) bring out the idiosyncracies and ironies of the social scene in contemporary Delhi. Shantha Rama Rau's *Remember the House* (1956) is the story of the girl-narrator's passage through romance and disillusion to common sense and compromise. Manohar Malgonkar has within a short time made a reputation for himself with a series of novels: *Distant Drum* (1960), *Combat of Shadows* (1962), *The Princes* (1963), and *A Bend in the Ganges* (1965)—the last leading up to the Hindu-Muslim massacres following the partition of India. Balachandra Rajan's two novels—*The Dark Dancer* (1959) and *Too Long in the West* (1961)—both centre round the problem of adjustment when an Indian sojourner in the West returns to his motherland. Sudhin Ghose's novels—*And Gazelles Leaping* (1949), *Cradle of the Clouds* (1951), *The Vermilion Boat* (1953), and *The Flame of the Forest* (1955)—are in a class apart, being tantalizing mixtures of fantasy and realism. Anand Lall's *The House at Adampur* (1956) and *Seasons of Jupiter* (1958) are interesting yarns. In his *Chronicles of Kedaram* (1961), K. Nagarajan has given a vivid picture of life in a South Indian temple town. There is, besides, the phenomenon of G. V. Desani whose *All About Mr. Hatter* (1948) is an Indo-Anglian approximation to James Joyce's *Ulysses*.

In poetry too the record is impressive. Aside from Sri Aurobindo's monumental *Savitri*, other volumes of poetry with a mystical or spiritual slant have also come from the pens of poets belonging to the Aurobindonian school: K. D. Sethna's *The Adventure of the Apocalypse* (1949), Dilip Kumar Roy's *Eyes of Light* (1948), Nirodbaran's *Sun-Blossoms* (1947), and V. K. Gokak's *Life's Temple*. Other poets reflecting Aurobindo's influence are Nalinikanta Gupta (*To the Heights*), Nishikanta (*Dream Cadences*), and Punjalal (*Rosary* and *Lotus Petals*). When *The Illustrated Weekly* under C. R. Mandy's editorship began to publish Indo-Anglian verse, it gave a fillip to new writing, and several names have since acquired a more general currency. Dom Moraes's *A Beginning* (1957) won for him the Hawthorndon Prize; and his later volumes, *Poems* (1960) and *John Nobody* (1965), have helped him to consolidate his position as one of the most significant of modern English poets. Harindranath Chattopadhyay (*Spring in Winter*, 1956; *Masks and Farewells*, 1961; and *Virgins and Vineyards*, 1967), Nissim Ezekiel (*A Time to Change*, 1951; *Sixty Poems*, 1953; *The Exact Name*, 1965), P. Lal (*The Parrot's Death*, 1960; *Draupadi and Jayadratha*, 1967), Kamala Das (*Summer in Calcutta*, 1965; *The Descendants*, 1968), A. K. Ramanujan (*The Striders*, 1966, won a Poetry Society Recommendation), P. K. Saha (*Poems for*

the Fifties, 1965), Leslie de Noronha (*Poems*, 1965), Lotika Ghose (*White Dawns Awakening*, 1950), Keshav Malik (*The Rippled Shadow*, 1960), B. P. Paymaster (*The Last Farewell*, 1960), V. Madhusudan Reddy (*Sapphires of Solitude*, 1960), Pradip Sen (*And Then the Sun*, 1960), Gieve Patel (*Poems*, 1966), Gopal Singh (*The Man Who Never Died*, 1969), Monika Varma (*Green Leaves and Gold*, 1970), K. Raghavendra Rao, R. Parthasarathy, K. N. Daruwala, Adil Jussawalla, Pritish Nandy, Rajendra Varma, and Subhaschandra Saha are among the Indians who have boldly and skilfully essayed verse in English. The newer poets are conscious of the modern heritage of poetry comprising the work of imagists, symbolists, and mythologists like Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats, W. H. Auden, Wallace Stevens, and Allen Tate, and in their best work there are no echoes merely but distinctive new notes as well.

In the post-Independence era India has witnessed a few enthusiastic writers of drama in English. Asif Currimbhoy has nearly twenty plays to his credit—*The Tourist Mecca* (1961), *The Doldrummers* (1962), *The Dumb Dancer* (1962), *Om* (1962), *Goa* (1967), *An Experiment with Truth* (1969), *Inquilab* (1970), *Om Mani Padme Hum* (1972), *The Miracle Seed* (1973), etc.—and they display virtuosity and vividness in dialogue. Bharati Sarabhai's *Two Women* (1952), a play written in prose but charged with feeling, projects the tension at the heart of Hindustan between tradition and revolt. Dilip Kumar Roy has dramatized the life-stories of Caitanya in *Sri Chaitanya* and of Mīrā, the Beggar Princess, in *Mira in Brindaban* (1956). K. Nagarajan's chronicle play, *Chidambaram* (1955), has been successfully produced; Lobo Prabhu's *Collected Plays* (1956) contains one or two striking dramatic pieces. G. V. Desani's experimental *Hali* (1950) has been recently given a new lease of life; it is the story of Hali's passion told in moving, disturbing, and unforgettable accents. Several other plays written in the post-Independence period are *Keechaka* (1949) of T. P. Kailasam, *The Flute of Krishna* (1950) of P. A. Krishnaswamy, *Siddhartha* (1956) of Harindranath Chattopadhyay, *A Touch of Brightness* (1965) of Pratap Sharma, *Sadhana* (1969) of K. S. Rangappa, *Tiger-claw* (1967) of Lakhan Deb, *Nalini* (1969) of Nissim Ezekiel, and *Larins Sahib* (1971) of Gurucharan Das.

Rajagopalachari was usually considered to be the dialectician *par excellence*, but that was only part of the story. While the severe austerity of his prose style was obvious enough, there were also emotional and spiritual lights that often lifted up his writing to poetic heights. His adaptations of the *Mahābhārata* (1951) and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] (1961) in the idiom of the modern age are masterpieces in their own right and have become best-sellers. A prolific writer, M. N. Roy made significant contribution to the dialectical and political literature of India. His works include *India in Transition* (1922), *From Savagery to Civilisation* (1943), and *Materialism: An Outline of the History of Scientific Thought* (1951). Nirad C. Chau-

[5] It is a rendering of the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* of the Tamil classic, *Kamba Rāmāyanam* (ninth century).

dhuri is a powerful stylist in English prose. His *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* (1951) has been followed by *A Passage to England* (1959) and *The Continent of Circe* (1965). He writes from the vantage ground of a self-forged solitariness, and his interpretations—whether of India or of England—are perhaps more valuable for the light they throw upon his own acutely sensitive nature than as balanced reports on the Indo-Aryans or the Anglo-Saxons. Some of his latest publications, *To Live or Not to Live* (1970), *Scholar Extraordinary* (1974), and *Clive of India* (1975), are marked by his usual uncharitable criticism of India. Ved Mehta is a brilliant writer, and his collection of essays *The Fly and the Fly-Bottle* (1963) surveys some of the controversies that have raged in the recent past in England's groves of Academe. Although journalism embalmed in a book is seldom readable, there are exceptions to the rule: Rajagopalachari's *Satyameva Jayate* volumes, N. Raghunathan's *Sotto Voce* and its successors, M. Chalapati Rau's *Fragments of a Revolution* (1965), and a few others. Bal Gangadhar Tilak's birth centenary in 1956 occasioned more than one good biography of the Lokamanya, and in recent years biographies of Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, the Nehrus, Sri Aurobindo, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhas Chandra Bose, and other national leaders appeared. Books on Gandhiji, of course, are legion. In the field of literary criticism K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (*Shakespeare: His World and His Art*), S. C. Sengupta (*Shakespeare's Historical Plays*, 1964), P. Lal (*The Concept of an Indian Literature*, 1968), V. K. Gokak (*Coleridge's Aesthetics*, 1975), P. C. Ghose (*Shakespeare's Mingled Drama*, 1966), and many others made significant contributions. The emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 led to the production of a mass of books in English by Indian men of letters during the recent years. Mention may be made of Prabodh Chandra's *Bloodbath in Bangladesh* (1971), Subrata Roy Chaudhuri's *The Genesis of Bangladesh* (1972), Dom Moraes's *The Tempest Within* (1971), and G. S. Bhargava's *Crush India* (1972). In history, philosophy, politics, economics—in all branches of modern knowledge, in fact,—Indian writing in English is increasingly coming up to the best Anglo-American standards.

A word or two about the Indian journals in English which played a significant role in facilitating the growth of Indo-Anglian literature. In the early days of Indian national renaissance, papers like *The Hindu* (Madras) and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) played a notable part in educating and mobilizing public opinion on the issue of progressive self-government. Other papers that once commanded high prestige or enjoyed a great vogue, for example, the *Indu Prakash* (Bombay) and *Bandemataram* (Calcutta), now belong to history, not actuality. National leaders like Lajpat Rai (*The People*), C. R. Das (*Forward*), Mahatma Gandhi (*Young India* and *Harijan*), C. Y. Chintamani (*The Leader*), Pattabhi Sitaramayya (*Janmabhumi*), Subhas Chandra Bose (*Forward Bloc*), M. N. Roy (*Independent India* and *The Marxian Way*), Lokamanya Tilak (*The*

Mahratta), Acharya Kripalani (*Vigil*), and K. M. Munshi (*The Social Welfare*) have in their time made their journals efficient organs for the dissemination of their views. Daily newspapers like the *Indian Express*, the *Hindustan Times*, and the *National Herald*, as also the so-called 'Anglo-Indian' papers of yesterday—the *Times of India*, the *Statesman*, and the *Mail*—that have wonderfully adjusted themselves to the altered conditions of republican India, are all doing yeoman service by maintaining good journalistic standards and generally viewing questions from a progressive and all-India or national standpoint. The weekly papers—except the popular *Illustrated Weekly*—are less firmly established as a rule, although at one time papers like the *Indian Social Reformer* and *The Servant of India* enjoyed no mean prestige in the country. There are the monthly journals, too, sharing the difficulties of the tribe in other parts of the world. The *Calcutta Review* and the *Modern Review* have had a long and useful history; *Prabuddha Bharata* and *Vedanta Kesari* continue to maintain a good standard with a Vedāntic and spiritual slant; and *The Aryan Path* has completed nearly fifty years of meritorious service, addressing itself to the task of dissemination of the abiding values and verities and also to the task of building up, through its review section, a sound critical tradition in the country. The quarterly or bimonthly journals like the *Visvabharati Quarterly*, the *Quest* (Bombay), and the *Advent* (Pondicherry) deserve special notice. There are, besides, the journals, published by the Universities or other learned bodies, and these also try to maintain standards appropriate to such journals.

CONCLUSION

Indo-Anglian literature began as a hot-house plant. It has not even now wholly shed its strangeness. Yet it would be wrong to describe it as an 'alien' literature. It has now taken firm and deep root in the Indian soil, and it is branching out in many directions. At its best, Indian writing in English compares, not unfavourably, with the best writing in England or the U.S.A. It may therefore be confidently hoped that, as in the past, in the future also the Indo-Anglian writers will primarily aim at projecting a total vision of India—interpreting her aspirations and hopes and recording her ardours and achievements—not only before the outside world but also before the diverse linguistic groups within the country. There is no reason why Indo-Anglian literature should not, in the fullness of time, grow with the growth of Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, and other regional literatures in India, giving and taking freely, and achieve a position comparable to a distinctive national literature like modern American literature—an individual expression of the Indian genius and a means to national and international understanding.

30

GUJARATI

THE LAND AND THE LANGUAGE

GUJARAT, the land of the Gurjaras, in olden times extended from Rājputānā in the north to Lāṭa Pradeśa in the south. Kathiawad, the land of the Kāṭhīs, was known as Ānarta or Saurāṣṭra. The present Kutch was included in it, as its boundaries extended right up to Thar Parkar in Sind (Pakistan). These boundaries changed with the passage of time and are now restricted to Sirohi (Mount Abu) or rather Palanpur in the north, and Daman (on the banks of the Damangaṅgā river) in the south. Kathiawad and Kutch and such ancient and historic towns as Dvārakā and Bhṛgu-Kaccha (Broach), Surat and Ahmedabad are included in the present State of Gujarat. The term 'Greater Gujarat' has come into vogue of late to describe those places outside Gujarat proper, where Gujaratis have gone and settled like South, East, and Central Africa, Burma, and Mauritius outside India and Nagpur, Madras, and Calcutta inside India. The Gujaratis there live as they live in Gujarat, and use their language freely wherever possible. They have built temples there, started schools, and otherwise made themselves at home. There are printing presses with Gujarati types for newspapers and magazines, and even books in Gujarati are being printed and published there.

Gujarati emerged as a New Indo-Aryan language like Bengali, Hindi, and Marathi by about A.D. 1000. The basic vocabulary of Gujarati is derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit. Leaving aside the Sanskrit works, the oldest compositions in the Old Gujarat area were in the latest form of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit, known as Śaurasenī or Nāgara Apabhraṁśa which may therefore be safely called the real precursor of Gujarati. Hemacandra (1089-1173), the great grammarian, calls it simply Apabhraṁśa which seems to have ceased to exist by A.D. 900. During the years A.D. 900-1150 a new kind of Apabhraṁśa came into existence which can be called Gurjara Apabhraṁśa. L. P. Tessitori, the Italian scholar, has described it as the 'Old Western Rajasthani' which, as the immediate source of Gujarati, was gradually taking shape as a New Indo-Aryan language. There was a certain local element existing in the vocabulary. It had drawn upon many words called *deśī* or *deśya*, a considerable amount of which happened to be of Dravidian origin. Hemacandra has given a long list of such words in his *Deśī-nāma-mālā*. A large number of foreign words from languages like Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, and English have penetrated into the corpus of Gujarati vocabulary. This is, however, a common feature of nearly all the Indian languages current today. It is an inevitable result of the political changes through which India passed.

The language is easy and simple. The conjugational forms of its verbs are few. It is not overloaded with auxiliaries, articles, prepositions, and adverbs. It is only when abstruse, metaphysical, technical, or scientific words have to be used that it has to fall back on Sanskrit.

The Gujarati script is a developed or rather simplified form of the Nāgarī (or Devanāgarī) alphabet which itself appears to have belonged to Gujarat and Rajasthan as well as western Uttar Pradesh in the olden days. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, this script has again been accepted as a sort of pan-Indian script for Sanskrit.

The history of Gujarati literature can be divided into three broad periods:

(i) the Early Gujarati period up to *c.* A.D. 1450;
(ii) the Middle Gujarati period up to A.D. 1850; and
(iii) the New or Modern Gujarati period from after A.D. 1850 till the present day.

EARLY GUJARATI LITERATURE

Apabhraṁśa, the early literary medium of Gujarat, was used almost like the spoken vernacular as it is evident from the couplets (more than 100) collected by Hemacandra. These couplets are claimed as specimens of their earlier forms by Gujarati, Hindi (Braja-bhāṣā and Khari-boli), and Marwari. The earliest writings in Gujarati both in prose and verse are principally by Jaina authors. These cover a wide area of human knowledge ranging from narrative, romantic, moral, and didactic themes to grammatical, philosophical, and various technical subjects. Some of the particular literary types prevalent in the Old Gujarati period are: *rāsas, phāgus, bāramāsīs,* etc. *Rāsas* (long poems—heroic, romantic, or narrative) were written either by *bhāṭas* and *cāraṇas* (bards) in praise of rulers, or by Jaina *sādhus* (monks) in praise of wealthy and religious patrons. *Rāsas* are valuable so far as the contemporary history of the land is concerned. In addition to the innumerable *rāsas* (e.g. *Bhārateśvara Bāhubalī-rāsa,* 1185, of Śālibhadra Sūri; *Revantagiri-rāsa,* 1235, of Vijayasena; *Samara-rāsa,* 1315, of Ambadeva; and *Gautama Svāmī-rāsa,* 1356, of Vinayaprabha), Jaina poets wrote *phāgs* or *phāgus* celebrating love and joyous nature in springtime (*vasanta*). *Sthulibhadra-phāgu* (1334) of Jinapadma is one of the first of its kind. Other poems of this *genre* are *Neminātha-phāgu* (1344) by Rājaśekhara, *Neminātha-phāgu* (1375) by Jayaśekhara, *Raṅgasāgara Neminātha-phāgu* (1400) by Somasundara. But *Vasanta-vilāsa* is the most beautiful poetical work of this class, composed around 1350 by Guṇavanta (?). The poem shows no trace of didacticism, and depicts in a charming style the advent of spring and the pangs of women separated from their lovers. *Neminātha Catuṣpadikā* (1140) by Vinayacandra, a Jaina *sādhu,* is perhaps the oldest and the best among the *bāramāsī* poems available today. It is heavily loaded with didactic and philosophical

content. The Jaina *sādhus* showed admirable skill in describing worldly joys and delights also, as it is evident from works like *Vasanta-vilāsa*. They used to beg food at the houses of courtesans and picked up their knowledge of the world standing at their doors. After the fall of the Rajput rulers and at the beginning of the Mohammedan rule, darkness enveloped the literary activities of Gujarat. It must be said to the credit of the Jaina *sādhus* that it was they who kept Gujarati literature alive in spite of almost insuperable difficulties. Among other old Gujarati works in verse, mention may be made of *Raṇamalla Chanda*, *Uṣā-haraṇa*, *Sītā-haraṇa*, and Merutuṅga's *Prabodha-cintāmaṇi*. *Raṇamalla Chanda* (1398) of Śrīdhara Vyāsa is a historical poem describing the defeat of Zafar Khan, the governor of Pātana, by Raṇamalla, the ruler of Idara. The last and most mature literary phase in Old Gujarati was reached by Padmanābha's *Kāṇhaḍade Prabandha* (*c*. 1456). It narrates in great detail the invasion and conquest of Gujarat and Kathiawad by Ulugh Khan, the renowned lieutenant of Alauddin Khilji, in the last decade of the thirteenth century. The writer of this epic was the court poet of Jhālora in western Marwar, and he described the courage of Kāṇhaḍade, the heroic king of Jhālora, who withstood the siege of his capital by Alauddin for twelve years and was betrayed by some faithless Rajputs. His description of events is vivid, and the language forceful and stirring. The depiction of the tragic love between Virama, son of Kāṇhaḍade, and Piroja, daughter of Alauddin, has added an element of romance to this historical poem of war and heroism. The text shows that Persian words, specially military terms, had begun to infiltrate into the language though mainly it was Old Gujarati. The work ushered in a new tradition—the beginning of the Middle Gujarati literature.

Compared with poetry, very little prose was written. Prose works[1] are meagre in number, but here, too, the Jains predominated. They wrote in elegant prose their ethical codes through simple stories acceptable to the youth. These books, meant for instruction and enlightenment, were known as Bālāvabodhas. Taruṇaprabha's *Bālāvabodha* (*c*. 1355) is one of the earliest works in prose in Old Gujarati. Another writer of Bālāvabodhas in the fourteenth century is Somasundara (*c*. 1399). A remarkable specimen of ornate prose in Old Gujarati is the religious romance, *Pṛthvīcandra-caritra* (1422) of Māṇikyasundara. Though not very polished by modern standards, it bears all the signs of an advanced period; and though religious in the main, it provides a strikingly pleasant relish as a narrative romance and as a biographical piece. In style and narrative it is reminiscent of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, and it found hardly any imitator in the following few centuries till we reach modern literature.

MIDDLE GUJARATI LITERATURE

Formerly many scholars believed that the rise of Gujarati literature began

[1] A specimen of prose written at that time has been given in the present author's *Milestones in Gujarati Literature* (2nd Edn.), p. 27.

with Narasiṁha Mehtā (1415-81). Before he came on the scene, a sizable body of literature, however, had already come into existence. Among the writers, there were non-Jains too—one of them a Mohammedan, Abdur Rahaman (*c.* 1420). Parsis who had landed in Gujarat in the eighth century took a hand in it too, and a six-hundred-year-old manuscript of their religious books, the *Pak Khorda Avesta* translated into the Gujarati of the period, has been found.

The dominating note of the Middle Gujarati period, at least for non-Jains, was worship of God. It assumed the form of *bhakti* or devotion to Kṛṣṇa, to Rāma, to Śiva, or to Śakti. Kṛṣṇa-worship comes within *bhakti-mārga* (the school of love and devotion to God) and the germs of this cult are to be found in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (IX. 26-29). It contemplates complete absorption in Him.[2] The ideas of mutual affection as typified in the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, immortalized by Jayadeva of Bengal in the twelfth century, came later. *Bhakti* of the Lord under various names, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Hari, Viṣṇu, and Viṭhṭhala, was an all-India feature in those days. It is difficult to say how this cult spread in Gujarat, but this much is certain that the two most prominent poets of this *mārga*, Narasiṁha Mehtā and Mīrābāī (1498/1503-1546),[3] were uninfluenced by the teachings or preachings of outsiders like Vallabhācārya (1473-1531) and Caitanya (1485-1533). Though a high-caste Brahmin, Narasiṁha Mehtā mixed freely with the untouchables (whom he called *harijanas*, the 'men of God', a term later made famous by Mahatma Gandhi) and worshipped with them, for he believed that all devotees are equal in the eye of God. Narasiṁha Mehtā was a student of Advaitism and his poetry is deeply coloured by that branch of philosophy. But he was equally at home in depicting love for God in intensely charming and passionate songs.[4] Many of his poems are mystical, spiritual, and didactic, and at the same time very appealing. Many people of Gujarat are in the habit of reciting some of these chants in the morning, which are called *prabhātiyās* (matutinals). *Govinda-gamana*, *Surata-saṁgrāma*, *Sudāmā-caritra*, etc. show him as a powerful lyricist and as an outstanding exponent of devotional poetry. Narasiṁha Mehtā's poems on the love of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*, for example, *Śṛṅgāramālā*, apparently appear erotic in their literal representation; but studied in their symbolical aspect, they provide quite the opposite meaning. The *gopīs* in these poems may be taken to stand for all human souls passionately seeking union with Kṛṣṇa who is Love and the utlimate Reality.

[2] 'They who worship Me with *bhakti* are in Me, and I am in them.'—*B.G.*, IX. 29.

[3] It is generally accepted that Mīrābāī flourished round about A.D. 1498 or 1503 and died in A.D. 1546. According to one Gujarati tradition, however, her date is A.D. 1403-60.—Editor.

[4] Narasiṁha Mehtā's approach was thus based both on *jñāna* (knowledge) and *bhakti* (devotion), and in his spiritual ideas he appears to have been influenced by both North Indian poets and saints and the saints of Mahārāṣṭra, like Jñānadeva and Nāmadeva (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries). His religio-social work through his lyrics, particularly in the *jhulana* metre, is based on the teachings of the saint and sage Viṣṇusvāmin.—Editor.

Tradition speaks of the unfortunate married life of Mīrābāī, a royal princess, and her emigration from Mewar to Dvārakā in Gujarat. She chose to live the life of an ascetic and to worship her Lord, Kṛṣṇa, as an humble devotee and as a spiritual lover. The songs she composed and sang depict her passionate devotion to, and complete absorption in, her Lord. They are intensely popular among Gujarati women and sung all over India with genuine devotional fervour. The original language of these captivating songs was the Marwari or western form of Rajasthani, and as a matter of fact, Gujarati and Marwari were one language up to about A.D. 1600.[5] In the intensity of her emotion, in the sublimity of her devotion, and in the charm of her lyricism she has perhaps never been surpassed in the whole range of devotional poetry in India.

Bhālaṇa (1434-1514) rendered into elegant Gujarati the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. It is his greatest work. His other important works include *Daśama Skandha* (of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*), *Nalākhyāna*, and *Rāmabala-caritra*. Bhālaṇa has also written *Caṇḍī-ākhyāna*, a work on Goddess Caṇḍī or Kālī. He has not neglected Śiva either. He has tried to impress upon his readers that the devotee of one was the devotee of the other; they bore only different names but were one and the same divinity. Bhīma (fifteenth century), who wrote a Gujarati version of Vopadeva's *Bhāgavata*, showed deep knowledge of the original as well as fine judgement in selection and omission therefrom.

Taking part in literary pursuits was not confined to the higher caste only. Maṇḍana, a dyer by caste and polisher of silk cloth by profession, composed three very striking works, *Prabodha Battiśī* (*c.* 1480), *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Rukmāṅgada-kathā*.

During the sixteenth century literary activities were of a minor nature. Vasto, Vācharāja, Tulasī, Gaṇapati, Bandharāo, Śivadāsa, Madhusūdana Vyāsa, Kuśalalābha (a Jaina *sādhu*), Nakara (1500-1575), and Viṣṇudāsa (1564-1632) carried on the work of composition, concerning themselves mostly with *ākhyānas* based on the epics and Purāṇas. Lāvaṇyasamaya (*Vimala-prabandha*, 1512) and Nayasundara (*Rūpachanda Kunvār-rāsa*, 1581, and *Nala-Damayantī-rāsa*, 1609) continued the Old Gujarati *rāsa* tradition. There was some prose written also. There were translations into prose of Sanskrit works like the *Pañcatantra*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

THE GREAT TRIO

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed three great poets in Gujarati literature. They are Ākho or Akṣayadāsa (1591-1656), Premānanda Bhaṭṭa (1636-1734), and Sāmala or Śyāmaladāsa Bhaṭṭa (1699-1769). Ākho was a goldsmith by profession. He was at war with himself and the world. The

[5] *Vide* S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 235.

transitoriness of the world and its affairs, which were so stale and sordid, induced him to take a detached view of life. His satiric poems are in the nature of lashes with which he whips the hypocrites, the so-called *sādhus* and religious heads, all bent on making money or leading immoral lives under the garb of sanctity. As it was in vogue, he knew Hindi and composed works in that language also. Abstruse philosophical works like the *Ākho-gīta* testify to his knowledge of the Vedānta. His ideal was the final beatitude, the union of Jīva and Īśvara. He did not claim to be a learned man, and saw no use for Sanskrit if the masses had to be reached. Prakrit or the people's language—in this case Gujarati as it had developed—found a strong advocate in him. Ākho, who did not consider himself to be a poet, struck out a new path for himself in both subject-matter and language. His style is simple and direct. His other important works expounding the Vedāntic philosophy include *Citta-vicāra-saṁvāda* and *Anubhava-bindu.*

The most outstanding figure of the period under review was, however, Premānanda Bhaṭṭa who raised the language and literature of Gujarat at one bound to great heights and removed from them the stigma of being plebian. He composed many *ākhyānas* on Purāṇic and non-Purāṇic subjects. His portraits are so vivid and his language is so lucid, charming, rich, and vigorous in depicting all phases of human nature—joy, misery, terror, courage, humour, and tranquillity—that no other Gujarati poet has been able to match him, not to speak of surpassing him. The lament of Yaśodā when Kṛṣṇa disappears into the Yamunā, the taunts administered by his wife Mandodarī and his brother Kumbhakarṇa to Rāvaṇa, the parting scene between Damayantī and her children, the sarcastic way in which Sudāmā's wife ridicules her husband's unwillingness to seek help from Kṛṣṇa, the humour of the scenes where poverty-stricken Narasiṁha Mehtā has to meet the aristocratic *nagara* (city) ladies and their contempt for him, are real gems of Gujarati literature. His works are popular even now, and poems like *Okhā-haraṇa* are recited by Gujarati women in the month of Caitra as an act of devotion. Premānanda needs to be read in the original to be fully appreciated. He had to his credit as many as forty authentic works. Apart from *Okhā-haraṇa*, the particularly noteworthy ones are: *Raṇayajña, Nalākhyāna, Abhimanyu-ākhyāna, Daśama Skandha, Sudāmā-caritra,* and *Sudhanvākhyāna.*

Sāmala Bhaṭṭa, third poet of this distinguished trio, found suitable expression for his poetic genius in romantic narratives. He is a past master in lucid and facile narration spiced with riddles and commonplace maxims of worldly wisdom. His versified stories fall into two categories, narrative and didactic. His narrative poems contain stories within stories. His estimate of women is condemnatory or laudatory as suits the occasion. Dancing women are introduced in his stories, but they are like aspasias and designed to help

his heroes and heroines by their ingenuity and skill. His poems are not subservient to religion. He was well versed in Sanskrit and Persian. Sāmala, who by profession was a story-teller, wrote profusely. Some of his important works are *Batriśa-putali*, *Padmāvatī*, *Nanda-batriśī*, *Simhāsana-batriśī*, and *Madana-Mohanā*. A dozen other minor poets (including the Jains) wrote narrative poems on various subjects during the seventeenth century, but none of them betrays any marked ability.

Parsi poets also had absorbed the spirit of the times and utilized the language and mannerisms then in vogue for propaganda, especially for their sacred books. Ervand Rustumi Peshotan was one of them. He wrote *namas* or chronicles, *Zarthustnama* (1674) and two others, one in 1651 and the other in 1681. He knew many languages—Sanskrit, Gujarati, Persian, Avestan, and Pahalvi. He described contemporary manners and social canons in his chronicles.

The following century (eighteenth) witnessed the rise of the Maratha power in Gujarat. The quality of literature was inferior and sectarian except for the works of Dhīra Bhagat, Niranta Bhagat, Bhoja Bhagat, and four or five poetesses like Divālī Bāī of the Nārāyaṇa sect, who preached austerity and purity of life for *sādhus*. Dayaram (1767-1852), a follower of the Vallabhācārya school of Vaiṣṇavism and a brilliant author, eclipsed all the writers of his period. He was the last great name in the Middle Gujarati tradition and a link between the old and the new. He was a talented musician and a gifted writer of *garbīs* (lyrics), depicting the episodes of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. These love-lyrics of unique charm are sung by Gujarati women at various festivals in public. Dayaram was a devoted Vaiṣṇava, and knew Braja-bhāṣā and Hindi in which he composed his *Satsaiya*.[6] His work is divided into three parts, religious, ethical, and erotic. His *garbīs* belong to the last category and resemble the *ghazals* of Persian Sufi poets like Hafiz and Rumi in their romantic fervour. His forte is his language. Of his most important works the following may be mentioned: *Bhakti-poṣaṇa*, *Rasika-vallabha*, and *Ajāmila-ākhyāna*. Giridhara (1787-1852) in his *Rāmāyaṇa* attempted to write in the *ākhyāna* tradition.

The Middle period in Gujarati literature is a period of Purāṇic revival, and throughout the long four centuries, from the second half of the fifteenth to the first half of the nineteenth, the tradition of the *ākhyāna* had a widespread vogue. Time and again men of literary genius sought to engross themselves in the treasures of the Purāṇic heritage and distribute them to the people through a medium they could enjoy and appreciate. Gujarat, too, has its own indigenous folk-literature full of adventure, sacrifice, and heroism. It is remarkable for the picture it presents of the social life of the people in those days.

[6] There is considerable influence of Braja-bhāṣā on his writings, particularly of the works of the *Aṣṭachāpa* followers of Vallabhācārya.

MODERN PERIOD

Roughly speaking, the Modern period begins from 1850 when the influence of Western education began to permeate all the major languages of the country: Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, etc. Bengal was the first to come under its influence. The development of each of them in consequence of this common ruling factor proceeded on similar lines. In 1820 schools were opened in Bombay and outside for the teaching of Gujarati and Marathi; suitable text-books were prepared, and teachers were trained to impart education through them. This rudimentary or elementary education given in the mother tongue gradually led to the establishment of colleges having English as the medium of instruction, and the foundation of Bombay University in 1857, which was indeed a great landmark in the history of modern Gujarati life and culture. As a result, a number of highly qualified writers sprang up, who strove to stimulate almost all branches of literature—prose, poetry, drama, and fiction—as well as history, science, and art. Pioneer work was done by Hindus and Parsis alike. Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai and Dadabhai Naoroji are typical examples of this. Young men pledged themselves to carry on the pursuit of knowledge and bring about social reforms. Social reformers like Durgaram Mehtaji, Mahipatram Rupram, Sorabji Bengali, and Naoroji Fardunji did a great deal towards solving the problems of illiteracy, untouchability, sectarianism, traditionalism, and the like. Sympathetic Englishmen like Lord Mountstuart Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay), A. K. Forbes (Judge of the High Court), and Sir Theodore Hope (Head of the Education Department) guided them, and their efforts met with success.

Dalpatram Dahyabhai (1820-98) and Narmadashankar (1833-86) are considered to be the pioneers of modern Gujarati literature. Both of them wrote poetry, but they did not eschew prose. The former was orthodox in his outlook and the latter was radical, or rather, rebellious. The volume of poetry written by them on various subjects is enormous. Though both advocated social reform, their approach was not similar. Dalpatram was slow and steady and conservative by temperament, but Narmadashankar or Narmad was egotistic, courageous, and a social revolutionary, advocating instant eradication of all social evils. Dalpatram had not come under the influence of English education, though he was a great friend of A. K. Forbes.[7] He was fond of Sanskrit metres and his success in handling Sanskrit metres with consummate artistic skill encouraged the progress of Gujarati poetry written in classical style. He was a master of humour and wit. His poems supporting social reforms did great service in modernizing the mind of the land. The miseries of young widows deeply affected him and he was inspired to improve the lot of these unfortunate women by

[7] Dalpatram wrote an elegiac poem on the death of Forbes, *Forbes-viraha* (1865). This may be taken as probably the first elegy of the English type in Gujarati.

means of propaganda in verse. *Vena-caritra* is one such poem. The same social evil kindled the poetic genius of Narmad. Narmad had studied English and hence he differed from Dalpatram in his outlook. He wrote a history of the world and published a Gujarati dictionary (*Narmakoṣa*) and a work on *alaṅkāra-śāstra* (poetics). Both were patriotic, but Narmad's verses exalting Gujarat are still the proud possession of every Gujarati and are sung on all public occasions. His last days were unhappy, and from being a free lance he became a convert to orthodox views as is evident from his *Dharmavicāra*. He was a subjective poet, and a writer of drama too. His outstanding contributions to Gujarati literature are his autobiography, essays, and poems—all intensely personal and patriotic.[8] Narmad is known as the father of modern Gujarati prose. Poor as it was before him, he enriched it considerably.

Bholanath Sarabhai (1822-86) was a devotional poet and though not exactly a Brāhmo Samājist, he modelled his verses in the spirit of the Brāhmo Samāj in furtherance of the cult of *ekeśvaravāda* (monotheism). *Īśvara Prārthanāmālā* (1872) is a collection of his poems. His son Narsimharao Divatia (1859-1937) was a distinguished poet who derived his inspiration from Tennyson and other English poets, besides being a sound and fearless critic and a profound scholar. His most outstanding poem is *Smaraṇa Saṁhitā*, an elegy reminiscent of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. His four other volumes of poems written between 1887 and 1935 are *Kusumamālā*, *Hṛdayavīṇā*, *Nūpura-jhaṅkāra*, and *Buddha-carita*. He has found many followers. Dalpatram's son Nanalal (1877-1946) wrote a great number of poems and that too in such a charming romantic style that he has been called 'the Poet Laureate of Gujarat'. His compositions in blank verse have struck a new path and attracted many imitators. He described them as *apadyā gadya* or rhyming prose. Nanalal's first poem in this style is *Vasantotsava* (1898). His *Citra-darśana* (1921) is a collection of several poems presented as pictures.[9] He attempted to write an epic of the Miltonic type in his *Kurukṣetra*. His plays, composed in the same style, are so full of feeling and liveliness that they have found a permanent place in the hearts of men and women of Gujarat. Some of his plays are *Indukumāra*, *Jaya-jayanta* (1914), *Viśva-gīta* (1927), *Saṅghamitrā* (1931), and *Jagat-preraṇā* (1943). The second is a unique lyrical piece.

Poetry also found devotees, and distinguished ones at that, in the Parsi

[8] Narmad also attempted other varieties of poetry, viz. narrative, nature, and epic. Mention may be made of *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, *Vana-varṇana*, and *Vīrasiṁha*. He adapted a few English poems into Gujarati, for example, *Lalitā* (Wordsworth's *Lucy Gray*).

[9] Dr U. M. Maniar rightly observes: 'This (volume) would have been an attempt at Pre-Raphaelite style of writing poetry, but since the poet's aim here is to present Truth as it is and since the poet would not accept "word-pictures" as synonymous with poetry, the whole attempt generally results only in subjective lyricism with emphasis on Tennysonian picturesqueness.' (Cf. *The Influence of English on Gujarati Poetry*, p. 149).—Editor.

community. Two outstanding writers from this community were Behramji M. Malabari (1863-1912) and Ardeshir Faramji Khabardar (1882-1953). A journalist of note, Malabari made his mark both as a prose writer and as a poet. Khabardar, both a philosopher and a poet,[10] got his inspiration from Dalpatram and to a certain extent from Malabari. Manilal Nabhubhai, Balashankar Kantharia, and Dahyabhai Derasari were inclined towards mysticism in poetry. The first two are well known for their *ghazals* composed after the style of the Persian Sufis. Manishankar Ratanji Bhatt 'Kānta' (1867-1923), Surasimhji Gohil 'Kalāpī' (1874-1900), and Balwantrai K. Thakore (1869-1952) are noted poets. Manishankar was a good prose writer too. He has written plays and essays. But he is almost unparalleled as a poet. He introduced a new form in poetry, *khaṇḍa-kāvya*,[11] and used it with great artistic skill and dramatic intensity. Surasimhji Gohil, the poet-prince of Lathi State in Kathiawad, lived a very short life of twenty-six years. He wrote letters, dialogues, a novel, and also a book about his travels in Kashmir. But he is best known as a poet. His poems are full of subjective intensity. Poetry came to him as naturally as a tear or a sigh. He lacked artistic finesse, but could infuse new spirit in simple words and give new charm to ordinary expressions. Balwantrai K. Thakore has given new dimensions to Gujarati poetry. *Bhanakara*, in which all his poems have been collected, is his most significant work and a landmark in the history of modern Gujarati poetry. It marked certain far-reaching changes in the traditional poetic taste. He cultivated the sonnet form with rare skill and understanding. He believed that poetic form had its own existence, independent of music and not subservient to it. He has written some beautiful lyrics that are characterized by complete harmony of sound and sense. He never allows his emotion to overpower him but restrains it and blends it with poetic thought. His style is absolutely unorthodox, and it is vigorous and fresh. Other eminent poets of modern Gujarati literature are Umashankar Joshi, Sundarram, and Sundarji Betai. Umashankar has depicted nature in her various moods and in a style which is highly lyrical. Sundarram's poems are marked by the author's deep involvement with the realm of spirit and philosophy. The poems of Betai are sober in tone and dignified in restraint. Mention must be made of some of the recent poets: Rajendra Shah, Niranjan Bhagat, Benibhai Purohit, and Balmukund Dave.

Prose writing in Gujarat underwent certain changes and passed through at least two phases. Narmadashankar's prose was different from the so-called cultured or Sanskritized prose of Mansukhram Tripathi who wanted to

[10] Some of his collections of poems are: *Kāvya-rasikā* (1901), *Vilāsikā* (1905), *Prakāśikā* (1908), *Sandeśikā* (1925), *Bhajanikā* (1928), *Kalyānikā* (1940), and *Nandinikā* (1940). His *Kalikā* (1926) is a long love poem consisting of 365 stanzas.

[11] Some of his attempts in this new poetic form are: *Devayānī*, *Atijñāna*, *Vasanta-vijaya*, and *Cakravāka-mithuna.*

eliminate the use of all foreign and Persian words. Thereafter came the Gandhian era in Gujarati literature characterized by simplicity. The dominant notes were uplift of the untouchables, fight for the freedom of the motherland, and propagation of the principles of truth and non-violence. Writers like Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and K. M. Munshi (1888-1971) discouraged the attempt at artificial and pedantic language and guided it back to a simple style that even the masses could understand. Popular terms took the place of classical ones. Except in journals edited by Parsis where dialectical words predominate, or those edited by Mohammedans with an excess of Urdu and Persian words, Gujarati prose is now simple, clear, and elegant characterized by remarkable pointedness and precision. The credit for this wholesome change goes to Gandhiji. Two outstanding works of Gandhiji, *Dakṣiṇa Āphrikānā Satyāgrahano Itihāsa* and *Ātmakathā*, deserve to be ranked among the great classics of the world. Munshi was an outstanding stylist in prose and one of the most towering literary figures in Gujarati in the present age. Though his versatile creative genius produced quite a voluminous mass of literature including the drama, the essay, the short story, and the novel, the last is his forte. Among his novels mention may be made of *Gujarāṭa-no Nātha* (1918-19), *Pṛthivī-vallabha* (1920-21), *Jaya Somanātha* (1940), *Bhagavān Paraśurāma* (1946), and *Tapasvinī* (1957).

Play-writing began seriously with Ranchhodbhai Udayaram (1837-1923), and his drama *Lalitā Dukha Darśaka Nāṭaka* depicted vividly the miseries of the educated wife of a drunkard living under the thumb of a mistress. It was a great success. Both Dalpatram and his son Nanalal had written dramas, and so had Ramanbhai Nilkantha (1868-1928) and a number of Parsi writers; many of these were meant for the stage. A form of entertainment called *bhavai* was the forerunner of the modern drama It was performed in the open. It used to have such coarse and vulgar scenes as would tickle the sense of humour of the uneducated. Educated writers changed the style, and dramas are now written according to the standard of English plays and staged as on English boards. Navalram Pandya's (1836-88) *Bhāt Nun Bhopalun* is modelled on Molière's French drama translated by Fielding as *The Mock Doctor*. Humorous scenes are the special attraction of the dramas of Dalpatram and Navalram. B. K. Thakore's translation of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*, which has been translated also by two other writers, is very faithful and conveys the emotions and sentiments of the original more distinctly than the others. K. H. Dhruva (1859-1938) also translated a number of Sanskrit plays into Gujarati. Other important dramatists of the Modern period are K. M. Munshi, Chandravadan Mehta, Jayanti Dalal, Umashankar Joshi, Gulabdas Broker, Chunilal Madia, etc. The last four have distinguished themselves as writers of one-act plays which had been brought in Gujarati literature by Batubhai Umarwadia, Yashwant Pandya, and Pranjivan Pathak.

The impetus given by Narmadashankar or rather Navalram to the writing of reviews or literary criticism has not come to rest. Navalram's prose is excellent and his style of writing admirable. He places the reader in intimate connexion with the theme by generous quotations and then says what he has to say by way of praise or censure. The canvas at present is crowded with many reviewers and critics as dailies, weeklies, or other journals have space reserved for reviews of the books they receive in shoals. Anandshankar Dhruva (1869-1942) was a sober critic. Ramnarayan Pathak, Visnuprasad Trivedi, Vijayrai Vaidya, D. R. Mankad, Vishwanath Bhatt, and J. E. Sanjana enriched the field of criticism.

Gujarat has produced a number of eminent essayists as well. The most outstanding essayist of the age is Kaka Kalelkar (b. 1886). The essays of Ratilal Trivedi are noted for the author's Sanskrit scholarship. The names of Lilavati Munshi, Jyotindra Dave, Jayendrarai Durkal, and Ramnarayan Pathak also deserve mention for their vivacious humour.

Biography and autobiography have started coming to the fore, but not in large numbers. Nandshankar's life by his son, Govardhanram Tripathi's by his nephew, and Dalpatram's by his son are good examples. Autobiographies by Narmadashankar and K. M. Munshi and Gandhiji's *Ātmakathā* are specially to be noted in this connexion. There are also some good biographies by Parsi writers, for example, the life of Malabari by Khabardar. Other titles continue to be added to the list such as *Sardār Vallabhabhāi* by Narhari Parikh and *Raviśaṅkara Mahārāja* by Babalbhai Mehta. Three most outstanding autobiographies of the post-Independence period are those of Nanabhai Bhatt, Indulal Yajnik, and Prabhudas Gandhi. Diaries constitute a vital part of the modern Gujarati literature. Amongst them the diaries of Manuben Gandhi and Mahadev Desai are the most remarkable. The latter was given the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1955.

The writing of fiction is not new to Gujarati literature. In Old and Middle Gujarati the story was there in prose and verse. With the spread of English education the novel came into existence and at once gained popularity. Novels and short stories began to be produced in large numbers. Nandshankar (1835-1905) led the van with his *Karaṇa Ghelo* (1866), a historical novel, and he was followed by an array of writers contributing original novels or translations in which Parsis predominated, and so they continue to do. In Govardhanram Tripathi (1855-1907) can be seen a happy blending of the East and West. His novel *Sarasvatīcandra* is a masterpiece in Gujarati literature. This great novel running into four volumes was completed in fourteen years (1887-1901). It took Gujarat by storm. Educated Gujarati men and women identified themselves with Sarasvatichandra or Kumud and Kusum. It displayed extraordinary creative and reflective power and enriched Gujarati prose remarkably. Writers

such as K. M. Munshi, Gaurishankar Govardhanram Joshi 'Dhūmaketu',[12] Chunilal V. Shah, Jhaverchand Meghani, Gunvantrai Acharya, and others have popularized the novel which has now gained more freedom as an independent form of literary art. Of the recent novelists the most prominent are Pannalal Patel and Manubhai Pancholi 'Darśaka'. The short story has become an indispensable feature of magazines and newspapers. 'Dhūmaketu', K. M. Munshi, R. V. Desai, Dhansukhalal Mehta, Gulabdas Broker, 'Sneharaśmi', Jhaverchand Meghani, Ramnarayan Pathak, Umashankar Joshi, Sundarram, Pannalal Patel, Jayanti Dalal, Chunilal Madia, Shivkumar Joshi, Kisansinha Chavda, Vinodini Nilkantha, and G. V. Mavlankar are eminent writers of modern short stories. They depict present-day social life vividly and sarcastically, and at times attain lyrical charm. They interpret human values with artistic sensibility. Hectic activity is the most remarkable feature of fiction-writing in Gujarat today as it is elsewhere.

Juvenile literature has continued to develop since the days of *Bālamitra* (*c.* 1820), the earliest Gujarati magazine for children, till it has reached in recent times a stage where books and magazines specially designed to entertain young folk are published every month in appreciable numbers.

Literary societies have come into existence since the days of Dalpatram and A. K. Forbes in Ahmedabad, and in Bombay they have been formed by Dadabhai Naoroji and other Parsis and Hindus from the beginnings of Western education. The Buddhi-vardhaka Sabha, the Jnan Prasarak Mandali, the Gujarati Sabha, the Gujarati Vernacular Sòciety, and Gujarati Sahitya Parisad are some of those that have survived till now. The Society for the Spread of Cheap Literature, though of comparatively recent origin, is doing commendable work under the guidance of its active trustee Manu Subedar.

Modern Gujarati literature has thus passed through many stages, but creative art is still dominated by Western attitudes and experiments. It imitates the West in technique, style, and temperament. It runs in restricted grooves and is therefore limited in range and depth. Though poetry and short story in Gujarati literature have attained great heights, the literature as a whole is still striving for higher attainment.

[12] 'Dhūmaketu' was the first prose writer in Gujarati to turn to the common man and to sublimate the ordinary surroundings. In variety of theme, in genuineness of sentiment, in beauty of style, and in quality of poetry and romance, there are very few Indian novelists who can surpass some of the scenes depicted by 'Dhūmaketu'.

31

HINDI

NATURE OF HINDI AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE

HINDI is the standard language of a vast area of North India which includes Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh. In Hindi literature three[1] dialects have, broadly speaking, been in use in different periods and regions, i.e. Braja-bhāṣā (the dialect spoken in the Agra-Mathurā region), Awadhi (the dialect spoken in Oudh or Awadh) and Khari-boli (the dialect spoken in and around Delhi). Braja-bhāṣā and Khari-boli belong to what is known as Western Hindi group of dialects, and Awadhi to Eastern Hindi. In Old Hindi literature, these main dialects were frequently mixed with various local dialects spoken by writers belonging to different parts of the Hindi-speaking area. But now, Khari-boli or the standard Hindi has become the exclusive medium of literary activities. There are, of course, writers who compose poems and songs in regional dialects broadly grouped under Hindi (like Braja-bhāṣā, Awadhi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Rajasthani), but these efforts are mostly localized. Modern Hindi literature means the literature written almost entirely in Khari-boli. It has made tremendous progress in a short span of about a hundred years,[2] and particularly after India's independence in 1947.

OLD HINDI (PRIOR TO A.D. 1300) LITERARY TRADITION

The vocabulary of Hindi is chiefly derived from Sanskrit. But although Sanskritic in its origin, Hindi has undergone considerable modifications during the course of history, and assimilated a great many words of foreign origin such as Arabic and Parsian (through Urdu) and English. Like other Modern Indo-Aryan languages Hindi, both in its western and eastern forms, began to take definite shape round about the tenth century A.D. But before the fourteenth century A.D. it was highly influenced by the latest form of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit called Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa. In fact, it took all the metres and other poetic conventions including religious and secular styles and traditions from the Apabhraṁśa, and it can be said that from

[1] In a still broader perspective, however, Hindi literature includes the literatures produced in several other forms of speech, particularly for its older periods: (1) Early Marwari (one of the Rajasthani dialects) known as Dingal, (2) Mixed Punjabi (both Western and Eastern) and Western Hindi (Khari-boli and Braja-bhāṣā), (3) Pahari, and (4) Bihari (Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili). Although Urdu is one of the modern Indian languages, it, as well as its earlier form Dakhni or Dakni, may be regarded as part of Hindi literature on linguistic grounds. However correct the position might be, it will not be accepted by many.—Editor.

[2] Although the beginnings of the use of Khari-boli are found mixed with Braja-bhāṣā from the fourteenth century, full-fledged literary activity in this standard language did not really begin until the second quarter of the nineteenth century.—Editor.

the literary point of view, this period (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.) was nothing but an extension of the Apabhraṁśa literature, though the language was much more advanced. All the poetic forms of Apabhraṁśa including the *dohās* of heroism, love, and mystic experience, the *padas* or songs of devotional and mystic nature, the *paddharia vandhas* or the narrative and epical poems, and other such forms, have been preserved in the Hindi literature of this period. The impact of the literary traditions of Apabhraṁśa was so powerful that some eminent scholars were tempted to call the Apabhraṁśa language 'Purāṇī Hindi' or Old Hindi. On strict linguistic considerations, however, this is hardly tenable.

OLD HINDI HEROICO-ROMANTIC POETRY

There are some half a dozen *rāso-kāvyas* or verse-narratives full of Rajput chivalry and romance ascribed to the period prior to A.D 1300. But it is very difficult to find out their authentic and original forms. In almost every case, the text has been mixed with later interpolations. The most famous among all these *rāso-kāvyas* is *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* written by Cānd Bardāi, the court poet of Pṛthvīrāja (1159-93), the Cauhān king of Delhi and Ajmer. This voluminous work has been a subject of much controversy. It is quite clear that the entire *kāvya* in its present form cannot be taken as genuine. But it is almost certain that some portions of this work actually existed before the fourteenth century.[3] In its present form, it beautifully portrays the heroic life and achievements of the Rajput warriors, their struggle against the foreign invaders, coupled with romantic tales about the warrior-king. The cause of almost every bloody combat is some love affair of King Pṛthvīrāja. More legendary than historical, it tells the story of Pṛthvīrāja in which battle scenes are described with power and conventional poetic skill. Though historically not very accurate, it endearingly depicts the life and deeds of the Rajput warriors with all their glory and values. It is generally described as an epic but actually it has neither structural unity nor a definite central theme. On the whole, it gives quite a loose impression from the structural point of view. Another work called *Khumān-rāso* is also said to be a product of this period, but is in fact not so old.[4] *Viśāladeva-rāso* (*c.* 1155) of Narapati Nalhā is a love ballad which gives an account of Rājamati's pangs of separation from her husband Viśāladeva, king of Sāmbhar, who had deserted her after a quarrel, and of their subsequent reconciliation. The authenticity of the work in its present form, however, is doubtful. *Parmal-rāso* (*c.* 1170) of Jaganik, preserved only in oral traditions, tells the story of Ālhā and Ūdal, two brave brothers who were very well-known warriors of their time. They are said

[3] Some believe it to be a huge compilation of the sixteenth century. Others have discovered in it Apabhraṁśa verses which may go to twelfth-thirteenth centuries.—Editor.

[4] This work of unknown authorship is preserved in a very late redaction (probably seventeenth century).—Editor.

to be the nephews of King Pṛthvīrāja. The original work is not available now. But its different forms in Bundeli, Bhojpuri, and Awadhi are very popular throughout the entire Hindi area. The poem is composed in the *vīra* metre, later renamed as *ālhā chanda* after the name of its hero Ālhā. This can rightly be called a real *vīra-kāvya* evoking the lofty ideal of Rajput chivalry. *Hammīra-rāso* by Śārṅgadhara is believed to belong to the fourteenth century. The work, however, is not available.

OLDEST HINDI MYSTICO-DEVOTIONAL POETRY

The *padas* and *vāṇīs* of Gorakh Nātha (*c.* 1150), the great Nātha Panthā[5] teacher, and other contemporary Yogīs preaching the philosophy and practice of *haṭha-yoga* are also ascribed to this period. But their language is very much changed and it is very difficult to decide how much of these compositions is genuine. However, they are important because they provide the background of similar attempts by later *nirguṇa-mārgī bhaktas* like Kabīr, Nānak, and Dādū Dayāl. These poems emphasize the need of a pure life, detachment from material prosperity, and real knowledge, which prepared the ground for the *bhakta* poets of the later period.

HINDI LITERATURE FROM A.D. 1300 TO A.D. 1450
AMIR KHUSRO AND VIDYĀPATI

The political atmosphere of North India was very much disturbed during the period A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 when the Turki conquest was taking place. Hardly any manuscript of this period has been discovered from the heart of this area, but some beautiful poetic compositions of Amir Khusro (1254-1325), written in Khari-boli, have come down to us. Khusro was a learned scholar and a great Persian poet. He knew Arabic and Hindi and possibly Sanskrit also. He composed verses in Hindi[6] as well as in a mixed form of Persian and Hindi, though their present forms are not always authentic.

[5] There were certain schools of popular Hindu philosophy which had gathered elements from late Buddhism, from Yoga specially, and from Śaiva monism, of which the Nātha Panthā was the most important and powerful. The Nātha Panthā or the 'Nātha Way' was so called because its teachers all had the sobriquet of *nātha* as a part of their names, the word meaning 'lord or master'. Gorakh Nātha or Gorakṣa Nātha (*c.* 1150) was a great teacher of this school. His influence is found all over northern India, even in the distant Maratha country, and he has been claimed by Bengali and Bihari as well as Hindi and Punjabi literatures.—Editor.

[6] His Hindi output is small, but quite precious. It consists of a number of four-line stanzas which are riddles beautifully expressed, and some longer verses. The MS. tradition of the Hindi writings of Khusro is not certain, and it is likely that the language has been to some extent modernized. But we can be sure that he used the New Indo-Aryan Old Hindi and not Apabhraṁśa, as the day of Apabhraṁśa was passing away. He employs both the speech of Delhi (the *-ā* dialect) and the speech of Mathurā (Braja-bhāṣā—the *-au* dialect), generally in a mixed idiom. The subject of his little poems relate to every-day affairs of life, the sentiments and situations of love sometimes being described most beautifully, and the language is simple, direct, and highly poetical.—Editor.

Himself a Sufi, Khusro was the first writer to try to bridge the gulf between two powerful cultures, the Hindu and the Muslim. His works bear testimony to the general appreciation of the various poetic forms and modes of expression and the struggle of the people against foreign invaders.

Towards the end of this period, Vidyāpati (*c.* 1380-1460 ?), famous Maithili poet, flourished. His *Padāvalī* is written in the Maithili language, but his two *carita-kāvyas*, *Kīrttilatā* and *Kīrttipatākā*, are in Avahaṭṭha or the advanced Apabhraṁśa language. As regards form, metre, and description of war scenes, *Kīrttilatā* can be compared with *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. It gives a very lively and vivid account of the conditions of those days. His *Padāvalī* opens a new phase in the field of lyrical songs based on the *līlās* (sports) of Lord Kṛṣṇa and *gopīs*, his female companions. This tradition was kept up by poets like Sūradāsa, Nandadāsa, and others. Though Vidyāpati was a Maithili poet, he inspired the poets of both eastern and western regions. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar, but his main contribution lay in the cultivation of the vernacular and the shape he gave to it. He is highly honoured in Bengal, Assam, and in the entire Hindi area.

GOLDEN AGE OF HINDI: A.D. 1450 TO A.D. 1600

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era are the golden period of Hindi literature. A galaxy of powerful *bhakta* poets like Kabīr, Nānak, Sūradāsa, Tulasīdāsa, and Mīrābāī flourished during this period. The name and fame of these poets have not only crossed the boundaries of the Hindi-speaking area, but have also gone far beyond India itself.

Two noted Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas*, Rāmānanda (*c.* 1400-1470) and Vallabhācārya (1473-1531), inspired many great personalities of this period. Rāmānanda had a very liberal outlook. Many of his chief disciples came from the lower strata of society. They included Kabīr (a weaver), Raidāsa or Ravidāsa (a shoe-maker), and many others. He allowed them to develop according to their own genius. He was an *ākāśa-dharmaguru*, a teacher like the vast sky under which every tree is free to grow as much as it can. A great Sanskrit scholar, he wrote in Hindi also. Some of his writings in Hindi have been published by the Nagari Pracharani Sabha of Banaras. He believed in a modified form of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy of Rāmānuja (1017-1137), but was an ardent devotee of Rāma, the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Vallabhācārya, on the other hand, was also a very great Sanskrit scholar and believed in the Śuddhādvaita philosophy of Viṣṇusvāmin. He was a devotee of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, another incarnation of Viṣṇu. He wrote only in Sanskrit. One of his great disciples was the famous *bhakta* poet Sūradāsa. Vallabhācārya, along with his son Viṭhṭhala Gosvāmin, inspired a number of poets. Rāmānanda was born at Prayāga and preached in Vārāṇasī, while Vallabhācārya came from the South (Andhra) and made Mathurā his main

seat of teaching. There were some other Vaiṣṇava schools also, which kindled the light of *bhakti* (devotion). Well known among these were the followers of Nimbārka (twelfth century) and Caitanya (1485-1533).

This new *bhakti* movement revolutionized Hindi language and literature. The language became free from the unnecessary inhibitions and shackles of Apabhraṁśa tradition. The poets came from the masses, free from courtly formalities, sincere in thought and behaviour. They used the language familiar to the people. They were men of high ideals and simple habits. They themselves were inspired and could arouse thrills, ecstasy, and joy of a very high order through their devotional songs.

KABĪR, NĀNAK, RAIDĀSA, AND DĀDŪ

The most important poet of what is called the *nirguṇa bhakti* school is Kabīr (1399-1518). He was brought up in a family of Muslim weavers who had been newly converted to Islam from, most probably, a higher Hindu caste under the influence of the Nātha Yogīs and had retained much of that heritage. Kabīr is believed to be a disciple of the great Rāmānanda, but he also imbibed virtues of the Nātha Yogīs as well as of the Sufis.[7] Kabīr tried to bring Hinduism and Islam nearer by criticizing the pointless rituals and customs of both and by preaching that the ultimate goal of both is identical. He used to call the Lord to whom he dedicated himself by the Hindu name 'Rama' (signifying 'One in whom all are pleased', but not the Rāma of Vālmīki, who is believed by most Hindus to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu) as well as the Muslim name, 'Rahim' (meaning the 'supremely Merciful One'). His more practical teachings lay stress upon strict moral conduct and have nothing to do with superstitious beliefs. On the subject of love for Rāma and surrender to Him, Kabīr's language[8] is sweet and serene, but in the

[7] Kabīr's approach to God-head was in the main through the path of *jñāna* (knowledge). In other words, his God was Nirguṇa Brahman the Absolute Divinity without any attribute and any personal form. This aspect of his concept he got from the Nātha Panthā tradition. But Kabīr's approach was characterized also by a highly emotional element of devotion (*bhakti*) and love (*prema*). This was due to the influence of his *guru* Rāmānanda and the Sufi way of religious perception. On the other hand, the other disciples of Rāmānanda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries clung to the purely *bhakti* school centring round the personality of Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu.—Editor.

[8] Kabīr is credited with a large number of works, all in verse, but his chief work is *Bījaka*, divided into three sections. It touches upon many subjects including Vedāntic philosophy. The poetic charm of these mystic poems is ineffable. A number of poems found in the 'Kabīr canon' are in pure Bhojpuri, Kabīr's native dialect. But most of his writings are now available in a mixed language. This is popularly known as *sādhukkaḍa bolī*, or the speech or diction of wandering mendicants (*sādhus*). It is basically Western Hindi—Braja-bhāsā in fact, with *-ā* forms from the Delhi speech, and occasionally forms from Awadhi. Some of his poems are palimpsests in language—they were originally composed in his native Bhojpuri, traces of which are found below the surface of their present Western Hindi form. In a few poems he has used too freely Perso-Arabic words to suit a special Islamic context, and these can be described as showing the possibility of an Urdu coming into being in the future. Kabīr uses a rich

sphere of social reforms it sounds strong and provocative. Nānak (1469-1538) and other great Sikh *gurus* had a very high respect for Kabīr. Nānak belonged to the same school of thought as did Kabīr. Many songs and couplets of Kabīr have been incorporated in the *Ādi Grantha* of the Sikhs. Nānak himself wrote in Western Hindi tinged with Punjabi. He also taught that God is one, and that Hindus and Muslims are the children of the same Great Father. His songs are very sweet and melodious. Raidāsa or Ravidāsa, a contemporary of Kabīr and an apostle of Rāmānanda, sang songs of humble surrender to Rāma. His simplicity, directness, and high moral tone were very attractive and won the respect of every one.

There were other great saints of this school who worshipped God as *nirguṇa* or the 'One without attribute'. All of them believed in the dignity of man and oneness of God. Among the saints of this school belonging to the post-Kabīr era Dādū Dayāl or Dādū (1544-1603) is particularly distinguished. His poetic compositions have a very effective appeal on account of their sweetness and dignity which sprang from sincerity of belief and direct spiritual experience.

These poets produced outstanding gems of literature and attracted people in large numbers. They were wise but not learned, and often illiterate. They wrote from the depth of their heart in a language which was simple, direct, and effective never caring for established conventions. They were opposed to meaningless customs and superstitions and were very strong advocates of strict moral values and simple and pure life.[9]

TULASĪDĀSA, SŪRADĀSA, MĪRĀBĀĪ, AND OTHERS

There were other *bhakta* poets who believed in the worship of a personal God or God with attributes (*saguṇa*), who was for them either Rāma, king of Ayodhyā, or Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd boy of Vṛndāvana and Mathurā. They sincerely believed that God descends in visible forms to protect good people from the cruelty of the wicked and favours His devotees by the grace of His *līlās*. These *bhakta* poets belonged to two quite distinct schools: those who chose Rāma for their worship and devotion were known as the Rāmāyatas and the others who chose Kṛṣṇa as the Kṛṣṇāyatas respectively.

Among the Rāmāyatas, Tulasīdāsa (*c.* 1532-1623) was the most distinguished.

vocabulary which is racy of the soil, and he is unquestionably the first truly national Hindi writer whose writings still have a vogue among the Hindi-speaking and Hindi-using people, both for their language and their content. He is also held in great esteem as one of the greatest poets of India in other parts of India too, particularly in Bengal.—Editor.

[9] Mention may be made of some later poets in the *nirguṇa* tradition: Sundaradāsa (1597-1689), Malūkdāsa (1574-1682), and Akṣara Ananya (*c.* 1653). Sundaradāsa was a disciple of Dādū Dayāl. His principal work is *Sundara-vilāsa*. Malūkdāsa's *Ratnakhan* and *Jñāna-bodha* indicate his mature poetic ability. Akṣara Ananya's important works are: *Rāja-yoga*, *Vijñāna-yoga*, *Siddhāna-bodha*, *Viveka-dīpikā*, and *Brahma-jñāna*.

He was fortunate enough to find a *guru* in Naraharidāsa, a disciple of Rāmānanda who initiated him to *Rāma-mantra* and made him acquainted with the fascinating story of Rāma, his *iṣṭadeva*. Tulasīdāsa wrote a dozen books in order to preach the cult of Rāma using almost all the literary forms prevalent in those days. He had a wonderful command of both Braja-bhāṣā and Awadhi. His *magnum opus* is *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, popularly known as the *Tulasī Rāmāyaṇa*. This work is held in highest esteem by the Hindi-speaking Hindu masses of North India and is regarded as their *Bible*. His another important work is *Vinaya-patrikā*. It is a series of prayers in poems, and here Tulasīdāsa's humility and sincerity, his unbounded faith in Rāma, and unparalleled command of language are powerfully borne out. Tulasīdāsa combines in himself with rare grace the gift of an epic poet with that of a lyricist, a religious teacher, and a humble devotee. His *Dohāvalī*, *Kavitāvalī*, *Kṛṣṇa-gītāvalī*, and *Gītāvalī* are fine collections of devotional songs.

Tulasīdāsa inherited the best of Indian culture and literature. He was a master of diction and style, classical as well as popular. About his mastery over language, Greaves rightly remarked: 'As clay is in the hands of a potter so was Hindi in the hands of Tulasīdāsa. It yields to his touch and is moulded into the forms that his will dictates. Grammar and construction and the forms of the words are as subservient to him as are slaves to the command of their lords. He takes words and shortens and lengthens them. He twists and turns them. They do his bidding and assume the shape he commands, fitting in just where they are needed and yet without loss of dignity or self-respect.'

There were other Rāmāyata poets—all overshadowed by Tulasīdāsa—such as Agradāsa (*c.* 1575) and Nābhādāsa. Agradāsa wrote a number of books of which four are extant. They are: *Hitopadeśa*, *Dhyāna-mañjarī*, *Rāma-dhyāna-mañjarī*, and *Kuṇḍaliāñ*. Nābhādāsa, a disciple of Agradāsa, wrote a few works relating to the worship of Rāma, apart from the famous *Bhaktamāla* which contains biographies of two hundred *bhaktas*. Nābhādāsa's disciple Priyādāsa wrote an extensive commentary on *Bhaktamāla* in 1704. Bengali, Oriya, and Marathi literatures have been profoundly influenced by *Bhaktamāla* and its commentary. Keśavadāsa (1565-1617), though not a *bhakta* poet in the strict sense of the term, was another great lyricist of this age. His *Rāma-candrikā*, written in glorification of the character of Rāma, is a good specimen of his poetic skill, but it lacks the quality of a well-knit epic poem.

Among the Kṛṣṇāyata poets, Sūradāsa (1483-1563) is certainly the greatest. His *Sūra-sāgara* is a collection of songs mainly devoted to the *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa as a child and as a youthful lover of the *gopīs*, the most prominent among whom was Rādhā. He is matchless in painting the childhood of Kṛṣṇa. He is also a master in portraying the life of Rādhā and other *gopīs* and their pangs of separation. Sūradāsa was the disciple of the great Vallabhācārya,

though he came into contact with him rather late. A lyricist, he had a remarkable command of Braja-bhāṣā. One is particularly struck by the musical serenity and sweetness of his *padas*. The theme of *Sūra-sārāvalī* is the same as that of *Sūra-sāgara*. The authorship of *Sāhitya-laharī*, though ascribed to him, has not been definitely established. Nandadāsa, a junior contemporary of Sūradāsa, was a disciple of Viṭhṭhalanātha, son of Vallabhācārya. Of his sixteen works now available, mention may be made of *Rāsa-pañcādhyāyī* and *Bhanvar-gīta*. He was a skilful artist and noted for his ornate use of Braja-bhāṣā. Sūradāsa, Nandadāsa, and other *bhakta* poets of the Kṛṣṇāyata school formed a group called *aṣṭa-chāpa* (the eight stamp-seals). Paramānandadāsa, author of *Dhruva-carita* and *Dāna-līlā*, and Kṛṣṇadāsa, author of *Bhramara-gīta* and *Prematattva-nirūpaṇa*, belonged to this group.[10] But neither could attain to considerable height. Hitaharivaṁśa (b. *c.* 1503), founder of a sect known as Rādhā-vallabhīya, has to his credit the collection of eighty-four *padas* in Braja-bhāṣā, known as *Hita-caurāśī*.

The name of Mīrābāī (1498/1503-1546) is an immortal one in the history of the Kṛṣṇāyata school. She was the daughter of a Rajput chief and the consort of a prince of Mewar, but became a widow in her early youth. She then devoted herself exclusively to the worship of Kṛṣṇa. She wrote devotional songs seeking love and affection from her beloved deity.[11] The sincerity and depth of feeling towards the Eternal Divine Lover as expressed in her songs has a ready appeal. Throughout India she is respected as a great devotee as well as a saintly poetess. Stories of ill-treatment towards her and even of torture by her in-law's family are supported by some of her poems. Such treatment made the spiritual yearnings of Mīrā still more intense. Her *bhajanas* (devotional songs) are in a class by themselves. They are exquisite literary creations throbbing with a simple faith and an emotional yearning for union with Kṛṣṇa, her Lord. Several works are attributed to her including *Narsījī Kā Mahero*, *Gītagovinda Kī Ṭīkā*, *Rāgagovinda*, *Garva-gīta*, and *Rāga-vihāga*.

THE SUFI TRADITION

The Sufi poets of Hindi, who always wrote in Awadhi, took romantic tales of the land and raised them to the height of spiritual communion with the Divine Beloved. The first known Sufi poet is Maulana Daud (fourteenth/fifteenth century). His famous romantic poem *Candāyan* (*c.* 1318) deals with

[10] Four other poets of the *aṣṭa-chāpa* school are: Kumbhanadāsa, Caturbhujadāsa, Chita Svāmī, and Govinda Svāmī. The following books of Caturbhujadāsa (b. 1516) are extant: *Dvādaśa Yaśa*, *Bhakti-pratāpa*, *Hitu Ko Maṅgala*. So far as the other three poets are concerned, only stray verses composed by them are available.

[11] Mīrā's songs were originally composed in the Marwari form of Rajasthani, but they have later generally been altered to Braja-bhāṣā.—Editor.

the love story of Lor and Candā.[12] He was followed by Kutuban who composed his poem *Mṛgāvatī* in 1501, and Manjhan whose *Madhu-Mālatī* was written some time before 1550. The greatest poet of this group is undoubtedly Malik Mohammed Jayasi (*c.* 1492-1543). *Padmāvat*,[13] his greatest work, is an elaborate narrative in *dohā* and *caupāi* metres. It is one of the most outstanding literary specimens of medieval Indian literature. Dealing with the love story of King Ratnasena of Chittor and Padmāvatī, princess of Siṁhala, the poem is based partly on historical facts and partly on legendary tales. Human love in this poem is only a pretext for suggesting the divine love which is real and absolute. Padmāvatī symbolizes the divine beauty which permeates the entire universe, and Ratnasena the human spirit struggling to realize it. Jayasi imbibed the fine literary sensibilities of Indian tradition. He used Hindu mythology and philosophical terms with ease and seemed to have a good knowledge of Yoga practices. The book evinces Jayasi's perfect command of the pure and unsophisticated language of Oudh and serves as a precursor of Tulasīdāsa's chaste and properly Sanskritic Awadhi. Apart from its value as 'a repository of the best form of Early Awadhi',[14] it has other remarkable poetic qualities.[15]

HINDI POETS OF AKBAR'S COURT

Abdur Rahim Khankhana (1556-1627), one of the nine jewels of the court of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), wrote some fine poems in Braja-bhāṣā and Awadhi. His liberal attitude, hard and bitter experiences of life, and disinterested approach to reality are very attractively portrayed in a chaste and fluent language. Some of his important works are: *Rahim-dohāvalī*, *Barve Nāyikā-bheda*, *Madanāṣṭaka*, *Śṛṅgāra Soraṭh*, and *Rāsa-pañcādhyāyī*. Though he was not a *bhakta* poet in the strict sense of the term, his writings have nevertheless a sincerity of purpose and a direct appeal like those of many *bhakta* poets. Akbar himself is credited with some fine poems in Braja-bhāṣā. Other Hindi poets in Akbar's court included Narahari, Vīrabala, Ṭoḍarmal, Pṛthvīrāja Rāṭhoḍ of Bikaner (*Veḷi Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇī-Rī*, written in Early Marwari known as Dingal), Alam

[12] This work has been mentioned by the historian Badauni of Akbar's court, which shows its popularity in the sixteenth century. The story was very popular in North India. There is a seventeenth century Bengali rendering of this story by Daulat Kazi, which was popular among East Bengal Muslims.

[13] Jayasi's *Padmāvat*, composed during 1520-40, was rendered into Bengali verse by Saiyad Alaol in the seventeenth century. It has also been completely translated into English by A. G. Shirreff from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1944.

[14] *Vide* S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 126.

[15] After Jayasi, at least four other Sufi poets made their mark in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are: Usman (*c.* 1616, author of *Citrāvalī*), Seikh Nabi (*c.* 1620, author of *Jñānadīpa*), Kasim Shah (*c.* 1727, author of *Haṁsa-javāhir*), and Nur Mohammed (*c.* 1740, author of *Indrāvatī* composed in 1744 and *Anurāga-bāṅsurī* composed in 1764). The latest writer in the Sufi tradition in Awadhi was Nazir Ahmad of Pratapgarh who composed his romance *Nurjahan* in 1905.

(*Mādhavānala-kāmakandalā*, *c.* 1580), Gaṅga (1578-1617), Manohara Kavi, Balabhadra Miśra, and Keśavadāsa (1565-1617). Great musicians like Gopāla Nāyaka, Baiju Bāurā, and Tānasena also composed songs in Braja-bhāsā and set them to classical Indian melodies. The songs were on various topics. They were simple yet highly poetic and sometimes full of profound meaning.

RĪTI-KĀLA IN HINDI LITERATURE : A.D. 1600—1850

Roughly from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth century, Hindi literature took a new turn. This period is called Rīti-kāla, a name given to it by Ramchandra Shukla. Many talented poets in this period tried to write books on the various aspects of Indian poetics such as *rasa*, *alaṅkāra*, and *nāyaka-nāyikā-bheda*, on the lines of Sanskrit rhetorical tradition. But their main concern was not the science of poetics but poetry itself. They only tried to illustrate the classical patterns. For the majority of them, the classification of rhetorical devices and heroes and heroines was a mere means to the flight of their imagination. Many of them were court poets of contemporary rulers. Some of them like Cintāmaṇi Tripāṭhī (b. *c.* 1609; works: *Kāvya-viveka*, *Kavikula-kalpataru*, and *Kāvya-prakāśa*), Keśavadāsa (important works: *Rasika-priyā* in 1591 and *Kavi-priyā* in 1601), Deva (*c.* 1673-1767; works: *Rasa-vilāsa*, *Bhāva-vilāsa*), Matirāma (b. *c.* 1617; his famous work: *Rasarāja*), and Padmakara (1753-1833; noteworthy work : *Jagadvinoda*) were poets of a high order comparable to classical lyricists like Amaru, Govardhana, and Jayadeva. The poetic charm that they created was intoxicating. The dominant tendency in their verses was to describe feminine beauty in terms of well-defined traditional types rather than in a spontaneous outburst of personal feelings. The most popular theme was *śṛṅgāra-rasa* (erotic sentiment) or, to be more definite, physical beauty and amorous behaviour of different types of heroines whether married or unmarried. This poetry shows cultivated taste rather than spontaneity of feeling.

There were some poets of eminence who did not follow the popular pattern of poetry based on rhetorics. But the poetic inspiration of these writers was also of an amorous character. Their poetry was never mechanical, but was enlivened with genuine feeling and experience. Ghanānanda (1699-1740), Bodha (b. *c.* 1747), and Thakur (1766-1823) are the leading poets of this class, who could well be described as romantic poets. Ghanānanda was by far the best writer of this non-rhetorical tradition. He was a powerful and versatile poet recognized as one of the stalwarts of Braja-bhāṣā. Though formerly a *mirmunsi* of Delhi, in his later life he became a great *bhakta*. He belonged to the Nimbārka school of the devotees of Kṛṣṇa. His chief works are: *Sujana-sāgara*, *Rāsa-kelivallī*, and *Kṛpā-kāṇḍa*. Others like Giridhara Kavirāja (*c.* 1743), Baitāl (1600), Vṛndā (1643-1723), and Ghagha devoted themselves to didactic *dohās* and *padas*. Strictly

speaking, they are not poets, but, as Ramchandra Shukla calls them, are good *sūktikāras*, composers of proverbs. There were *bhakta* poets still in the field, but certainly they were not as influential as they happened to be in the preceding centuries. One such poet of this time was Raskhan, a Muslim devotee of Kṛṣṇa. He deserves mention for his passionate, stirring, and sweet poems which are popular even today. *Prema-vatikā* is a collection of his *dohās* and *Sujana Raskhan* of his *savaiyas* and *kavittas*.

Bhūṣaṇa (1613-1712), brother of Matirāma, wrote heroic poetry of a most beautiful type. His works evince his wonderful command of language and radiate patriotic fervour. But his pattern is also poetry through *alaṅkāras*. His panegyrics on Śivājī, the great rebel leader of Mahārāṣṭra, in most musical Braja-bhāṣā verse (like *Śivā-Bāvanī*) are among the most stirring things in the domain of medieval Indian poetry. 'These form,' as S. K. Chatterji observes, 'an apotheosis of Hindu patriotism in the seventeenth century, when to a patriotic Hindu everything seemed lost, and the advent and presence of Śivājī was the only light of hope.'[16] Lāl Kavi or Gorelāl Purohita (1657-1707) produced a beautiful poem in the bardic tradition in praise of Raja Chatrasāl of Bundelkhand, *Chatra-prakāśa*,[17] in 1707.

The most popular poet of the Rīti school was Bihārī (1603-63), a court poet of Raja Jayasiṁha of Amber. He wrote a little more than seven hundred couplets (*dohās*). The anthology of his *dohās* is popularly known as *Bihārī-sātsaī* and is in the line of Hāla's *Gāhā-sattasaī* in Prakrit and Govardhana's *Āryā-saptaśatī* in Sanskrit. Its popularity can be judged by the number of commentaries and translations in many Indian languages including Sanskrit. It has been translated into English and Persian also. The main theme of the *dohās* is *śṛṅgāra*, though some devotional and didactic ones have also crept in. Bihārī was a perfect master of the art of brevity, condensation of meaning, and suitable pointedness. His minute observations of the behaviour of lovers and their physical and mental expressions attracted men of culture in the middle ages. Many poets tried either to elaborate his short *dohās* in long verses like *savaiyas*, *kavittas*, and *kuṇḍaliyās* or to imitate his literary style. He was no doubt the most popular poet in Hindi after Kabīr, Sūradāsa, and Tulasīdāsa. He, along with Keśavadāsa, inspired Rajput and Kangra paintings very deeply. His *dohās* are sometimes so picturesque in depicting the fine reactions of the lovers in a variety of moods that painters could not help translate them into lines and colours. No other Rīti poet influenced different branches of artistic disciplines as he did.

[16] Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

[17] Guru Govinda Siṁha (1666-1709), the last Sikh *guru*, was an illustrious writer in Hindi. His *Kṛṣṇa-kathā* (1688), *Rāma-kathā* (1695), and *Triā-caritra* (1696) remind us of Sūradāsa, Tulasīdāsa and Cānd Bardāi respectively. Some of his works are in an old, almost Apabhraṁśa style of Hindi, for example, *Vicitra-nāṭaka* and *Caṇḍī-caritra* (written between 1698 and 1703).—Editor.

The later Rīti period of Hindi poetry produced fine lyrical pieces, but on the whole it was a period of decadence. A few poets tried their hands at epic composition but could produce nothing valuable. They painted stray but beautiful portraits of the different moods of lovers and their sweethearts. They were more concerned with the mode of expression than with real and inspiring life. They generally chose the longer metres like *kavitta* and *savaiya*, where the subtlety of human emotions was expressed mainly in the last line and the preceding three lines gave simply elaborate, and sometimes unnecessary, descriptions of the context. Bihārī and to some extent Matirāma were, however, exceptions. Rīti poetry on the whole was a popular revival of classical Sanskrit poetry and its rhetorical achievements, but only in a limited sense. Padmakara (1753-1833) was the last great poet of this tradition. The year (1833) in which he died may be considered as the terminating point of this intoxicating, but also soothing, poetic fervour marking an important literary period in Hindi literature.

THE MODERN PERIOD : FROM A.D. 1850 ONWARDS

By the middle of the nineteenth century history had taken an absolutely new turn. British rule had spread over a vast region of the Hindi-speaking area. It had brought to India not only a foreign rule, the like of which had never been experienced by the Indian people, but also new ideas and new values. The printing press was introduced which revolutionized literature. A new kind of liberal education was also introduced which gradually exerted the most far-reaching influence on the minds of newly educated young men. Calcutta became the centre of these activities. From the stand-point of Hindi literature, the most important phenomenon was the evolution of Khari-boli prose, a most promising vehicle for new ideas and a variety of subjects. Khari-boli had already been used for poetry and prose but never on such a large scale. This language had been widely used in the western region of the Hindi-speaking area for religious and philosophical discourses. Some of the *nirguṇa-mārgī* poets had already composed fine verses in it. Ramprasad Niranjani, Pandit Daulatram, and, above all, Munshi Sadasukhlal Niyaz are some of the pioneers writing in Sanskritized Khari-boli Hindi which has become very popular afterwards. Recent researches by Dr Rajguru have brought to light some good specimens of early Khari-boli prose from the Punjab. The more prominent among the newly discovered writers are Sodhi Mihirban (1640-80), Harijī (1680-1720), and Dial Anemi (1720-75). Their works are, however, written in Gurumukhī script.

Broadly speaking, the modern epoch of Hindi literature began with the dawn of the nineteenth century, but during the first half of the century progress was very slow. The Baptist Mission, an organization of the early nineteenth century, established a printing press at Serampore near Calcutta for the purpose of publishing translations of the *Bible* in Indian languages under the guidance of

William Carey. It published the Hindi translations of the *Bible* in Khari-boli prose. Fort William College in Calcutta founded in 1800 became a big centre of activities for Hindi literature. Two teachers (*munsis*) of Fort William College, Pandit Lalluji Lal (1763-1835) of Agra and Pandit Sadal Mishra of Arrah (Bihar), published their Khari-boli prose classics which became immensely popular. The language of *Prema-sāgara* (1803) of Lalluji Lal was not free from the Braja-bhāṣā influence, but Sadal Mishra's *Nāsiketopākhyāna* (based on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*) was less affected. In the twenties of the nineteenth century, Hindi journalism also came into the field. Pandit Jugalkishore Mishra of Kanpur started from Calcutta *Udant Mārtaṇḍa* (1826), the first known Hindi weekly. It continued only for nine months. Two other later Hindi journals are: *Sudhākara* (1850) from Banaras and *Buddhi-prakāśa* (1856) from Agra. The School Book Society of Agra (set up about 1833) did a great service for Hindi prose by publishing many Hindi text-books on different subjects, and by 1857, the year of the great Indian revolt against British rule, Hindi prose had taken a definite shape, though hardly any work of high literary value was produced. In fact, the first half of the nineteenth century is a period of translation. Though for prose Khari-boli was gradually being standardized in these years, for poetry Braja-bhāṣā was still in full force.

It should be remembered, however, that Hindi had to face opposition from the officially patronized Urdu, its Persianized form. Urdu was a highly polished and urbanized language associated with the courts. The new Hindi prose had more buoyancy and elasticity which was necessary for absorbing new ideas; though far less polished than Urdu, it had a vigorous vitality and adaptability and, once established, it took great strides.

'BHĀRATENDU' HARISHCHANDRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After a lull of half a century 'Bhāratendu' Harishchandra (1850-83) of Banaras, father of modern Hindi literature, appeared on the scene. He was a versatile genius and attracted brilliant men of letters around him. He wrote poems, dramas, novels, and stories and also translated from Sanskrit, Bengali, and English. Before 'Bhāratendu', Raja Shivprasad (1823-95) and Raja Lakshman Singh (1826-96) had contributed some noteworthy literary works. Raja Shivprasad was the advocate of Persianized Hindi in Devanāgarī script while Raja Lakshman Singh believed that Hindi and Urdu are two different languages and favoured Sanskritized Hindi. The latter brought out his translation of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* and other works which earned for him some reputation. 'Bhāratendu' Harishchandra favoured the line of Raja Lakshman Singh. Very soon a powerful group of writers like Radhakrishna Das, Pratapnarayan Mishra (1856-94), Balkrishna Bhatta (1844-1914), Badrinarayan Chaudhuri 'Premaghana' and Sudhakar Dwivedi clustered around

him. They were full of enthusiasm and activity. They wrote in the language of the people, in the style easily understandable to them. They produced personal essays, humorous and satirical writings, dramas, farces, skits, and reviews and at the same time translated Sanskrit, Bengali, and English works into Hindi. Pandit Shraddharam Phillauri of the Punjab and Lala Shriniwas Das (1851-87) of Mathurā became pioneers in writing original novels. These writers hailed the new ideas of the modern age, with reservations, of course. They were Indians from top to toe. They believed in blending the best of traditional and modern values with an Indian bias. The literary output of 'Bhāratendu' and his colleagues was, to quote the words of S. H. Vatsyayan, 'substantial in quantity, varied in content, universal in appeal and compelling in tone, if not always flawless in quality'.[18] In the post-'Bhāratendu' period Hindi writers freely translated from Bengali and received new light through this language. Even the diction, idioms and structure of the Hindi language were influenced by Bengali. But by the end of the nineteenth century direct contact with English became more prominent and the influence of Bengali gradually began to fade. There was a tendency to look to the polished Urdu language for idioms and also for fluency, but that too faded at the beginning of the twentieth century.

NEO-HINDI CLASSICISM : DWIVEDI YUGA

Mahavirprasad Dwivedi (1868-1938), rightly regarded as the architect of modern Hindi prose, was the editor of *Sarasvatī* (1903-20), a literary magazine, originally initiated by Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras and published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. His own contribution to literature, though substantial, was not of very high merit. But his honest and sincere efforts and strong and incorruptible personal character inspired many talented writers, including Maithili Sharan Gupta (1886-1966). He pleaded strongly for the acceptance of Khari-boli Hindi for both prose and poetry. So far, Braja-bhāṣā had been generally used for poetry. Many powerful poets, like Maithili Sharan Gupta, Pandit Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay (1865-1946), Nathuram Sharma Shankar, Ramcharit Upadhyay, and Ramnaresh Tripathi wrote poetry in Khari-boli successfully and convincingly. Among these poets Maithili Sharan Gupta is very prominent. His poems of national glory inspired at least two generations. He is a versatile genius and, although he lacks lyrical talent, is a master of narrative verse. He was the true representative of the average enlightened Indian not unduly influenced by foreign ideas, but always prepared to accept the light of modern thought provided it suited Indian conditions. He translated *Meghanāda-vadha-kāvya* of Michael Madhusudan Dutt into Hindi. His long narrative poems like *Sāketa* and *Yaśodharā* evoke the spirit of ancient

[18] Cf. S. H. Vatsyayan's article on 'Hindi Literature' in *Contemporary Indian Literature* (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957), p. 75.

India in a wonderful way. In this period there were attempts to revive Sanskrit metres and other ways of classical expression, but they did not prove successful. The *Sarasvatī* encouraged new forms like the short story, the novel, the critical essay, and various forms of the drama.

Some very powerful writers began to write in this period, but had to wait till later to gain recognition. Prominent among them were: Jayashankar Prasad (1889-1937), poet, dramatist, and novelist; Prem Chand (1880-1936), novelist and short story writer; Ramchandra Shukla, critic and essayist; Shyamsundar Das, critic and literary historian; and Pandit Padma Singh Sharma, critic and essayist. They enriched Hindi literature in many ways.

MAJOR MOVEMENTS IN MODERN HINDI POETRY

During the First World War the literary atmosphere was rather disturbed. But there is ample evidence that the years of apparent stalemate in Hindi literature were preparing fertile soil for the growth of literary activity. Major literary movements were taking shape in Hindi during this period. The poetic movement, later described as *chāyāvāda*, was primarily a romantic movement, aesthetic in spirit and subjective in character. It revolted against conventional metres, superimposed literary taboos, and lifeless motifs. It provided new poetic horizons and new aesthetic values for Hindi literature. The presence of spiritual elements in it can be ascribed to the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda, and Sri Aurobindo, the spiritual prophets of the age. The poets tried to look at reality from their own angle. Makhanlal Chaturvedi (1888-1968), an old veteran, had already prepared the ground for this kind of poetry. His works include *Hima-kirīṭinī* and *Hima-taraṅgiṇī*.

A bitter controversy set in between the respective exponents of the old and the new, and a considerable polemic literature sprang up consisting chiefly of parodies and satires. The rising movement, however, was not to be so easily silenced. Some powerful poets came forward to prove themselves its worthy leaders. Suryakant Tripathi 'Nirālā' (1897-1963; works: *Juhi Ki Kali*, *Parimala*, *Anāmikā*, *Arcanā*, *Ārādhanā*, etc.) revolted against the so-called matter-of-fact poetry of the day He was brought up and educated in Bengal (Midnapur District) and had drunk deep of the springs of Bengali poetry, old and new. Though discouraged, denounced, and ridiculed, he stuck to his guns with supreme indifference and carried the banner of revolt triumphantly in his hands. Sumitranandan Pant (b. 1900), sweet and nonchalant, yet resolute and convincing, was another leader of this movement. He analysed the Hindi language, its metres and sounds, and brought out the innermost spirit of their individuality. He challenged the old convention in metrics, forms, diction, and even grammar. He is a prominent lyricist of modern India. Among his important works are: *Pallava*, *Guñjana*, *Yugavāṇī*, *Grāmya*, *Svarṇakiraṇa*, *Śilpī*, and *Lokāyatana*.

Some of his later works are marked by his sympathy for the downtrodden peasants and women, which provided necessary fillip to a host of progressive poets.

Jayashankar Prasad joined this movement a little late but soon became very prominent. His greatest contribution is *Kāmāyanī* (1935), a modern epic. It is 'one of the most modern and most original poems in Hindi on the theme of Man and his mental and spiritual development, conceived on the background of an idealized ancient Indian life'.[19] His other well-known works which include *Jharṇā*, *Aṁśu*, and *Lahar* also represent the salient features of the *chāyāvāda* movement. The eminent poetess Mahadevi Varma (b. 1907; works: *Nīhāra*, *Raśmi*, *Sandhyāgīta*, and *Dīpaśikhā*) is a mystic in the true sense of the term. Her songs glorify the sufferings of dedicated life. Her sweet melodious language has no parallel in modern Hindi.

It is not possible here to give the names of all who have contributed to the enrichment of modern Hindi poetry, but a few names deserve mention: for example, Ramkumar Varma (b. 1905), a mystic poet and writer of one-act plays; Balkrishna Sharma 'Navīna' (1897-1959), a romantic poet (two significant works: *Kvāsi*, *Apalaka*); Siyaram Sharan Gupta (b. 1895), an intellectual Gandhist (works: *Bāpu*, *Unmukta*, *Nakula*, and *Mṛnmayī*); and Subhadrakumari Chauhan (1904-48, her *Jhānsī Kī Rāṇī* is the most popular heroic ballad of modern Hindi poetry). There were many factors giving shape to this new spirit in Hindi literature. The influence of the English Romantic poets, the struggle for freedom from foreign rule, the evergrowing evidence of India's glorious past, all these added to the strength of this new literary movement. Jayashankar Prasad's deep love for the cultural past and his intellectual approach to the mystery of nature, the joyful ecstasy of Sumitranandan Pant, and Mahadevi Varma's probe into the yearnings of the human soul deeply stirred the creative genius of Hindi poets.

In the post-*chāyāvāda* period Ramdhari Singh 'Dinakara' (b. 1908; notable work: *Kurukṣetra*), Harivansha Rai 'Bachchan' (b. 1907), Bhagavaticharan Varma (b. 1903), Rameshwar Shukla 'Añcala' (b. 1915), and Narendra Sharma (b. 1916) are poets of considerable merit. They belong to what may be called *pragativāda*, the progressive movement in poetry. In the background of this movement, there was the socialist philosophy of life based on the doctrine of dialectical materialism.

There was a strong movement after the Second World War called *prayogavāda* or experimental movement. It witnessed some poets of great talent. S. H. Vatsyayan 'Ajñeya' (b. 1911), a novelist, poet, and thinker, is regarded as the leader of the experimentalists. Some of the talented poets of this school are: Balkrishna Rao (b. 1911), Shivmangal Singh 'Suman' (b. 1916), Girijakumar

[19] Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

Mathur (b. 1917), Shamsher Bahadur Singh (b. 1911), Gajananmadhav Muktibodh (1918-64), Dharmavir Bharati (b. 1926), and Nagarjun (b. 1911). These poets entirely revolutionized the realm of Hindi poetry by working out a complete metamorphosis of subject-matter, language, metre, and style.

MODERN HINDI NOVEL AND SHORT STORY

Modern Hindi literature can be legitimately proud of its achievements in the field of fiction also. *Parīkṣā-guru* of Lala Shriniwas Das is perhaps the earliest of the Hindi novels. It is also one of the first original social novels in Hindi written in a fresh colloquial style. Kishorilal Goswami's *Lakhnau Kī Kabar*, *Rajiya Begam*, *Mādhavī-Mādhava*, and *Lavaṅgalatā* also attracted the reading public. But it is Prem Chand who was the first and foremost to give to Hindi literature the novel and the short story in the modern sense. He wrote many novels and short stories of great literary merit. His depiction of the life of the peasantry is very faithful and sympathetic. His short stories are most artistic and have a deep human appeal. His works of fiction include *Sevāsadana*, *Premāśrama*, *Nirmalā*, *Kāyakalpa*, *Raṅgabhūmi*, *Ghaban*, and *Godāna*. His last novel *Godāna* (1936) has been translated into many languages. During his last days he became a recognized leader of *pragativāda* in Hindi literature. Jayashankar Prasad also distinguished himself as a writer of romantic and historical novels and stories amongst which *Chāyā* and *Ākāśadīpa* have a lyrical quality. His other works are: *Titli*, *Kaṅkāla*, *Mamatā*, *Pratidhvani*, *Himālaya Kā Pathika*, etc. The short stories of Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (1883-1920), Sudarshan, and Vishvambhar Sharma Kaushik are artistic in character and idealistic in spirit. Jainendra Kumar (b. 1905) is another novelist and stoıy writer of repute. He has created some wonderful individual characters. His novels include *Kalyāṇī*, *Sunītā*, *Tyāgapatra*, *Sukhadā*, *Vivarta*, and *Vyatīta*. *Eka Rāt*, *Vātāyana*, *Deśa Kī Rājakumārī*, etc. are some of his well-known stories. Siyaram Sharan Gupta's novels (e.g. *Nārī*) are characterized by a tender gentleness. Chatursen Shastri, a powerful stylist and writer of romances, has written voluminously. Vrindavanlal Varma's (b. 1888) novels show a skilful blending of history and fancy. Of his works mention may be made of *Gaḍ Kundar*, *Virāṭ Kī Padminī*, *Kuṇḍalī Cakra*, *Jhānsī Kī Rāṇī*, *Kacnar*, and *Mṛganayanī*. S. H. Vatsyayan's novels and stories are influenced by his study of psychology and aesthetics and they are artistically superior to most other contemporary writings. His *Śekhara: Eka Jīvanī* is one of his most characteristic works. Yashpal (b. 1904) is a first-rate novelist in the progressive line. His works include *Dada-comrade*, *Deśadrohī*, *Divya*, and *Manuṣya Ke Rūpa*. Rahul Sankrityayan (1895-1963), Ilachandra Joshi (b. 1902), Bhagavaticharan Varma (b. 1903), Amritlal Nagar (b. 1916), Upendranath Ashk (b. 1910), Rangey Raghav (b. 1922), Dharmvir Bharati (b. 1926), Nagarjun (b. 1911), Phanishwarnath 'Reṇu' (1921-77),

and several others have written many good novels and short stories. The younger generation has produced a number of promising writers. Amongst them Amrit Ray, Usha Priyamvada, Markandeya, Shivani, Manu Bhandari, Mohan Rakesh, Nirmal Varma, Rajendra Yadav, and Shivprasad Singh are quite well known. This branch of modern Hindi literature is quite rich and developed.

OTHER DOMAINS OF MODERN HINDI LITERATURE

In the field of essay and criticism, the achievement of modern Hindi literature is also quite substantial. Origin of the former can be traced back to *Kavi-vacanasudhā* (1868), the journal of 'Bhāratendu', and that of the latter to Dwivedi's *Sarasvatī* (1903). Among the earlier essayists, the most powerful are: 'Bhāratendu', Balkrishna Bhatta, Pratapnarayan Mishra, Badrinarayan Chaudhuri, Radhacharan Goswami, and Balmukund Gupta. Mahavirprasad Dwivedi, Chandradhar Sharma Guleri, Shyamsundar Das, and Ramchandra Shukla (1884-1941) made further developments in the field during the first half of the twentieth century. Ramchandra Shukla was a critic and essayist of great calibre whose influence is still very active. There are a number of important essayists and critics like Gulab Rai, Nand Dulare Bajpeyi, Nagendra, Vinaymohan Sharma, Indarnath Madan, Ramvilas Sharma, Raghuvamsha, Namwar Singh, Rahul Sankrityayan, Prakashchandra Gupta, Prabhakar Machwe, and many others.[20]

'Bhāratendu' Harischandra and his contemporaries had laid the foundation of Hindi drama in the nineteenth century. 'Bhāratendu' has a long list of plays to his credit: patriotic, social, traditional, and devotional. Among these are: *Prema-yoginī*, *Candrāvalī*, *Bhārata-janani*, *Bhārata-durdaśā*, *Nīlā Devī*, *Satī-pratāpa*, *Andher Nagarī*, etc. Lala Shriniwas Das's romantic dramas, *Raṇadhīra-Premamohinī* and *Saṁjogitā-svayaṁvara*, and Radhakrishna Das's historical dramas, *Durgāvatī* and *Mahārāṇā Pratāpa*, were popular at that time. But afterwards this important branch of literature was neglected. There was a fresh attempt in the twentieth century to write plays on modern lines. Many eminent dramatists have contributed to this branch of literature. A profound thinker and a serious student of history, Jayashankar Prasad was also a distinguished dramatist, and his dramas opened up a new chapter in Hindi literature. The plots of his plays are taken from the pages of ancient Indian history and his language is naturally Sanskritized. Some of his important historical plays are: *Rājyaśrī*, *Ajātaśatru*, *Candra-gupta*, *Skandagupta*, and *Dhruvasvāminī*. They testify to his lively imagination and successfully reconstruct the golden days of ancient India. Some of Prasad's contemporaries also wrote plays on old themes. Mention may be made of Ma-

[20] The author of this article, Dr Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, is himself a stalwart in the field. But he has not mentioned his name in the above list. This he has done out of genuine humility, but it is our duty to point out the omission.—Editor.

khanlal Chaturvedi (*Kṛṣṇārjuna-yuddha*), Bechan Sharma 'Ugra' (*Mahātmā Īśā*), and Govindvallabh Pant (*Varamālā*). Writers such as Badrinath Bhatt (*Durgāvatī, Candragupta*), Seth Govind Das (*Harṣa, Shershah, Pakistan*), Lakshminarayan Mishra (*Rākṣasa Kā Mandira, Mukti Kā Rahasya,* and *Sindūra Kī Holī*), Harikrishna Premi (*Rakṣā-bandhana, Svapnabhaṅga*), and Udayshankar Bhatt (*Matsyagandhā, Viśvāmitra* and *Rādhā*), have made the drama rich and varied. Besides full-length plays, many one-act plays have been written and Hindi is specially rich in this *genre*. The beginnings of this type can, however, be traced back to the age of 'Bhāratendu'. Those who have later distinguished themselves in the field are: Ram Kumar Varma, Upendranath Ashk, Jagadishchandra Mathur, Vishnu Prabhakar, and Bhuvaneshwar Prasad. Jagadishchandra Mathur (*Koṇārka*), Upendranath Ashk (*Alag Alag Rāste*), Lakshminarayan Lal (*Sukhā Sarovara*), Bipinkumar Agrawal (*Tīn Apahij*—a collection of short plays), Lalit Sehgal (*Hatyā Eka Ākāra Kī*), and Surendra Varma (*Draupadī, Nāyaka-khalanāyaka-vidūṣaka,* and *Setubandha*) are prominent among the dramatists of the post-Independence period. The most significant playwright of the fifties and the sixties was, of course, Mohan Rakesh (1925-75), twice winner of the Sangit-Natak Akademi Award (1958, 1968). He wrote three full-length plays, namely, *Āṣāḍha Kā Eka Dina* (1959), *Laharon Ke Rājahaṁsa* (1964), and *Ādhe-adhure* (1969). The setting for *Laharon Ke Rājahaṁsa* is historical; the plot is based on the *Saundarananda* by Aśvaghoṣa. His *Ādhe-adhure* seeks to probe the intricacies of the modern mind. The Hindi-speaking area, however, still lacks an organized stage, although it is rich in film plays of doubtful literary merit.

It is not possible here to survey the various other aspects of modern Hindi literature, but there is no doubt that this literature is progressing at a very high speed. Literature of knowledge is being written in substantial quantity. Translations from different Indian and foreign languages are appearing almost daily. Writers from other linguistic regions of India as well as from foreign countries are also making original contributions in this language. All this will certainly enrich creative writing also.

Today Hindi literature is undergoing a distinctive evolution of its own life-force and it has that integral and vital self-consciousness which is infinitely more valuable than all the literary conventions of the past.

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KANNADA

LANGUAGE AND ITS ANTIQUITY

KANNADA is the official language of Karṇāṭaka, formerly the State of Mysore. According to 1971 Census, it is spoken by a population of nearly twenty-two million. Quite a large number of people speaking this language are found to be scattered all over India, specially in the adjoining States of Karnāṭaka, namely, Mahārāṣṭra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Kannada is a highly cultivated speech belonging to the Dravidian family of languages to which belong three other major languages of India, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu. The antiquity of the language can safely be traced to the early Christian era. Reference may be made in this connexion to a few lines in a Greek drama found in a fragmentary papyrus of the second century A.D. from Oxyrrhinchus in North Egypt. One of the scenes in that drama depicts an Indian court where the king and his courtiers speak in a language with a highly Sanskritized vocabulary. Dr Hultzsch identifies this language as early Kannada.[1]

PRE-PAMPA LITERATURE (BEFORE A.D. 900)

Definite specimens of ancient Kannada are, however, available from a large number of early inscriptions mixed with many Sanskrit words. The style of these inscriptions is fairly rich in poetic fancy and facile in expression, and speaks of a sufficiently developed culture and ancient literary heritage. The earliest Kannada inscription, belonging to *c.* A.D. 450, was discovered at Halmidi near Belur, the famous temple town of Hassan District. Its language shows that Kannada was by then fully developed and borrowed words freely from Sanskrit. The language had evidently been long employed as a medium of communication and gradually elevated to a high literary status. The next two centuries saw a good many inscriptions some of which are of high literary merit. These help us reconstruct in some measure the cultural life of Karṇāṭaka during the period.

Kavirājamārga (*c.* A.D. 850), the earliest available Kannada work and hence a landmark in the history of Kannada literature, is believed to have been written by Nṛpatuṅga, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the ninth century. A work on poetics, it treats of grammar also incidentally. We have here an attempt to put Daṇḍin's Sanskrit *Kāvyādarśa* into Kannada. This work proves that Kannada had, over a

[1] Cf. *JRAS* (1904) p. 399. Some Kannada scholars, however, do not accept this view.

thousand years ago, a fairly well-developed literature consisting of reputed works both in verse and in prose. The author, whether it was King Nṛpatuṅga himself or his court poet Śrīvijaya as is conjectured by some scholars, mentions many earlier poets.

The earliest work of real literary value is perhaps Śivakoṭyācārya's *Vaḍḍārādhane* which is said to have been written in *c.* A.D. 920. Composed in a lucid and pleasing style, it has for its theme nineteen Jaina stories emphasizing renunciation as the highest ideal of life. Some scholars believe that this work is a compilation of several stories culled from one Kannada commentary on *Ārādhana* of Śivārya (a writer of the early Christian era) and amplified with material gathered from Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies. It is the only Kannada prose work of the time which uses native Kannada words effectively and with unparalleled felicity.

PAMPA AND HIS SUCCESSORS (*c* A D 900—1150)

Pampa, court poet of the Cālukya king Arikeśarin II and author of the two great classics, *Ādi Purāṇa* and *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*, is rightly hailed as the *ādikavi* (first poet) of Kannada, though there were before him poets of considerable importance. Born in A.D. 902, he is believed to have written his two works in 941 (or, according to some scholars, in 942) in which he expresses his passionate love for the hills and valleys of Karṇāṭaka. His first work, *Ādi Purāṇa*, treats in great detail the life of Vṛṣabha, the first of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. The well-established traditional pattern allowed him hardly any scope for an independent treatment of the theme or of the characters. Yet, in treating the incidents and the situations, he is able to bring something of his own into his work. Pampa's fame, however, is virtually founded on his *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*, popularly known as *Pampa-Bhārata*, which is an old Kannada version of Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*. Pampa had in view a twofold objective: first, to immortalize his patron, King Arikeśarin, who is to him more a friend than a master; and second, to summarize the voluminous story of Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* for the benefit of Kannada people. The poet, without cutting out any significant incident, has successfully condensed the vast bulk of the original into a compact and artistic whole. He has, besides, shown remarkable artistic talent in handling the countless characters of the *Mahābhārata*. Though his hero is Arjuna, with whom he has tried to identify his patron, he has not failed to devote adequate attention to the other characters. His style in its brevity and power is unique revealing, as it does, his fine command of Sanskrit as well as Kannada.

Among the three Kannada poets who have been eulogized as *kavi-cakravartins* and *ratna-trayas*, Ponna (*c.* 950) is the first *kavi-cakravartin* and the second of the *ratna-trayas*, Pampa being the first. A contemporary of Pampa, Ponna wrote

Śānti Purāṇa, *Bhuvanaika-Rāmābhyudaya*, and *Jinākṣaramāle*, the second of which is unfortunately lost. The first deals with the traditional story of Śāntinātha, sixteenth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Ranna, whose famous *Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijayam* is more popularly known as *Gadā-yuddha* (*c.* 1000), is the third of the *ratna-trayas* and the second *kavi-cakravartin*. His other work is *Ajita-tīrthaṅkara-purāṇa-tilaka* (*Ajita Purāṇa*), composed in 993. In writing a religious work like *Ajita Purāṇa* and a secular work like *Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijayam*, Ranna has followed the footsteps of Pampa. Like Pampa, he has sought to identify his patron Satyāśraya, son of Tailapa the Cālukya king, with his Bhīma whom he regards as the hero of the *Mahābhārata*. Though he has given a rapid survey of the *Mahābhārata* in his work, he has concentrated more on the *gadā-yuddha* episode.

Cāmuṇḍarāya of the same century, a minister under the Cālukya king Rāchimalla, and famous in the history of Indian art for the colossal statue of Gommaṭeśvara carved out of the living rock at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, has written in prose *Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa*, popularly known as *Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* (*c.* 978). It depicts the lives of the sixty-three *śalāka-puruṣas*. His work is a condensation of the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. The *Kādambarī*, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's renowned prose work in Sanskrit, was rendered into Kannada in *campū* style by Nāgavarman I who probably lived towards the close of the tenth century. This is the first attempt and a quite successful one in Kannada at writing a purely secular work by a translator who could bring into his rendering all the grace and flavour of the original. *Chando'mbudhi*, earliest available work on prosody, is also ascribed by some scholars to the same author.

Durgasiṁha with his *Pañcatantra* (1031) stands out as a unique writer in the history of Kannada literature. His work, while throwing some new light on Viṣṇuśarman's Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, brings to light for the first time certain unexplored sources of the *Pañcatantra* stories prevalent in India at the time. The author, for instance, says that he followed the *Pañcatantra* as related by Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa. It is an interesting fact that this Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa's tradition was followed in Java. Durgasiṁha's version, apart from its value to the reconstruction of Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa's untraced work, is praiseworthy for its very fine narrative style. Nāgacandra, who lived towards the close of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century, has two works to his credit, *Mallinātha Purāṇa* and *Rāmācandra-carita Purāṇa*, the second of which, popularly known as *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*, is the earliest available *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kannada, following the tradition of the Jaina writer Vimala Sūri's Prakrit work *Paümacariya*. It is the poetic qualities of this work that have earned for the author the title of 'Abhinava Pampa'. The *campū* style saw in the works of Nāgacandra the last days of its glory.

Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛta* (*c.*1117) heralded a new way of thinking and writing

in Kannada literature. Addressed to the common man, the work seeks to convey ethical values through artistically woven stories. It deals with the lives of fourteen Jaina *mahāpuruṣas* each of whom attained to the higher life by practising one of the *guṇavratas*. Simple and direct, the poet's language reflects contemporary life. Brahmaśiva, who probably lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, wrote *Samaya-parīkṣe*, an elaborate work and the first satirical and polemical piece in Kannada ridiculing the religious practices of all the non-Jaina sects of the day. It is perhaps one of the few poetical works where the superstitions of people (with the exception of Jains, of course) are subjected to critical examination. It is indeed a trenchant but very enjoyable work. The first Kannada grammar was systematically written in Sanskrit *sūtras* by Nāgavarman II of the same century in his *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa*. Among his other works, *Kāvyāvalokana* is a standard work on poetics and *Abhidhāna-vastukoṣa* is a lexicon. His influence can be traced in subsequent writers on scientific subjects like Janna, and especially grammarians like Keśirāja. Achaṇṇa's *Vardhamāna Purāṇa*, which follows the traditional manner both in its narrative and in its style, is the first among the independent works dealing with the life of the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara.

Broadly speaking, the bulk of the literature of the two centuries just surveyed has in its content a predominance of heroic sentiment and in its style a certain classicism leaning entirely on Sanskrit. Some poets like Nayasena and Durgasimha, however, tried to introduce a welcome change both in spirit and in form. But it is the *vacanakāras* and their worthy successors that really brought literature to the masses.

BASAVANNA AND NEW SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE (*c.* A.D. 1150—1400)

A new spiritual renaissance marks the beginning of another great era in the cultural and religious history of Karṇāṭaka with the appearance on the horizon of a whole galaxy of mystics in the early years of the twelfth century. Later, their spiritual illumination conquered the age they lived in and left a deep impression on the generations that followed it. A religious mass movement designated Vīraśaivism necessitated the use of colloquial Kannada as an effective medium for the dissemination of spiritual knowledge and ethical values. Some of these mystics were, in essence, poets, too. A new form of literature called *vacana* was invented by them as their vehicle of expression.

A *vacana* is a composition which has not the fetters of metre or rhyme but has internal rhythm and movement, making it poetic in spirit, though prose in form. Many of the *vacanas* are believed to have been set to music and sung, but tradition has not handed down to us the musical form that was employed. At their highest moments the *vacanas* are glorious outpourings of the heart, expressing various moods and experiences like the yearning for, and communion with,

the supreme Being. At lesser moments they are employed for propagating morality or expounding the philosophical tenets of the system.

Among these Vīraśaiva mystics Allama Prabhu is one of the highest peaks. An Advaitin at heart and blessed with profound spiritual knowledge, he speaks in a language radiant with imagery and in words of dazzling illumination. But the most glorious of these great mystics are Basavaṇṇa and Akkamahādevī, who are two outstanding persons among the saints of any age. The *vacanas* of both of them are charged, on the one hand, with the agony for union with their chosen deity and, on the other, with the ecstasy of communion with the object of their seeking.

Basaveśvara, popularly known as Basavaṇṇa or Basava (*c.* A.D. 1150), was virtually the leader of this new religious movement. He is even considered to be the founder of this new religion which was highly democratic in spirit, though somewhat prior to this school we have a *vacanakāra* known as Devara Dāsimayya. It is not surprising that Basaveśvara should play a leading role in this movement, because he had an advantage over the others, holding as he did the office of chief minister of a State. This apart, his exemplary sincerity and genuine yearning for God lent him the authority to lead hundreds of seekers of Truth. In fine points of poetry and musical quality, his compositions are unsurpassed in the whole range of Kannada literature.

Though not so extensive as the compositions of other *vacanakāras*, those of Akkamahādevī are unique in their richness of poetry and melody. She renounced the world, left her royal husband, and like Lallā Didi of Kashmir wandered about among the woods of Śrīśaila in search of the supreme Being. Among this group of mystic poets Siddharāma forms a class by himself; for, a *karmayogin* to all appearances, he was in reality a *jñānayogin* devoting himself all the time to the service of his fellow men without ever forgetting his allegiance to the Lord.

The new religious movement, which added not only bulk but also quality to Kannada literature, encouraged women for the first time to participate in religious discussions held in public and to write *vacanas*. Women were given equal status with men in religious leadership and some of them took a leading part in the religious discussions that took place in the seminars of the mystics known as *anubhāva-goṣṭhī*. Another great contribution of this movement was to give to men of all castes and ranks a status of equality which was probably never known before in this country except at the time of Gautama Buddha. *Kāyakave kailāsa* (which means 'work is heaven' or 'service is salvation') was the gospel of this movement. One's own appointed duty performed with dedication, however humble it might be, was believed to be the means to Self-realization. It was enough if one was a devotee of God. All devotees received equal reverence from the greatest of these great saints such as Allama Prabhu or Basavaṇṇa.

In the literary field these mystic teachers dispensed with ornamental language and the traditional types and forms with which the epic works of the past were associated. For, in their view it was the substance that lent dignity to the form and raised it to the level of poetry. Harihara, a great writer of the thirteenth century, brought about two revolutions by deviating from the beaten track in both content and form of literature. Instead of eulogizing kings and their exploits, he sang of the glories of God and His devotees. The metrical experiments which he carried out make one feel that he was the progenitor of modern metres. He found that the *mātrā-gaṇa* suits the genius of Kannada much better than the *akṣara-gaṇa* which used to be borrowed from Sanskrit. And he composed the major part of his poetry in the *ragaḷe* metre which may be described as 'rhymed blank verse'. He told the lives of saints, of the remote as well as immediate past. When the verse narrative seemed to be too long, he would change over to prose in order to break the monotony. *Basavarājadevara-ragaḷe*, *Nambiyaṇṇana-ragaḷe*, and *Puṣpa-ragaḷe* are amongst his best works. Besides using this new form of his own creation which may perhaps be called *ragaḷe campū*, he also used the traditional *campū* in writing his *Girijā-kalyāṇa-mahāprabandham* probably in order to demonstrate that he could easily wield this difficult medium. *Bhakti* is the motivating force in the entire gamut of his poetry.

Rāghavāṅka, a nephew and disciple of Harihara, further extended his innovations by evolving and perfecting a new indigenous metre known as *ṣaṭpadī*. Indeed, he has been considered the pioneer of *ṣaṭpadī*. Like his master, he too gave expression to his devotion to God which has an appeal to the common man. His available works are *Hariścandra-kāvya*, *Somanātha-carite*, and *Siddharāma-carite*. Two more pieces, also ascribed to him, *Śarabha-caritra* and *Harihara-mahattva*, have, however, not yet been discovered.

While these innovations in content, style, and metre went on, there were quite a few writers who were still devoted to the old *campū* style. Nemicandra (*c.* 1200), who wrote *Līlāvatī-prabandham* and *Nemināthā-carite*, and Rudrabhaṭṭa (1172-1219), who wrote *Jagannātha-vijaya*, may be cited as examples. Mention must also be made of Pālkurike Somanātha, another poet of this period, who is said to have written several works. The next poet of mark is Janna whose father Sumanobāṇa was also a poet. Mallikārjuna (*c.* 1245), compiler of the first poetic anthology, namely, *Sūkti-sudhārṇava*, and Nāgavarman II and Keśirāja, the two famous grammarians, were all his close relations. Living in such a scholarly atmosphere of poets and grammarians, it was only natural that Janna should produce works of very high merit. His *Yaśodhara-carite* (1209) is still one of the most popular poems of Kannada literature. The scholarly *Anantanātha Purāṇa* on the life of the fourteenth Tīrthaṅkara is also an important work of Janna.

Another poet of this century deserving special mention is Āṇḍayya

(*c.* 1235) who followed the usual *campū* style but with great deviations both in content and in language. His *Kabbigara-kāva*, known also as *Sobagina-suggi* ('Harvest of Beauty') and as *Kāvana-gella* ('Cupid's Conquest'), is unique in its language as it does not use a single Sanskrit word in its pure or *tatsama* form. The poet's vocabulary throughout is either pure Kannada or modified Sanskrit (*tadbhava*), making this poem a remarkable *tour de force* for the Kannada language, which cannot ordinarily do without a considerable Sanskrit element.

Keśirāja (*c.* 1260) is a literary figure of importance of this age. He is the author of *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa* ('Bejewelled Mirror of Words'). Primarily a grammarian, he has exhibited keen poetic sensibilities by selecting excellent poetic passages to illustrate his *sūtras* or rules some of which are perhaps his own compositions. We have a chain of assorted poets in Kannada language after Keśirāja. Kumudendu (*c.* 1275), for instance, presented the Rāma story in his *Kumudendu Rāmāyaṇa* composed in *ṣaṭpadī* metre. Then comes Raṭṭa Kavi (*c.* 1300) whose *Raṭṭa-mata* or *Raṭṭa-Sūtra* deals with natural phenomena such as rain, earthquake, planets, lightning, and omens. *Puṇyāśrava* of Nāgarāja (*c.* 1331) contains fifty-two tales from the lives of mythological heroes with a view to illustrating the duties of a householder. *Khagendra-maṇi-darpaṇa* of Maṅgarāja I (*c.* 1360) is a book on medicine. Madhura (*c.* 1385), court poet of Harihara of Vijayanagara, wrote *Dharmanātha Purāṇa* portraying the legend of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara. *Aśva-vaidya* of Abhinava Candra (*c.* 1400) is a book dealing with horses.

KUMĀRA VYĀSA AND HIS SUCCESSORS (A.D. 1400—1800)

To the first half of the fifteenth century belongs one of the greatest poets of Kannada literature. He is Nāraṇappa, popularly known as Kumāra Vyāsa, who has written in *ṣaṭpadī* metre the first ten *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*. He has named his work *Karṇāṭaka-Bhārata-kathā-mañjarī*, but it is popularly known as *Kumāra Vyāsa Bhārata* or *Gadugina*. He is ecstatic in discussing devotion to God. And he is equally great in describing the spectacular battles of the *Bhārata* war. The richness of the Kannada language as well as of the *bhāminī ṣaṭpadī* were fully exploited by Kumāra Vyāsa. His skill in metaphor won him the epithet *rūpaka-sāmrājya-cakravartin* or 'the king of metaphor'. No other work has been recited so much, nor so much admired and enjoyed as Kumāra Vyāsa's *Bhārata*. Even unlettered villagers all over Karṇāṭaka have heard, and are familiar with, some touching episode or other from this wonderful work. Kumāra Vyāsa's *Bhārata* is a folk-epic in the truest sense. He is, indeed, the Tulasīdāsa and the Kṛttivāsa of Kannada literature.

Cāmarasa, another important poet of the fifteenth century, wrote a popular work, *Prabhu-liṅga-līle*, in which he treated the life of Allama Prabhu, the great mystic saint and *vacanakāra* of the twelfth century, who had by then become a legendary figure.

Nijaguṇa Śivayogin (*c.* seventeenth century) has seven works to his credit, six of which have come to be known as the *Ṣaṭ Śāstras.* His *Viveka-cintāmaṇi* is perhaps the first attempt to compile an encyclopaedia in Kannada language. Two more poets of his time have captured the hearts of all lovers of literature in Karṇāṭaka. One of them is Lakṣmīśa, whose work is popularly known as *Jaimini-Bhārata.* Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* sacrifice is the main theme of this work. The other poet is Ratnākara Varṇi. Besides his minor works like *Ratnākara-śataka, Triloka-śataka,* and *Aparājiteśvara-śataka,* he wrote *Bhārateśa-vaibhava,* a work that immortalized him. It has been written in an indigenous popular metre called *sāṅgatya.* The main theme of the work is the story of Bharata, son of Vṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. The poet has deviated from the traditional tenets of Jainism in attempting a harmonization of *bhoga* (enjoyment) and *tyāga* (renunciation), which has been highly commended by many critics.

Nañjuṇḍakavi made Kumāra Rāma, one of the popular princes of Karṇāṭaka, the hero of his work *Rāmanātha-carite* which was also written in *sāṅgatya* metre. This is one of the few Kannada works where actual history forms the basis of a poetical composition.

Karṇāṭaka now had another upsurge of devotion known as the Haridāsa movement[2] with the advent of a group of saint-singers like Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa. The Haridāsas sang the glory of the Lord in hundreds of musical compositions. These songs are a perennial spiritual inspiration to all devotees in Karṇāṭaka. Purandaradāsa has a special place of honour among the Haridāsas, as he was the originator of a system of music now known as the Karṇāṭaka-saṅgīta (the South Indian style of music as distinguished from the Hindustani style of North India). A great many of the compositions of the Haridāsas are ethical and moral in character.

Though many new forms had been tried with success by many poets, the *campū* still had its fascination for a few. Ṣaḍakṣaradeva is one of them. His *Rājaśekhara-vilāsa* is written mainly to illustrate the protective power of the Lord's name. *Vṛṣabhendra-vijaya* and *Śabara-śaṅkara-vilāsa* are two more works of his.

Among the many royal patrons of literature, Cikkadevarāja, a ruler of the Mysore Wodeyar dynasty, was not only a poet himself but a great patron of poets as well. His *Cikkadevarāja Binnapam* is an excellent philosophical and devotional piece. Another work of his is *Gīta-Gopāla.* Cikupādhyāya, Tirumalārya, and a good number of poets of this period wrote many poems which were of great

[2] This order of the Dāsas (servants of God) was built up by a regular band of saintly souls, who dedicated themselves to the service of the Lord and, singing the praises of Hari, wandered from one end of the country to the other. These saints of the Dāsa order centred their affections on Viṭhṭhala or Hari of Pandharpur as the patron deity of their order.—*Vide CHI,* Vol. IV, p. 349.

contemporary appeal. The bulk of these writings is mythological in nature. The first Kannada drama, *Mitravinda-Govinda*, was written by Śiṅgarārya.

Kannada literature has some women poets of considerable distinction. One of them is Honnamma, a maid-in-waiting in the palace of Cikkadevarāja. Her *Hadibadeya-dharma* ('Tenets for Chaste and Devoted Wives') is written in *sāṅgatya* metre. It is a work intended to present an ideal of conduct for women in their domestic life. Another poetess of the same period, Heḷavanakaṭṭe Giriyamma, wrote a few smaller works among which the poem on the episode of Candrahāsa is the best known.

A unique poet, although not much is known about him, is Sarvajña Mūrti. His real name is said to have been Puṣpadatta. He composed hundreds of ethical verses known as *Sarvajña-padagaḷu* in the *tripadī* metre, whose poetic quality is admitted. As a popular poet with an ethical mission, he reminds one of Vemana of Telugu literature and Tiruvaḷḷuvar of Tamil literature.

There is a vast bulk of folk-literature in Kannada. In these compositions of many an unknown poet the entire gamut of tender emotions from human love to love of the supreme Being has been well depicted. Most of them are composed in triplets, though other characteristic indigenous metres are not excluded. It is a significant fact that the mass of this folklore formed the basis of much of modern Kannada literature.

MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE

Like all other modern Indian languages, Kannada derived its inspiration from English literature during the nineteenth century as a result of which various literary forms were borrowed by Kannada literature. A considerable part of the subject-matter of this literature of the renaissance related to the revolutionary social changes that were taking place in India. Science and technology had their impact on the numerous works that were written. At the same time, however, the old Purāṇic and religious themes were also cultivated in the same measure as before.

Two poets are often hailed as the heralds of modern Kannada literature. They are Kempu Narayana and 'Muddaṇṇa'. Kempu Narayana has written in prose the story of Viśākhadatta's Sanskrit play *Mudrārākṣasa* under the title of *Mudrāmañjuṣā* (1823). This is virtually the first prose work of modern Kannada literature and may be said to be the first historical romance in Kannada. 'Muddaṇṇa' is the pseudonym of Nandalike Lakshminarayanappa. His *Śrī Rāma-Paṭṭābhiṣeka* is in *ṣaṭpadī*, whereas his other two works, *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Śrī Rāmāśvamedham*, are in prose. His style is rather heavy; it is relieved, however, by delightful humour often blended with exquisite pathos.

Basavappa Sastri, a poet of the court of Sri Chamaraja Wodeyar III

(1868-94) of Mysore, devoted his energies mainly to translations and adaptations from Sanskrit, which, in their excellence, read like original creations. His translation of *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* is not merely the first of its kind in Kannada, but is unsurpassed even to this day as a masterpiece. Besides translating Kālidāsa's other plays, Basavappa Sastri adapted Shakespeare's *Othello* into Kannada. He was thus a pioneer in bringing European literature to Kannada, although he did not know either English or any other European language.

Hattiyangadi Narayana Rao published several translations from Shakespeare and other English poets, and in this way a rich variety of themes (that were to be found in them) were brought to Kannada readers. Translations from sister languages were also made on a large scale. Galaganatha, himself an original novelist, popularized historical novels by translating some vigorously nationalistic historical novels from Marathi. B. Venkatacharya learnt Bengali and translated, even as they were published, the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and the works of Romesh Chandra Dutt and other Bengali writers. M. S. Puttanna, hailed as the first original novelist of Kannada literature, wrote several novels of considerable merit, his *Māḍiddunno Maharāya* being the best-known among them. In all these efforts it was of course English literature that provided the chief fount of inspiration.

Some of the modern poets strove consciously to break away from tradition both in content and in form. One of the earliest poets to abandon the fetters of rhyme (which had all along been considered an integral part of poetry) was Manjeswar Govinda Pai.

The new trends and achievements of contemporary Kannada literature do not admit of easy classification. Hence only a brief account of the various literary forms created in the present century can be given here.

POETRY

The credit for opening out new horizons in modern Kannada poetry goes chiefly to B. M. Srikanthayya, known throughout Karṇāṭaka as 'Śrī'. A professor of English and an accredited scholar not only in English but also in Kannada literature, 'Śrī' was a poet of remarkable merit. Like Harihara of old, 'Srī' felt convinced that metres of three, four, and five *mātrās* together with their permutations would suit best the genius of the Kannada language. He also realized that breaking off from the rather unwieldy *ṣaṭpadīs* and *vṛttas*, which were fashionable in the earlier generations, would give the modern poet a greater freedom to experiment and provide him with a greater variety of form. He translated some of the best-known lyrics of several English poets, inventing for each piece a metre that suited it best. The success he achieved was immediate, and many other poets of his generation followed his example. Besides his *Gītegaḷu*, a collection of English lyrics done into Kannada, his original pieces

were published under the title of *Honganasuglu*. He wrote the play *Aśvatthāman*, modelled on *Ajax* of Sophocles. He translated the *Persae* of Sophocles under the name of *Pārasīkaru*. He also condensed and gave dramatic form to Ranna's famous poem *Gadā-yuddha*.

Two other persons who experimented in translating English and Sanskrit poets were Hattiyangadi Narayana Rao and S. G. Narasimhachar. A number of younger writers were also composing poems on new themes in modern metres. Panje Mangesa Rao, Manjeswar Govinda Pai, and 'Śrīnivāsa' are some of the names closely associated with this glorious dawn of modern Kannada poetry. Their successors in this field were, however, greater poets. They are K. V. Puttappa ('Ku-vem-pu'), Dattatreya Ramachandra Bendre ('Ambikātanayadatta'), and P. T. Narasimhachar ('Pu-ti-na'). All the three were honoured with the awards of the Sahitya Akademi, and the first two with the Jnanpith Award. Nature and man, spiritual experiences and religious ideals, society and social revolution—these are the preoccupations of modern poets. The poetry of 'Ku-vem-pu' in its quality, no less than in its quantity, is unsurpassed. His unique gift to Kannada literature is his *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa-darśanam*. This is an epic written in the grand style, in blank verse running to 25,000 lines, on the traditional theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But his approach is entirely new, spiritually, aesthetically, and mystically, and hence it opens out new horizons. Bendre is best known in the first instance for his lyrics, many of which, written in the peculiar dialect of his area, have a delightful melody of their own. Extremely sensitive to the joys and sorrows of his fellow men, Bendre is, indeed, a true poet of the people. 'Pu-ti-na' with his deep roots in the tradition and mythology of the land, has sung largely of the aspiration of the human soul to reach the Divine. Nature and God are the twin motifs of his poetry.

D. V. Gundappa, who is well known as 'D.V.G.' in Karṇāṭaka and beyond, is a great figure among our modern men of letters. His *Umarana Osage*, a translation of Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*, is superb. *Belūrina Śilābālikeyaru* is a chain of lyrics describing the world-famous images of the dancing damsels at the Hoysaḷa temple of Belur. Set to music by the poet himself, the poem has entered into the repertoire of professional musicians and dancers. His matchless mastery of a variety of metres, including the classical, is revealed in his *Śrī Rāma-parīkṣaṇam*, his anthem on the first Independence Day and his elegiac tribute to Mahatma Gandhi on his martyrdom. But the poet's greatest piece is undoubtedly *Maṅku-Timmana-kagga*, which is perhaps the greatest philosophical poem not only in Kannada but in any modern Indian language. With his deep humanism, felicitous imagery, keen intellect, and sparkling wit, the poet embodies in this many-splendoured tapestry of 945 verses his vision of the cosmos, of the human world in its relation to the universe and of the significance of man's life on this planet of ours. Enshrining the poet's philosophy of

life, this marvellous poem, singularly free from all taint of didacticism, provides guideposts for man's march on his onward journey, warning him of pitfalls and slippery patches and filling him with solace, hope, and joy. V. Sitaramayya ('V. Sī'), Kandengodlu Sankarabhatta, Anandakanda, V. K. Gokak, 'Madhura-chenna', R. S. Mugali, S. R. Ekkundi, and M. V. Sitaramayya are some other contemporaries who have contiibuted their share to the growth of modern Kannada poetry. The lyrics of 'V. Sī' are lovely specimens set to music by the poet himself.

The force and beauty of colloquial Kannada were also exploited to the fullest extent by G. P. Rajaratnam. In *Ratnana-padagaḷu* and *Nāgana-padagaḷu*, two of his poetical collections, he has shown how a genuine and able poet can express diverse moods and thoughts in the utterly unsophisticated and colloquial language of unlettered folk, even as Burns, with his Scottish dialect, did in English. Homely family life and affection, in all its aspects, has been treated by K. S. Narasimhaswamy. His *Maisūru Mallige*, which was followed by several other fine collections of poems, has brought the poet great popularity.

The wave of modernism in poetry, which gathered strength since the late thirties, has swept many a poet off his feet. Gopalakrishna Adiga, a poet with powerful imagination and rich vocabulary, is the leader of this modernist trend. T. S. Eliot and other modernist poets of the West are the ideals of this school. All the characteristics of modernism, hailed as poetic virtues, may be said to have found abundant expression in Adiga's poems. B. C. Ramachandra Sarma, U. R. Anantamurthy, P. Lankesh, Purnachandra Tejaswi, Chandra-sekhar Kambar, Sumatindra Nadig, Chandrasekhar Patil, and some other poets of this school have been striving to establish modernism in poetry.

G. S. Sivarudrappa and Channavira Kanavi two poets who had started their poetic career in what used to be called the romantic style of the renaissance generation, seem to be leaning in recent years towards a union of the romanticism of the earlier generation with the modernism of the present. K. S. Nisar Ahmed is another poet of present-day Kannada literature with a powerful and simple style, who stands out with distinction for his exploitation of Purāṇic images to give expression to his own experiences.

NOVEL

One of the literary forms in which modern Kannada is fairly rich is the novel. K. Sivarama Karanta, A. N. Krishna Rao ('A-na-kṛ'), T. R. Subba Rao ('Ta-ra-su'), Krishna Murthy Puranik, V. M. Inamdar, 'Triveṇī', Niranjana, Basavaraja Kattimani, Korati Srinivasa Rao, B. Puttaswamiah and S. L. Bhyrappa are writers who have extended the field of the Kannada novel by the quantity of their works as well as by their relatively high quality. Sivarama Karanta is indisputably the most outstanding novelist of Kannada literature. His philo-

sophy of life as revealed in his novels is the direct outcome of his intimate association with his fellow men. His *Maraḷi Maṇṇige* ('Back to the Soil') is almost an epic in prose involving three generations, which reminds one of the *Forsyte Saga* of John Galsworthy. The credit of writing the first great and voluminous novel in Kannada, *Kānūru Subbamma Heggaḍiti*, goes to 'Ku-vem-pu'. In this as well as in his second recent novel *Malegaḷalli Madumagaḷu*, the unique rural life of Malnad, which is fast disappearing, has been portrayed in all its variegated colour including the flavour of the local dialect.

There are some other novelists whose output has been rather small—some of them having written only one or two novels—but who have gained some distinction through their work. Rao Bahadur among them has made a new experiment with admirable success in his *Grāmāyaṇa*, where a whole generation takes the place of the 'hero'. 'Śrīnivāsa' (Masti Venkatesa Iyengar), though pre-eminently a writer of short stories, has shown in his two novels, *Cennabasava Nāyaka* and *Cikavīra Rājendra*, that he can handle the novel with equal ease. Mirji Anna Rao's *Nisarga* is in a class by itself. Bhyrappa's *Vaṁśa-vṛkṣa* and U. R. Anantamurthy's *Saṁskāra* are notable contributions, both of them having been filmed. Bhyrappa's recent novel *Dātu* has been honoured with the national award by the Sahitya Akademi. Sankar Mokasi Punekar and Yasavanta Chittala are other prominent writers in the field. V. K. Gokak, who has tried his hand at many literary forms including the diary, has achieved considerable success with his *Samarasave Jīvana*, which is perhaps the most voluminous novel written in Kannada so far. Basavaraja Kattimani, who wields a vigorous pen as a novelist, has narrated in several of his novels the dramatic story of our national struggle for independence. Devudu Narasimha Sastry's *Mahābrāhmaṇa* and *Mahākṣatriya* are good specimens of what may be called mythological novels, while Puttaswamiah's *Krānti Kalyāṇa* and Virakesari Sitarama Sastry's *Daulat* and *Nagarada Rāṇi* are historical novels of a high order. Several authors like 'Triveṇī' have tried their hand with commendable success at the modern psychological novel too. Among Kannada novelists there are a good many women writers including 'Triveṇī'—M. K. Indira, Niladevi, Jayalakshmi, H. V Savitramma, for instance.

SHORT STORY

Masti Venkatesa Iyengar ('Śrīnivāsa') is the first fiction writer in Kannada whose themes are original and indigenous in character. Since it was he who blazed this new trail in Kannada literature, he is naturally regarded as the father of the modern Kannada short story. A. Sitaram ('Ānanda'), who approaches Masti in excellence, has, however, written very little. Gorur Ramaswamy Iyengar has, in a number of masterly short stories and essays, portrayed the life of the rural people on the banks of the Hemavatī and, with his inimitable

humour, brought to life a whole host of rustic characters. 'Aśvattha', 'Chaduraṅga', and 'Sadāśiva' are a few other writers who have contributed to the growth of this literary form. Purnachandra Tejaswi and U. R. Anantamurthy have tried, with much success, to carry the technique of the short story further. These writers of short stories infused into Kannada prose a certain simplicity, directness, and vigour which it had never known before. Anantamurthy with his remarkable imagination bids fair to carry this medium to still higher levels of excellence. Among the modernists, Purnachandra Tejaswi is by far the best writer of short stories, his *Abachūrina Post Offīcu* being a significant contribution to this popular form.

DRAMA

It is strange that in the vast bulk of Kannada literature with its wide variety, the drama was conspicuous by its absence until the nineteenth century. What is more, it is only in the second quarter of the present century that original Kannada plays began to be written. Certain mythological plays were no doubt written for the stage by erudite pandits like N. Srikanta Sastri and Bellave Narahari Sastri, but original plays bearing on the problems of contemporary society came to be written much later. T. P. Kailasam (*Tollu-gatti*, *Home Rule*, etc.), a genius if ever there was one, tried a great many experiments in drama. The intimate knowledge he had gained as a student in London of the English stage stood him in good stead in carrying out his experiments. He held undisputed sway over the amateur Kannada stage for almost a quarter of a century. School and college audiences had special fascination for his plays. A fountain of humour and a master of pathos, he tackled social problems from a new angle and created a whole galaxy of comic characters. He wrote in a language that had a great appeal to people of urban society. It was an anglicized Kannada spoken by the English-educated men and women of the day the vogue of which has gradually been on the decline. M. R Srinivasa Murthy's *Nāgarika* and *Dharma-duranta*, Devudu Narasimha Sastry's *Naciketā* and C. K. Venkataramiah's *Mandodarī* are celebrated original plays relating to this period. *Paraśurāma* of 'D.V.G.' is a lovely play which presents the celebrated epic character in a new light. Although written in the thirties, it has been published recently. Sriranga is another dramatist who has written a considerable number of plays (*Sañjīvinī*, *Sāvitrī*, *Kelu Janamejaya*, etc.) dealing largely with the common evils of contemporary society. He is likely to be remembered by students of literature, especially for his novel experimentation in the technique of drama and his preoccupation with social problems. A good many poetic plays and operas have also been written by various writers. *Beraḷga Koraḷ*, a poetic drama of 'Ku-vem-pu', deals with the famous Ekalavya episode of the *Mahābhārata*. It gives a novel and penetrating insight into the episode as well as the motivations of the princi-

pal characters. P. T. Narasimhachar ('Pu-ti-na') is the veritable king of the Kannada opera. His *Gokula-nirgamana* introduced him to the Kannada world as a poet of great imagination and matchless poetic sensibilities. Since its publication, he has composed several other operas like *Ahalyā*, *Śabarī*, and *Harinābhiśaraṇa*. *Haṁsa-Damayantī*, his latest collection of operas, has won him the Sahitya Akademi Award. His great knowledge of the art and science of music has enabled him to bring about a happy blending of charming music with exquisite poetry.

Sivarama Karanta (*Garbha Guḍi*) has, in several of his plays, tried to introduce the rhythm of spoken prose into the conversation of his characters. 'Parvatavāṇī', A. N. Murthy Rao, B. Sitarama Sastry ('Kṣīrasāgara') and N. Kasturi have enriched Kannada drama with several adaptations of English plays or English versions of European plays. A.N. Murthy Rao's *Āṣāḍhabhūti*, a masterly adaptation of Molière's *Tartuffe*, excels the original in some respects. The translation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* by 'D. V. G' is another excellent specimen.

As in the fields of poetry, the novel, and the short story, so also in that of drama, several experiments are being tried by certain writers with modernist leanings. Kirtinatha Kurtokoti's *Ā Mane* ('That House') has proved a success. Another prominent playwright of the modernist school is Girish Karnad. He has written *Tughlak*, *Yayāti*, and *Hayavadana* which are plays of great merit.

ESSAY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

A. N. Murthy Rao is an essayist *par excellence* ranking with the greatest English writers of the century like Gardiner or Lucas. S. Krishna Sharma, with the excellent pen-portraits entitled *Kuladīpakaru* and *Dīpa-māle*, another collection of his brilliant essays, has revealed himself as a master of modern Kannada prose. His *Pañcavaṭī* is a valuable contribution to Gandhian literature in Kannada. Vamana Bhatta, M. Rama Rao, S. Anantanarayana, P. T. Narasimhachar, N. Prahlada Rao, and H. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar ('Echcheske') are some of the well-known writers who have made valuable contributions to the growth of this branch of Kannada literature. V. Sitaramayya's *Pampa-yātre*, dwelling on the past glories of the Vijayanagara empire, is the best specimen of poetic prose in modern Kannada literature. 'D. V. G.' with his *Gopāla Kṛṣṇa Gokhale* and Puttappa with his *Vivekānanda* take the foremost place among Kannada biographers. The former's *Jīvana-dharma-yoga*, for which he was honoured with the award of the Sahitya Akademi, is a valuable interpretation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* expounding the relevance of this great scripture to modern life.

Literary criticism as a systematic branch of Kannada literature developed only during the present century. Great contributions to this field were made

by B. M. Srikantayya, A. R. Krishna Sastri, T. S. Venkanniah, and T. N. Srikantayya, whose *Kāvya-mīmāṁse* is a classic, the like of which is rarely to be found in any other modern Indian language. M. R. Srinivasa Murthy's *Bhakti-bhāṇḍāri-Basavaṇṇanavaru* and *Vacana-dharma-sāra* are valuable critical works on Vīraśaiva literature. Quite a large number of writers are doing admirable work in this sphere. To mention but a few names, they include Masti Venkatesh Iyengar, Bendre, D. V. Gundappa, S. V. Ranganna (who has been honoured with the award of the Sahitya Akademi for his *vacana* collection, *Raṅga-binnapa*), 'Ku-vem-pu', R. R. Diwakar, C. K. Venkataramaiah, M. R. Srinivasa Murthy, V. K. Gokak, K. D. Kurtukoti, D. J. Gowda, and H. M. Nayak.

It was the pioneering work of Lewis Rice, the great epigraphist, and of Rev. Kittel, Rev. Reeve, Rev. Bucher, Rev. Ziegler, and John Garrett, the great lexicographers, that made it possible for a host of great scholars to conduct historical and linguistic research on a large scale. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* is, beyond doubt, a monumental work left for posterity to study and admire. R. Narasimhacharya, Manjeswara Govinda Pai, T. N. Srikantayya, D. L. Narasimhachar, and A. N. Upadhye are outstanding names of the preceding generation, while reputed scholars who have made, and are still making, substantial contributions to this field are: A. Venkatasubbiah, S. B. Joshi, K. G. Kundanagara, T. S. Shama Rao, G. Varadaraja Rao, and M. Chidanandamurthy.

Rev. Channappa Uttangi and T. G. Halakatti have earned the gratitude of all Kannada-speaking people for their great service in collecting and editing the literary treasures of the past. Uttangi has given us an authentic version of Sarvajña's *vacanas*, while Halakatti has edited and published a vast number of *vacanas* and *ragaḷes* of different writers in this field.

R. Narasimhachar's *Kavicarite* is the earliest attempt to present a history of Kannada literature. R. S. Mugali's short work on the subject entitled *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Caritre* has since been followed by detailed histories which are being published by the universities of Karṇāṭaka.

S. V. Parameswara Bhatta has brought the whole of Kālidāsa and Bhāsa into Kannada, besides being a poet of mark, who has made a rich contribution to Kannada not only through his lyrics but through his *vacanas* strung together under the title *Pāmara*. K. Krishnamurthy has made some valuable translations.

TULU AND KODAGI

Neither Tulu nor Kodagi has a script of its own. Hence these languages do not possess any ancient literary works. There is, of course, a good deal of folk-literature in the two languages. A certain Appachchu Kavi of the present century has written a few works in Kodagi language. There are in Tulu quite a number of *yakṣagānas* developed on popular themes of South Kanara.

33

KASHMIRI

THE LANGUAGE

SPOKEN mainly in Jammu and Kashmir by about 2.5 million (according to the 1971 Census), Kashmiri is one of the Indo-Iranian languages of the Union of India, and an important one in many ways. It has been nourished by both Sanskrit and Persian literary traditions over the centuries. Early Kashmiri literature shows leanings towards mystic and spiritual subjects. But, apart from compositions in the mystic vein on Brāhmaṇical (Śaivite) and Islamic (Sufi) themes, Kashmiri is particularly rich in short lyrics on life and nature. There are also a large number of long poems in Kashmiri, both of Sanskrit and Persian inspiration, and there is in present-day Kashmiri quite a noteworthy literary upsurge.

In its basic stratum at least, Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Iranian group of languages. But Indo-Aryan (Sanskritic) Prakrits and Apabhraṁśa from the midland and from northern Punjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan (Sanskritic) elements.

Throughout the whole of the first thousand years after Christ, Kashmir was within the orbit of Sanskrit, and Kashmiri scholars, particularly during the second half of these thousand years, made their important contributions to Sanskrit literature. The names of Dāmodara, Abhinavagupta, Kalhaṇa, Bilhaṇa, and others are pre-eminent in the history of Sanskrit literature. Kashmir also developed its Trika system of Śaiva Tāntric philosophy, which had points of contact with the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamil land, far away in the south. The development of the Kashmiri language proper took place around A.D.1200. It is presumed that before the emergence of Kashmiri as a distinct language, there were Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa stages of Kashmiri. But there are no specimens of what may be called a Kashmiri Prakrit and a Kashmiri Apabhraṁśa. Only half a line in three words of what may be described as Kashmiri Apabhraṁśa has been found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa (twelfth century).[1]

The history of Kashmiri literature, as of the language, may be divided into the following three broad periods:

[1] It runs thus: *Raṅgassa heḷu dinna* (or *dinnu*), 'the village of Helu has been given to Ranga', which in Modern Kashmiri would be *Raṅgas hyulu dyunu.*

(i) Old Kashmiri, from A.D. 1200 to 1500;
(ii) Middle Kashmiri, from A.D. 1500 to 1800;
(iii) New or Modern Kashmiri, after A.D. 1800.

Old Kashmiri presented a language with a very full phonetic character, but from Middle Kashmiri times there were some very extensive vowel-changes, through *umlaut* and other sound-laws being operative, which changed the nature of Old Kashmiri and made it almost a different language.

Prior to the Old Kashmiri period, we have evidence of Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa both being used for literary compositions by Kashmiri scholars, side by side with Sanskrit. Thus there is a work in Sanskrit by the great Sanskrit scholar, Abhinavagupta (*c.* A.D. 950-1025), the *Tantrasāra*, in which at the end of each verse section (*āhnika*), there are two verses in some kind of Apabhraṁśa. We have seventy-six verses in all in this language, but it does not show any specific Kashmiri character. Then, again, there is another work known as the *Mahārtha-mañjarī* by Maheśvarānanda, which consists of seventy-one distichs in Prakrit (it is not the language of Kashmir but is Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit), and this work has been found in two recensions, both of which have been published, one from Srinagar in Kashmir and the other from Trivandrum in Kerala. This work in all likelihood belongs to a period before A.D. 1200 and may be immediately after Abhinavagupta.

OLD KASHMIRI : A.D. 1200—1500

The earliest compositions so far available in Kashmiri would appear to be the ninety-four four-line stanzas found in a Sanskrit work called the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* by Śitikaṇṭha Ācārya. G. A. Grierson, following a Kashmiri scholar, thought that this work belonged to the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century; but a closer study of the subject-matter as well as the language, with some internal evidence from the name and the title of the author, will go to show that the work is much older. The subject-matter of these verses is highly abstruse, dealing with the Śaiva Tāntric philosophy as current in Kashmir as its most popular faith, and it belongs to the period of religion and thought of the times of Abhinavagupta and his followers. It is easy to see that the language here is something very archaic when compared with Modern Kashmiri. It is like Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) beside Modern English. It is even more ancient than the language of the poems of Lallā Didi or Lall Ded of the fourteenth century as preserved in old manuscripts. The position of these verses in the history of the Kashmiri language is analogous to that of the *caryāpadas* in Old Bengali. P. N. Pushp, who agrees that the work may go back to the thirteenth century,[2] has discovered another work of unknown date, the *Chumma-sampradāya*, giving

[2] Cf. his article on 'Kashmiri Literature' in *Contemporary Indian Literature* (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957), p. 114.

seventy-four verses, which in their language and in their subject-matter also belong to the age of the *Mahānaya-prakāśa.*

These two works give us the oldest specimens of Kashmiri, and in all likelihood they belong to a period before A.D. 1300. Next, we are on slightly surer ground with regard to the author. In the fourteenth century, there was in Kashmir the afore-mentioned Lallā Didi, a Śaiva woman-saint, whose compositions in a Modern Kashmiri form are in the mouths of all Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, and they represent the oldest specimens of Kashmiri which still continue down to the present times by oral tradition. Lallā Didi was born in A.D 1335 during the rule of the last Hindu king of Kashmir, Udayana Deva, and she passed away sometime between A.D. 1383 and 1386. She had a very unhappy married life, and became a *sannyāsinī* (nun) moving about the country and singing her little poems of mystic perception of Śiva, the Supreme. It is said that she met Shah Hamdani, the first great Sufi saint and preacher of Islam in Kashmir, and they were mutually appreciative of each other's mystic qualities. The Kashmiri Muslims consider her to have been converted to Islam by this contact with Shah Hamdani, and she is described by them as 'Lall Arifa', while the Hindus call her 'Lallā Yogīśvarī'. Some 110 poems by Lallā have been edited and translated by G. A. Grierson[3] and some more have been collected by others.

After Lallā Didi there was another great mystic poet in Kashmir, a Muslim saint named Sheikh Nuruddin (1377-1440), who is called 'Nanda Ṛṣi' (the sage Nanda) by the Hindus. Nuruddin, who was held in great respect by both Hindus and Muslims, became a sort of a patron-saint for Kashmiri Muslims. His verses and sayings known as *shruks* give expression to his profound faith in, and love for, God, and the catholicity of his outlook. These are also didactic in their nature. These verses have been collected in the form of a book called *Ṛṣinama* or *Nurnama.* A substantial proportion of this collection is perhaps spurious. Both Lallā and Nuruddin 'anticipated Kabīr by stressing the need of an internal discipline and by leading a crusade against spiritual apathy and formalism. In their verse Hinduism and Islam speak a common idiom and make a fervent appeal for human brotherhood, social equality and spiritual oneness, cutting across all dogma, caste and creed'.[4]

Art and literature flourished in Kashmir to a great extent in the fifteenth century under the patronage of one of its most enlightened rulers, Zain-ul' Abidin (1420-70). A man of liberal ideas, Zain-ul' Abidin knew both Sanskrit and Persian and encouraged the growth of literature in Sanskrit and Persian.[5]

[3] The collection was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1923.

[4] Cf. P. N. Pushp, 'Kashmiri Literature' in *Contemporary Indian Literature,* p. 114.

[5] The *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana, which gives the history of Kashmir up to A.D. 1150, was continued by two Sanskrit scholars under his inspiration. Zain-ul' Abidin established a translation bureau in

He gathered round him a number of poets and writers in both Persian and Sanskrit as well as in Kashmiri. The most prominent among the poets of his court who wrote in Kashmiri are: Utthasoma, Yodhabhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa Avatāra. Utthasoma composed a series of lyrics in Kashmiri, besides a biography of Zain-ul' Abidin, and a treatise on music entitled *Mānaka.* An unknown poet wrote *Bāṇāsura-vadha*, the earliest epic poem so far known in Kashmiri. Yodhabhaṭṭa wrote the biography of his patron Zain-ul' Abidin, *Jaina-carita.* He also wrote a drama on his patron, called *Jaina-prakāśa.* Bhaṭṭa Avatāra, a distinguished Persian scholar, composed *Jaina-vilāsa*, also on his royal patron. All these biographical and panegyrical works in Kashmiri now appear to have been lost. The court poets of Zain-ul' Abidin also rendered *Shahnama* of Firdausi into Kashmiri verse. Zain-ul' Abidin anticipated Emperor Akbar in many ways.

The fifteenth century saw the transformation of the Kashmiri people in an atmosphere of Sufistic Islam, which was not at all iconoclastic but was appreciative of the current Brāhmaṇical Śaiva mysticism of Kashmir, into a predominantly Muslim people. The language, as it can be expected, began to undergo very great changes during this first period of Kashmiri literature, and was gradually moving towards Modern Kashmiri.

MIDDLE KASHMIRI PERIOD : A.D. 1500-1800

During the first half of the sixteenth century Kashmir was ruled by the kings of Zain-ul' Abidin's family. From A.D. 1555 four Muslim Sultans of the Chak dynasty ruled over Kashmir up to A.D. 1586, when Kashmir came under the Moguls being conquered by Akbar. The period from A.D. 1586 to A.D. 1748 is known as the Mogul period in the medieval history of Kashmir. Finally, from A.D. 1748, when Kashmir was conquered by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali, begins the Afghan period of Kashmir, which comes down to about A.D. 1820. By that time the Modern period had started in Kashmir's literary history.

During the Middle Kashmiri period continuous development of the Kashmiri language and literature occurred, but it came very largely under the shadow of Persian. Persian replaced the Sanskrit language for the mass of the Kashmiri people, and the Muslim religion also became fully established, but the tendency to bring about a harmony of Hindu thought and Sufism continued, both among the upper classes and among the masses.

A remarkable poetess, Hubb Khotun (1551-1606), popularly known among

which Persian works were translated into Sanskrit and Sanskrit works into Persian. Thus the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* was adapted into Persian for the first time by Mulla Ahmad, who also translated the *Rājataraṅginī* into Persian. Pandit Śrīvara, on the other hand, adapted Persian poet Jami's romantic poem *Yusuf-Zulaikha* into Sanskrit and named it *Kathā-kautuka* (completed in A.D. 1505).

the present-day Kashmiris as Habba Khotun, enriched the literature of the land ushering in a new era of creative literary activity. Her original name was 'Zun' (which means moonlight—Prakrit *joṇhā*, Sanskrit *jyotsnā*). With some education in Persian, she was a talented singer and could compose popular lyrics in Kashmiri known as *lol* (songs of yearning). Her first marriage (to an ordinary villager) was unhappy. Later, Yusuf Shah Chak, Sultan of Kashmir (1579-86), was captivated by her beauty, had her divorced, and married her. Her new name in Arabic, 'Hubb', meant 'love'. After the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar, Yusuf Shah was taken away from Kashmir and never allowed to return. Habba Khotun passed the rest of her life in separation from her beloved royal husband for about twenty years, living virtually like a recluse. She is one of the most popular Kashmiri poetesses, and her exquisite lyrics of love and life are among the best that Kashmiri literature has to its credit.

The Mogul and Afghan periods witnessed a few poets of considerable merit. Khawajah Habibullah Naushahri (d. 1617) wrote a series of beautiful lyric poems in Kashmiri. The Hindu poet Sahib Kaul, who lived during the time of Mogul Emperor Jahangir, wrote *Kṛṣṇa-avatāra* and *Janam-carita*, both on Hindu Purāṇic themes. Poetess Rūpabhavānī (1624-1720) wrote a number of religious poems. Her language, as that of a Hindu religious writer, was highly Sanskritized. Mulla Fakhir, who died about the close of the eighteenth century, composed beautiful songs and odes in Kashmiri.

Araṇīmāl, third great Kashmiri poetess of love lyrics, deserves special mention. She belonged to the second half of the eighteenth century. She was the wife of Munshi Bhavānīdāsa Kacrū, a Kashmiri Brahmin, who was a distinguished Persian scholar and writer. Araṇīmāl's married life was unhappy, as in the cases of Lallā Didi and Habba Khotun. The unhappy wife was deserted by her husband, and she poured forth her heart in a series of most poignant and at the same time most exquisite poems of love in Kashmiri, which are among the most popular and most universal compositions in the language. Araṇīmāl spent her life of frustration in composing her beautiful poems on love and on the beauty of nature. Her little lyrics, with their *abandon* and profound yearning for her husband, and charming imagery and lovely language redolent with the beauty and the fragrance of flowers, resemble similar lyrics of Habba Khotun and a few others by other poets of Kashmiri, and form some of the most exquisite flowers in the garden of Indian poetry, comparable with the finest love poems in any language.

To the eighteenth century belonged another great Hindu poet in Kashmiri, Prakāśarāma (also known as Divākaraprakāśa Bhaṭṭa) who was a contemporary of Raja Sukhajīvana Malla, a Hindu *nazir* (governor) of Kashmir under the Afghans around A.D. 1760. Prakāśarāma wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kashmiri,

known as *Rāmāvatāra-carita*,[6] with a sequel, *Lava-Kuśa-carita*. It consists of 1,786 stanzas, some in the two-line Persian *hazaj* metre and the rest in the native four-line accented metre of Kashmiri. The religio-philosophical work in Kashmiri verse, *Saṁsāra-māyā-mohajāla-sukha-duḥkha-carita* by Gangaprasad, who wrote during the early years of the nineteenth century, belongs to this period. The book deals with the joys and sorrows of this world of illusion and the snare of infatuation. In fact, many of the poems and songs of this period express man's helplessness, counselling resignation to fate or a quiet fortitude and faith in God. Mir Abdullah Baihaqi (d. 1807) composed a volume of narrative poems known as *Koshir-'Aqa'id* besides a religious poem, *Mukhtasar Waqayah.*

During the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, a number of Kashmiri poets wrote in imitation of Persian *masnavis* (narrative poems), and also adapted many of the Persian classics into Kashmiri. In this way, the Arabic and Persian love stories, like those of Yusuf-Zulaikha, Khusro-Shirin, and Laila-Majnun became completely accepted and naturalized in the literature of Kashmir. Some popular romantic stories from the Punjab also became the common property of the masses in Kashmir.

MODERN KASHMIRI PERIOD : SINCE A.D. 1800

In 1819 the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh of Lahore conquered Kashmir from the Afghans and ended Afghan rule which had begun in 1748. This whole period of Afghan domination was one of nightmare for the Kashmiri people, as the Afghan governors from Kabul came only to plunder money and oppress the people. The intervention of the Sikhs from the Punjab who had grown into a strong power was sought by many people in Kashmir, particularly the Hindus, and Kashmir became a part of the Sikh State, being administered by governors from Lahore up to the year 1848. This linking up of Srinagar with Lahore brought in immediately a reorientation of Kashmir's relation with India, as it existed in the pre-Muslim periods and also under the Moguls. The Persian language continued its influence on Kashmiri as before, as Persian was also the official language with the Sikhs. In 1848 Jammu and Kashmir became one State under the rule of the Dogra Rajput dynasty from Jammu, and in many respects the Hindus of Kashmir found themselves in a better situation than before.

Through the strong influence of Persian during all the centuries from A.D. 1500 onwards, Kashmiri had developed a quantitative metre in the Persian style, side by side with the native Kashmiri metre of strong stresses which still characterizes popular poetry. In vocabulary, in common epithets, and in phrases and imageries the Kashmiri language came entirely under the spell of Persian;

[6] This work has been edited in Roman transliteration with an English summary by G. A. Grierson, and published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1930. It was first published in Srinagar in Persian characters in 1910.

Kashmiri nevertheless preserved a good deal of its native Hindu or Sanskritic character.

The Modern period of Kashmiri starts from the beginning of the nineteenth century with the establishment of Sikh rule. Gradually influences of Urdu and then English came into play in the evolution of Kashmiri literature, and new ideas and new styles in thought and letters became slowly established. This period of modern Kashmiri literature may be divided into three broad sub-periods or stages. The first stage, roughly from 1800 to 1880 (or, rather, from 1819 to 1879), was dominated by the Muslim poet, Mahmud Gami (d. 1855), and by the Hindu poet, Paramanand (1791-1879). This may be described as something like a 'Classic Age' for Modern Kashmiri, and a number of fine works under Persian as well as Sanskrit inspiration and influence were composed by poets, both Hindu and Muslim, who are held in general esteem as masters of Modern Kashmiri literature during the nineteenth century. The second stage of the period from 1880 to 1913 came to an end with the death of one of the great poets of Modern Kashmiri, Wahhab Pare. This stage was comparatively barren in literature, but the influence of English and Urdu came in. European scholars like K. F. Burkhard and G. A. Grierson began an intensive study of the Kashmiri language both in describing it fully and in treating it historically. Both scholars published a number of important Kashmiri texts—Grierson published four Kashmiri classics by Hindu writers, and Burkhard brought out an edition of Mahmud Gami's romantic poem *Yusuf-Zulaikha*. Then through modern education, the Kashmiri intelligentsia (particularly among the Kashmiri Brahmins) became once more alive to the beauties of their mother-tongue. But Kashmiri was suffering (and is still suffering) from a great handicap in not possessing a suitable alphabet. It is now generally written in the Perso-Arabic script which is very unsuitable for the genius of the language. The old Śāradā alphabet, confined to the Kashmiri Brahmins and restricted to religious and ritualistic purposes only, represents an archaic tradition in its orthography. This also could not be adapted to modern times in spite of the scientific endeavours of modern scholars like Iswar Kaul[7] and G. A. Grierson. Kashmiri is one of the main languages of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, but it is not the State language, the status of which goes to Urdu, and Kashmiri in its own home is still in the background. It is just one of the national languages recognized by the Constitution of India. The third stage in the Modern period of Kashmiri literature begins from 1913 onwards.

During the first stage of the Modern period, Mahmud Gami was a prolific writer in Kashmiri. His metrical versions of such Persian romances as *Yusuf-*

[7] In the year 1879 Iswar Kaul completed an excellent grammar of Kashmiri in Sanskrit, *Kāśmīra-śabdāmṛta*. This was edited by G. A. Grierson and published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1898.

Zulaikha, *Laila-Majnun*, and *Shirin-Khusro* present him as a poet endowed with a fine descriptive and narrative quality. He wrote a large number of *ghazals* also. Maqbul Shah composed his *Gulrez*, a narrative poem on a love theme borrowed from the Persian. He also wrote a satirical account of Kashmir peasant life known as *Guristnama*.

Pandit Nandaram alias Paramanand (1791-1879) is regarded as one of the greatest poets of Kashmir. He was influenced by both Lallā and Nuruddin. Taking note of the devotional and mystic aspect of his poetic genius, the Muslim writers of Kashmir have described Paramanand as the 'Sanai of Kashmir', comparing him with the great Persian poet of that name. Under the pen-name of 'Gharib', he composed also some Persian *ghazals*, but most of his narrative poems in Kashmiri are on themes of the Sanskrit Purāṇas. His Purāṇic works are *Rādhā-svayaṁvara*, *Sudāmā-carita*, and *Śiva-lagan*. In this line of religious narratives, he was followed by other Hindu poets. Mahmud Gami and Paramanand may be said to represent two different schools, the one governed by Persian prosodic rules and drawing upon Persian for conceits, similes and metaphors, and even idioms and dictions, the other drawing upon Sanskrit and the local traditions for idiom and imagery. Paramanand wrote the *līlā* lyrics. These lyrics are joyful devotional songs treating of the *līlās* (holy acts of the divinities), usually of Kṛṣṇa. The *līlā* lyrics of Paramanand are remarkable for their beautiful melody, devotional fervour, and spiritual conviction.

Paramanand's friend, Lakshman Ju, contributed some episodes in Paramanand's great work *Rādhā-svayaṁvara*. He was also the author of *Nala-Damayantī*, which is an extensive but rather pedestrian work on the story from the *Mahābhārata*. Besides, he composed quite a large number of *ghazals* and short poems in Kashmiri. Krishna Razdan, a disciple of Paramanand, wrote in beautiful Kashmiri, displaying great skill in his descriptions of nature and creating a charming musical quality in his verses. His most important work is *Śiva-pariṇaya* in 1,915 four-line stanzas.[8] Compared with his master's, his *līlā* lyrics are less convincing as mystical poetry, but they are more melodious and more captivating. There is yet another Hindu classic in Kashmiri, *Kṛṣṇāvatāra-līlā*.[9] In the work itself, the name of the author has been given as Dinanath. But he has not been identified. The author appears to have composed this poem during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is in 1,178 four-line stanzas, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* stories about Kṛṣṇa have been beautifully treated in this poem.

Waliullah Mattu belonged to the second stage of the Modern period. He

[8] The work was edited and published in Calcutta by G. A. Grierson in 1924 in the reformed Nāgarī script devised for Kashmiri, with a Sanskrit *chāyā* by Mm. Pandit Mukundaram Sastri.

[9] This was published in 1928 in Calcutta by G. A. Grierson in Roman characters with an English translation.

wrote a lyric romance called *Hīmāl ta Nāgarāya* based on a popular Kashmiri folk-tale. It was composed probably in the late nineteenth century. The narrative portions are by the poet himself, but there are lyrics composed by another poet named Saifuddin Zarif. The songs and the narrative fit in very well with each other, and the work is very popular.

Abdul Wahhab Pare (1845-1913) was the best and the last Kashmiri writer of the second stage of the Modern period. He made an adaptation from the Persian into Kashmiri of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi, and translated the *Akbarnama*, a historical work in Persian relating to the wars in Afghanistan. He also wrote a number of short stories, didactic as well as relating to love, and composed a large number of smaller poems on various subjects as well.

With Wahhab Pare's death, the older period of Kashmiri literature may be said to have ended. There were, however, poets in the older tradition such as Rasul Mir (author of a number of beautiful songs and *ghazals*) and Azizullah Haqqani (author of *Gazliyati-Haqqani*). There were also a number of Sufi mystic poets like Qalandar Shah, Abdul Ahad Nazim, Mohiuddin Miskin, Khwajah Akram Rahman Dar, and Maulavi Siddiqullah. Maulavi Siddiqullah translated the *Sikandarnama* of the great Persian poet of the twelfth century, Nizami. There was also Ramzan Bath, who wrote a most popular tragi-comic morality, *Akh-nandana*. It is an old popular Hindu religious tale about the loving parents of an only son being compelled by a religious vow to put him to death and even cook his flesh as an offering to a religious mendicant (*yogin*) who demanded this sacrifice. But afterwards the son was restored to life after the parents' devotion was tested in this way. Several poets composed on this theme from the end of the nineteenth century. Ramzan Bath composed this very beautiful and touching poem around 1900 in simple and racy Kashmiri. It has been highly praised by no less well-known a scholar and literary man than Nandalal Ambaradar. Ahad Zargar, Samad Mir, and Ali Wani also wrote poems on the same theme. But Ramzan Bath's work remains the best and the most fascinating. Rahman Dar is the author of a very popular poem called *Mañch-tuluir*. The old line of mystic tradition in poetry passed on to a number of modern poets such as Aziz Darvesh, Wahhab Khan, and Mirza Kak.

The third stage of the Modern period of Kashmiri literature was heralded by the poet Pirzadah Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (1885-1952), who became famous as a poet of nationalism and national reconstruction before 1938 when there started a great nationalist movement in Kashmir. The desire for the uplift of the people now became very noticeable, in addition to the continuance of the old tradition of both mystic poetry and passionate love poetry. Mahjur has been in the forefront of Kashmiri literature and language, and can very properly be described as the inaugurator of the new trends in Kashmiri literature. His poems are lyrical and patriotic as well as on political themes. The educated classes,

along with the masses, all sing songs composed by him. The impress of the beautiful landscape of Kashmir is found in his writings. Another great contemporary Kashmiri poet and writer, Zinda Kaul, popularly known as 'Masterji', said about Mahjur: 'Besides being very musical and correct in the matter of the metre and rhyme, Mahjur is perhaps the first to introduce into Kashmiri the ideas of patriotism, human freedom, love of men and women, unity of Hindus and Muslims, dignity of work and respect for manual labour, and Nature, scenery, flowers, etc.' His poems are immensely popular in Kashmir for their diverse appeal. Some of his poems depicting in vivid colour the simple charms of the women and maidens of Kashmir are beautiful in themselves. A social reformer and mystic, Zinda Kaul (1884-1965) wrote in popular language. He has introduced new rhyme schemes and rhythm patterns into Kashmiri; and among his poems, 'Ferry-man lead thou me across' is a popular patriotic anthem.[10]

Among other innovators in Kashmiri literature during this stage, we may mention specially Nandalal Kaul, poet and dramatist, who wrote a number of dramas, adapting or translating from Hindi and Urdu. *Satach Kahwath*, *Rāmun Rāj*, *Dayālāl*, and *Prahlāda Bhagat* are among noteworthy dramas by Nandalal in Kashmiri. Manaju Attar has made a Kashmiri verse translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Pandit Dayaram Ganju has to his credit didactic and other poems in Kashmiri, and his little book of advice to the young people, *Ghar Vyezmal*, is very popular. Pandit Narayan Khar is another poet who has rendered the *Bhagavad-Gītā* into beautiful Kashmiri. Mohammed Ghulam Hasan Begh Arif, a zoologist, is a believer in the greatness of the destiny of man. One of his popular poems is *Namaz-e-Janaza*.

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

The post-Independence period in Kashmiri literature witnessed quite a number of poets of power and distinction. The most noteworthy among them are: Abdul Ahmad Azad, Dinanath Nadim, Rahman Rahi, Amin Kamil, Ghulam Rasul Nazki, Abdul Haqq Barq, and Nur Mohammed Roshan besides 'Premī', 'Majbur', and 'Almast'. Western literary forms have been introduced into Kashmiri: the sonnet, for example, by Dinanath Nadim, and free verse by Amin Kamil and several other poets. Dinanath Nadim is a revolutionary in literature, sharply deviating from tradition and forcefully expressing his sympathy for the suffering masses. His poems like *Yirada*, *Ba Gyavna Az*, and *Zindabad Shyamji* breathe a hitherto unknown vigour into Kashmiri verse. In a symbolic opera, *Bambur Yambarzal* (1953), Nadim has treated an old folk-tale of Kashmir in a modern way dealing with modern problems. It made a tremendous impact on the Kashmiri literary circle. Amin Kamil, who won the Sahitya

[10] *Sumran*, one of his verse compositions, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1956.

Akademi Award in 1967, is a great inspirer of the modern spirit through his various compositions. His poems and *ghazals* have been collected in *Lava ta Prava* (1965) and *Beyi Suy Pan* (1967). His opera *Ravarūpī* is written in a symbolic vein depicting the ultimate victory of the creative forces over the destructive agencies. Several symbolic operas have also been written by Nur Mohammed Roshan, who, like Dinanath Nadim and Amin Kamil, has employed free verse. Based on a native folk-tale, the opera *Hīmāl ta Nāgarāya* (1956) is a joint venture by Roshan and Nadim. Rahman Rahi won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1962 for his collection of poems and *ghazals*, *Nauroz-i-Saba*, 'with a wide range of form and technique', which is 'remarkable for its bold experimentation in poetic technique and freshness of imagery'. 'Premī' has essayed the various types of Kashmiri folk-poetry in a modern style, giving a sympathetic view of the life of the people and praising the dignity of labour.

Kashmiri has a very noteworthy literature of popular poetry, and the Kashmiris are a singing people. Their songs are redolent of the beauty and freshness and fragrance of Kashmir. Some of these have been published by folklore enthusiasts, and here and there in travel books and other works on Kashmir there are specimens of these popular poems. Kashmir folk-tales have been collected and translated by foreign scholars such as J. Hinton Knowles and Sir Aurel Stein. Some of the folk-tales, as already mentioned, have been treated in operas or song-dramas by modern Kashmiri poets. The Kashmiri also has a sense of humour, and there are popular satirical ballads like *Larishah* which is about contemporary life, and full of humour.

Motilal Kemmu is a powerful dramatist. He introduced some novelty into dramatic technique in his three popular dramas, *Trunov*, *Maṅgay*, and *Maṅjulī Nika* (published in one volume in 1969). Ali Mohammed Lone's historical play *Suyya* is a most significant work both in novelty of presentation and in dramatic effect. It won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1973.

The essay and other prose forms like the novel and the short story are also being developed by present-day Kashmiri writers. Among the writers of critical essays in Kashmiri Jialal Kaul, Nandalal Ambaradar, and Prithwinath Pushp are the most prominent. Akhtar Mahiuddin made a mark with his novels *Dod Dag* and *Zuv ta Zolana* as well as his collections of short stories, *Sathsaṅgar* and *Swanzal*. *Sathsaṅgar* (1955) won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1958. Amin Kamil, Ghulam Nabi Gauhar, Harikrishna Kaul, and Faruk Masudi have also distinguished themselves in the field of the novel and the short story.

Kashmiris are now generally alive to the beauty and fine qualities of their language and literature. Kashmiri literature is growing and it can be reasonably hoped that with the establishment of better conditions, writers will gradually explore new fields of artistic expression. A sense of realism marks some of the writings of modern authors. This trend is expected to yield significant results.

34

MALAYALAM

LANGUAGE

THE Dravidian family of languages consists of over twenty members, though the well-developed languages are only four, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. Malayalam is spoken by about twenty-two million people (according to the 1971 Census) in the narrow stretch of the beautiful land known as Kerala lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. As in other parts of India, all the three communities—the Hindus, the Christians, and the Muslims—are found living side by side in Kerala. The country was known to ancient Greece, Rome, Arabia, and Babylon; it is mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions. Kerala is also referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, in the famous Tamil works of the Saṅgam period like *Śilappadikāram*, *Padirruppattu*, and *Maṇimekalai*, and in the works of Kālidāsa.

It is not long since the language of Kerala acquired the name 'Malayalam'. The word was used at first to denote the land and is supposed to consist of two words *mala*, meaning 'hill', and *āzham* meaning 'deep' or 'sea'. Some scholars think that the second word is not *āzham*, but *āḷam* which means 'land'. This interpretation seems to be more probable. There has been some controversy over the origin of the Malayalam language. Some nineteenth century scholars considered Malayalam to have been derived from Sanskrit. Kovunni Nedungadi in his Malayalam grammar entitled *Keraḷa Kaumudī* (1875) said that Malayalam had originated from Sanskrit. He, however, presented this theory in a speculative manner. But a few other scholars agree with his views.[1] An attempt has also been made by scholars like Caldwell to treat it as an offshoot in the Middle period of the development of Tamil. It is true that Malayalam flowered into literature later than Tamil and Kannada. But the antiquity of a literature does not necessarily reflect a corresponding antiquity of the language in spoken form. Malayalam, of course, is most closely connected with Tamil; and even at present, Tamil and Malayalam are to a certain extent mutually intelligible. But there are scholars who affirm on strong grounds that Malayalam is not a daughter but a sister of Tamil. They say that Malayalam has taken its origin from the primitive Dravidian tongue and evolved through several centuries

[1]The influence of Sanskrit on the growth of Malayalam language and literature is tremendous. It has to be remembered that Śaṇkarācārya, the great exponent of Advaita Vedānta, was a Brāhmaṇa from Kerala; and in Kerala there has been an unbroken succession of Sanskrit writers ever since, not only among the Brāhmanas but among all other classes also. Most ruling princes had a great ambition—to compose verses and other works in Sanskrit. This led to the matter-of-fact and almost unavoidable introduction into Malayalam of Sanskrit vocables, Malayalam in this matter presenting quite a contrast to Tamil.—Editor.

into its present form under certain special circumstances prevalent in Kerala. As a spoken language, it can claim as much individuality and as much antiquity as any other member of the Dravidian family of languages.

LITERATURE

Most of the literary historians divide the whole range of Malayalam literature into three periods: the Early, the Middle, and the Modern. This appears to be an easy way of dividing, and probably they are influenced by Grim's system. But sufficient justification does not exist for this division into three periods as far as Malayalam literature is concerned. The earliest specimens of Malayalam literature belong approximately to the ninth century of the Christian era. What we have even of that time is scanty and of doubtful date. But literary history takes a new turn with the works of Ezhuttacchan (sixteenth century), the most notable figure in Malayalam literature. He was an outstanding writer who set standards for future writers. The popular belief is that Modern Malayalam starts with Ezhuttacchan; but, in point of fact, the composition and construction of Malayalam had taken a comparatively modern form a few decades before him. This is clear from the famous work *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* whose language is nearly as modern as that of Ezhuttacchan's works. *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* belongs to the fifteenth century. The revolution started by Cerusseri Nambūdiri, the supposed author of *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā*, was completed by Ezhuttacchan. So we may say that the Modern period in Malayalam literature starts with *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā*, i.e. from the fifteenth century.

EARLY PERIOD

The influence of other languages and literatures on a particular language can be easily noticed during its formative period. Tamil and Sanskrit have had such influence on literary Malayalam. In the early period, i.e. before the fifteenth century, we are able to observe three distinct literary streams which have contributed to the moulding of a classical language for Kerala. They are: (1) *Śuddha* (indigenous) Malayalam stream, by which we mean literary expression in pure Malayalam without any admixture; (2) the Tamil stream; and (3) the Sanskrit stream. The literary field of Kerala was fed by these three streams differing in quality and depth.

Thanks to the scholars like P. Govinda Pillai and C. A. Menon, Malayalam has now a large collection of old folk-songs and ballads to its credit. In olden days these songs were not considered to be literature and no one bothered to preserve them. But from what is available now, we are able to get a good glimpse of the social conditions of ancient Kerala and also the kind of literature that was prevalent in those days. These songs were mostly sung at certain religious ceremonies and festivals, and also at the time of farming and other occupations. There are ballads of historical and sociological importance where-

in the glorious deeds of popular heroes are extolled. The language is usually simple and the expression direct, and that is why they are included in the *śuddha* Malayalam stream. It is difficult to assign dates to the early works of this school, but many scholars are of the opinion that some of these songs are at least as old as the tenth century. The forms of these songs have obviously changed to some extent while being handed down through several centuries. But there is no doubt that they reflect in a large measure the old spoken Malayalam. *Bhadrakāḷi Pāṭṭu*, *Puḷḷuvan Pāṭṭu*, *Tīyāṭṭu Pāṭṭu*, *Śāstrakaḷi*, and *Toṭṭam Pāṭṭu* are a few of the important songs. *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ* edited by Dr C. A. Menon gives a good collection of ballads of North Malabar dealing with local heroes. The Christians, who had settled on the west coast during the early centuries of the Christian era, made their own contribution to this branch of ancient literature. The most important and perhaps the earliest of their compositions is known as *Mārgamkaḷi Pāṭṭu* which relates the glorious deeds of St. Thomas during his sojourn in the Coḷa and Kerala territories.

The works which bear clear testimony to the direct influence of Tamil belong to the Tamil stream. The most outstanding example is the famous work entitled, *Rāmacaritam* (*c.* twelfth century). The subject is the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and is written by one Cīrāman[2] in a language which is an artificial mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. The diction and the metrical system are modelled on the Tamil masterpieces. This artificial mixture was a recognized medium in those days as can be seen from *Līlātilakam*[3] (fourteenth century) in which a *sūtra* is devoted to define this pattern termed there as *pāṭṭu*, and a *śloka* is quoted as an example which fully resembles the idiom of *Rāmacaritam*. It is undoubtedly a book of vital importance in the study of early Malayalam.[4]

The collection of poems known as *Kaṇṇaśśan Pāṭṭukaḷ* was written by a family of poets who belonged to Niraṇam in Central Travancore. They are popularly known as Niraṇam poets. *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* is the most important work in the collection, the author being Rāma Paṇikkar, juniormost in the line. The other Niraṇam works are the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and *Bhāratamālā*. These works belong to the fourteenth century. And perhaps the earliest translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in modern Indian languages appeared in Malayalam. The authorship of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* is ascribed to Mādhava Paṇikkar, and that of *Bhāratamālā* to Śaṅkara Paṇikkar, uncles of Rāma Paṇikkar. But there is no definite proof for this. The language of the poems marks a definite stage in the development of the Tamil school. The percentage of Tamil is much less and

[2] Cīrāman is the name of the poet as known from the last stanza of the work; but nothing more is known about him.

[3] *Līlātilakam* is a treatise on Malayalam grammar and rhetoric written in Sanskrit in the aphoristic and commentarial style. It was discovered in 1908 and first edited by A. K. Pisharoti.

[4] For an analytical study of the structure of this work, see the present writer's *Rāmacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam* (Kottayam, Kerala, 1956).

that of Malayalam and Sanskrit is much more than in *Rāmacaritam*. Considerable freedom is seen not only in the technique of versification, but also in the style and general approach. R. N. Panikkar assigns the period between A.D. 1375 and 1475 to these poets and there is not much disagreement on this question. There are also a good number of prose works on religion, philosophy, history, arithmetic, medicine, and astrology, which come under the Tamil school.

The influence of Sanskrit was so dominant on the native language of Kerala that it produced a peculiar variety of literary dialect called *maṇipravāḷam*. The term *maṇipravāḷam* is familiar to other South Indian languages, as an admixture of Sanskrit and Dravidian words, but in Malayalam it has a special and distinctive sense. It is a necklace strung with *maṇi* (jewel), i.e. Malayalam, and *pravāḷam* (coral), i.e. Sanskrit, according to *Līlātilakam*. Here, not only the two languages are mixed, but also the grammars, because when Sanskrit words are borrowed they are declined and conjugated exactly as in Sanskrit. The author of *Līlātilakam*, whose identity is not known, was a great scholar in Tamil, Sanskrit, and Malayalam. Primarily concerned with the *maṇipravāḷam* form, the work contains discussions on the linguistic features of Malayalam and its differences from Tamil. We have a large number of *maṇipravāḷam* works in Kerala. They may be divided into two branches: the *sandeśa-kāvyas* and the *campūs*. The *sandeśa-kāvyas* are message poems which in technique are modelled on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. Among these, the *Uṇṇunīlī-sandeśam* is the most outstanding. The message is sent by a king of one of the Travancore dynasties to his beloved, Uṇṇunīlī. The authorship is unknown. The date accepted by scholars is the fourteenth century.[5] The *campūs* are works written partly in prose and partly in verse. The *genre* is popular in Sanskrit. The verse in *maṇipravāḷa-campūs* follows the rules of Sanskrit prosody; but the prose is not the usual type of prose. It really consists of verses composed in the various Malayalam metres which are less rigid and more musical. Compared with other branches of literature, the *campūs* are prodigious in bulk; but the vast majority of them belong to the period between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. There are quite a few prose works also which reflect the influence of the Sanskrit school. Examples are *Bhāgavatam*, *Sundarakāṇḍam*, *Bhagavad-Gītā-gadyam*, and a number of scientific treatises.

It was considered normal for scholars in Kerala to make use of either the highly developed Sanskrit metre or the musical Tamil metre for poetic com-

[5]This poem was discovered only in 1893 and first published in book form in 1913 with an introduction by A. K. Pisharoti. According to him, the date of the poem is A.D. 1315. On a close examination of the language used, we can clearly see in it the influence of the Tamil school to some extent. Tamil words and formations are used here and there. Tamil inflection is not very rare either. We have at the same time verbs with both Malayalam and Sanskrit inflections. *Uṇṇunīlī-sandeśam* thus shows the three literary currents merging into one stream, though in different proportions.

positions. The purely indigenous metres used for folk-songs were considered unscientific and sub-standard. It was at such a time that the author of *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* decided to compose a long poem in a purely local metre now popularly known as *gāthā*. *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* literally means ballad on Kṛṣṇa. The author's independence of judgment is seen not only in the selection of metre, but also in the kind of language he used for the poem. The language of *Kṛṣṇa-gāthā* is simple. He makes good use of current Malayalam words and such Sanskrit words as could be easily understood by the average reader. The poem does not suffer any inferiority on account of this. But, on the contrary, it has actually gained a much wider appeal than the sophisticated *maṇipravāḷam* poems. The authorship of this famous classic is still a matter of controversy. But the prevailing opinion is that Ceruśśeri Nambūdiri is the author. There is, however, sufficient evidence to conclude that the poem was written in the fifteenth century by one of the court poets of King Udayavarman (1446-75). The theme of the poem is the story of Lord Krsṇa. The author has followed the *Bhāgavata* story; his imagination has brightened several portions of the original. The poem, written in a simple style, contains a variety of descriptions, some of them taking the form of anecdotes and stories.

EZHUTTACCHAN

Ezhuttacchan, who has been referred to already, has put Malayalam readers under a great debt. He not only composed several remarkable works, but also popularized a poetic language as also a special form of verse termed *kiḷippāṭṭu* (parrot-song). Even though no absolute proof about the date of Ezhuttacchan is available, there is evidence to believe that he belonged to the sixteenth century. He was not only a poet, but a philosopher and a reformer too.

The most important works of Ezhuttacchan are *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* and *Bhāratam*. Vālmīki's Rāma is only an ideal man, a good king of the people; but for Ezhuttacchan, he is God-incarnate. The very mention of Rāma was enough to transform the poet into a real devotee and epithets flowed from his pen almost spontaneously. Compared with *Rāmāyaṇam*, his *Bhāratam* is more original and profound. In the former, we see the poet's struggle to compromise between the philosopher and the poet in him; but in the latter, the poet assumes the lead. As regards description, the use of figures of speech, and characterization, Ezhuttacchan is immensely successful in both the classics. The language is direct and simple, but powerful and persuasive. Other works ascribed to him are *Bhāgavatam*, *Uttara Rāmāyaṇam*, *Harināma Kīrttanam*, and *Cintāratnam*. These, however, have not attained the high level of either *Rāmāyaṇam* or *Bhāratam*. Ezhuttacchan wrote his poems in response to the challenge of the society of his days. He evolved a new pattern of expression, simple enough for the average educated man, but profound in thought-content. Born in a poor family, Ezhut-

tacchan belonged to the northern part of Kerala known as Malabar. But his literary compositions are free from the peculiarities of the local conversational dialects. Even today, writers in Malayalam follow, by and large, the pattern set by Ezhuttacchan.

CAMPŪS : SANDEŚA-KĀVYAS : ĀTTAKKATHAS : TUḶḶALS

As already said, the *campūs* and the *sandeśa-kāvyas* are two important branches of literature which Malayalam has copied from Sanskrit. The *campūs* in Malayalam may be divided into two classes: the old and the modern. Of the two, the older works are better. There are about two hundred old *campūs*, the number of modern works being nearly one hundred. *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* (*c.* A.D. 1550) by Punam and *Naiṣadha-campū* by Mazhamaṅgalam (sixteenth century) are the most popular. The major *campūs* were written in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are other *campūs* such as *Kāmadahanam*, *Rājaratnāvalīyam*, *Kaṁsa-vadham*, *Bhārata-campū*, etc. Most of these works were written by the Nambūdiris of Kerala. The language is usually pedantic, and sometimes out of the way.

The *sandeśa-kāvyas* are very popular in Malayalam. We find several such poems from the fourteenth down to the twentieth century. The most notable among the older message poems is *Uṇṇunīlī-sandeśam* which has been referred to earlier. Written in the *maṇipravāḷam* style, the poem throws light on the history and social conditions of the period to which it belongs. Another message poem, as old as *Uṇṇunīlī-sandeśam*, is *Koka-sandeśam*. It is the story of a dream which the hero relates to the heroine.

Kathakaḷi, as an art-form, has become world famous recently. What is termed as *āṭṭakkatha* is really the literature which is used for *kathakaḷi*. There is a popular opinion that the inspiration for the earlier *kathakaḷi* compositions had come from Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. The words of the poet are usually given as *ślokas* and those of the characters by way of songs, usually termed as *padas*. As a form of art, *kathakaḷi* comes under *nṛtya* (dance), where the language of gesture is made use of. Actors never sing, but concentrate on the gesture language, and expressions on the face. *Rāmanāṭṭam* by Koṭṭārakkara Tampurān (seventeenth century) is considered to be the first fuḷ-fledged *āṭṭakkatha*. The whole of *Rāmāyaṇam* is divided into eight parts, each being sufficient for a night's performance. Koṭṭayattu Tampurān is one of the leaders in the field. He has written four *āṭṭakkathas*, namely, *Baka-vadham*, *Kalyāṇa-saugandhikam*, *Krimīra-vadham*, and *Kālakeya-vadham*. Of these, the *Kālakeya-vadham* is the best. The next celebrated writer of *āṭṭakkatha* is Uṇṇāyi Vārier who belongs to the latter part of the seventeenth century. His *Naḷa-caritam* requiring four successive performances is a classic of enduring interest. It displays remarkable freedom and originality in treatment and exhibits the qualities of drama much more than any other *āṭṭakkatha*. There

are several others[6] worthy of mention and the interest has been well maintained till the twentieth century.

Tuḷḷal, a form of dance drama, is a popular literary type in Malayalam which came into prominence in the eighteenth century. It has a considerable amount of literature. This branch of literature is associated with the name of Kuñcan Nambiār (b. 1705), who is its unrivalled master. There are three types of *tuḷḷal*: *parayan*, *śītaṅkan*, and *oṭṭan*. *Tuḷḷal* must have taken its form from the folk-dramas of Kerala prevalent at that time. The dancer here relates a story by way of verses which are written in popular metres. Usually well-known Purāṇic stories are selected as themes. But as a rule there are a large number of digressions. In fact, these digressions constitute the most interesting parts of them. The most significant writer of this form, Kuñcan Nambiār wrote over forty pieces of *tuḷḷal*. Nambiār's poetry brims with humour and satire. He has a special gift for making things interesting for the ordinary man. His language is simple and he makes fun of almost every community in Kerala. The Purāṇic stories chosen are more or less pegs on which to hang his satire on contemporary life. The Purāṇic characters become people of Kerala in his hands. Thus we get the atmosphere of life in Kerala about two hundred and fifty years ago from his *tuḷḷals*. In short, *tuḷḷal* is the literature of the masses, and Kuñcan Nambiār was surprisingly progressive in his outlook. There are some other significant works in this branch of literature. Mention may be made of *Nivāta-kavaca-kālakeya-vadham-śītaṅkan-tuḷḷal* by Panattoṭṭattu Dāmodaran Nambūdiri. There are excellent descriptions in this poem. Works like *Gajendra-mokṣam*, *Laṅkā-mardanam*, *Kṛṣṇārjuna-vijayam*, *Rāvaṇa-vadham*, etc. also deserve notice. Many of the later works are, however, mere adaptations of the masterpieces of Kuñcan Nambiār.

EARLY PROSE

Though Malayalam literature cannot claim great antiquity, comparatively speaking, its prose is old. We have quite a number of inscriptions dating from the eighth century onwards. Many are in a language considerably influenced by Tamil and just a few in the spoken language of the people. Though these are the earliest specimens of prose, they do not come under the category of literature. *Bhāṣa Kauṭalīyam* is an important work in Malayalam prose. An adaptation of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, it was probably written in the twelfth century. A considerable influence of Tamil is noticed in the language of this work. *Dūtavākyam*, *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam*, *Ambarīṣopākhyānam*, and *Naḷopākhyānam*

[6]One of them is Erayimman Tambı (nineteenth century) whose important works are. *Uttarā-svayamvaram*, *Dakṣayāgam*, and *Kīcaka-vadham*. V. Krishnan Tambı's *Tāṭakā-vadhom* may be considered to be a classıc Kılımanur Tampuran, Ittirarisa Menon, and Irattakulangara Warrier also deserve notıce.

are other important works of the early Malayalam prose literature. A work of enduring literary quality, *Dūtavākyam* relates to a portion of *Udyogaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam* was written in the fourteenth century. The famous Tamil classic *Tirukkuraḷ* was rendered into Malayalam in the sixteenth century.

Another work which merits consideration is *Hortus Malabaricus*, a study of the plants of Kerala by a Dutch missionary. It contains a number of passages in Malayalam. Written in 1686, it was printed in Rome. The first book to come out in print in Malayalam is *Saṁkṣepa Vedārtham.* It was printed in Rome in 1772. Pāremmākkal Thoma Kattanār, a Catholic priest in Kerala, went to Rome and stayed there for a pretty long time (1778-86). He wrote an account of his journey in the book, *Varttamāna Pustakam.* It is one of the most interesting books of the period and written in a simple and attractive language. In modern prose, which starts from the nineteenth century, the influence of the West is clearly discernible. The Protestant missionaries gave an impetus to prose writing by publishing grammars, dictionaries, and also some simple prose works.

MODERN LITERATURE : POETRY

The impact of the new type of education brought about a renaissance in the latter half of the nineteenth century. New forms of literature like the lyric, the novel, the essay, the biography, and the prose drama slowly emerged and in the twentieth century they flourished and enriched Malayalam literature in an unprecedented manner. The development of Malayalam poetry continued in the early twentieth century more or less along the lines of the late nineteenth.

Among the leading poets of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are Venmani Nambudiripad, Kerala Varma (1845-1917), K. C. Kesava Pillai (1868-1913), A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1862-1918), Kottarattil Sankunni (1855-1937), Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer (1877-1949), Kumaran Asan (1873-1924), and Vallathol Narayana Menon (1879-1958). Kerala Varma was well versed in Sanskrit and translated Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* in Malayalam. He was also a prose writer of note. A prolific writer, Kottarattil Sankunni has various literary works to his credit. He translated Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* into Malayalam. There is also an original drama, *Kucela-gopālam*, by him. Ullur Parameswara Iyer, Kumaran Asan, and Vallathol Narayana Menon brought into being the golden period of Malayalam poetry. Ullur was not only a poet of distinction, but also an essayist, critic, and research worker of remarkable merit. His history of Malayalam literature in five volumes is a masterpiece and the best of its kind in the language. Ullur's *Umākeraḷam* is a *mahākāvya.* He wrote various poems of which *Piṅgaḷa* and *Karṇabhūṣaṇam* are the most notable. Kumaran Asan popularized the lyric in Malayalam. His *Vīṇa Pūvu* (1909), which consists of

only forty-one *ślokas*, caused a sensation among the poets and critics of the day. His *Naḷinī*, *Līlā*, *Duravastha*, and *Karuṇa* have attained classic distinction. His *Caṇḍāḷa Bhikṣuki* has the caste system for its theme. Asan is considered as the harbinger of the progressive movement in poetry. Vallathol wrote not only several long poems, but also hundreds of lyrics which are now collected in eight volumes of his *Sāhitya-mañjarī* series. His *Magdalana Mariyam*, based on the story of Mary Magdalene in the New Testament, is a poem of haunting beauty. He rendered the whole of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* into Malayalam and wrote a *mahākāvya* entitled *Citrayogam*. He became the trumpet voice of nationalism and touched every subject of national importance and evinced a keen sense of beauty in whatever he wrote.

Around the three great poets—Kumaran Asan, Vallathol, and Ullur—Malayalam poetry steadily grew. V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar won appreciation as a romantic poet. Nalappat Narayana Menon's poems (*Kaṇṇunīrttuḷḷi*, *Cakravāḷam*, *Oru Maṇalttari*, etc.) touch realities of life and have a lyrical charm about them. Musical quality and charm of diction mark the poems of Changampuzha Krishna Pillai whose major work, *Ramaṇan*, earned him considerable fame. His influence on the younger generation of writers is unmistakable. One of the major poets of the first half of this century, G. Sankara Kurup (b. 1901) is noted for extensive use of symbolism in his poetry. The collection entitled *Oṭakkuzhal* gives some of his best poems. Balamani Amma's poems are emotional; the neatness of her style adds to their charm. Other women poets of the period include Lalithambika Antarjanam, Mary John Tottam, and Mutukulam Parvati Amma.

The post-War days saw the emergence of a new school of poets who drew their inspiration from left-wing politics. Some gifted poets belonged to this school. The main stream of Malayalam poetry, however, continued in its normal course. Three outstanding poets of the younger generation followed the traditional line, though they were also influenced to an extent by 'progressive' ideas. They are: Vennikkulam Gopala Kurup, Vailoppilli Shridhara Menon, and Pala Narayanan Nair. Gopala Kurup is well known for his sparkling diction. Though Shridhara Menon writes on indigenous themes, he has been considerably influenced by Western poetry. *Kuṭiyozhikkaḷ*, which is regarded as his masterpiece, reflects the social life of contemporary Kerala. A kind of epic quality is noticed in *Keraḷam Vaḷarunnu* of Pala Narayanan Nair. Among other notable modern poets are N. V. Krishna Warrier (*Niṇṭa Kavitakaḷ*, *Koccu Tomman*), Edasseri Govindan Nair (*Karutta Ceṭṭiccikaḷ*), P. Kunjiraman Nair, K. K. Raja, O. N. V. Kurup, M. P. Appan, and Nalankal Krishna Pillai. The contribution of K. M. Panikkar, the eminent historian, to Malayalam poetry is noteworthy. Among his poetical works are *Cintātaraṅgiṇi*, *Pankipariṇayam*, and *Ambāpāli*. He was a versatile writer in Malayalam.

The new poetry in Malayalam created or sponsored by ultramoderns is gradually taking shape. The poets evince a definite lack of faith in what was considered 'unchanging values'. Also there is considerable change in both content and form. The metre has given place to what they call inner rhythm—a rather difficult thing to discover. Words have lost their age-old meaning. New symbols, images, and rhythms are employed. Madhavan Ayyappattu, M. N. Palur, M. Govindan, K. Ayyappa Panikkar, and Cheriyan K. Cheriyan are the more well known practitioners in the new school, which has thrown conventions and rules to the winds.

FICTION

Coming to modern fiction, we have to mention the first original novel in Malayalam, *Kundalatā* (1887), by T. M. Appu Netungati. Two other celebrated novelists of the nineteenth century are Chandu Menon (1846-90) and C. V. Raman Pillai. Chandu Menon's *Indulekhā* (1889), written in a simple style, gives a convincing picture of the social conditions of his time. C. V. Raman Pillai, whose style shows Sanskrit influence, produced some outstanding novels such as *Rāmarāja Bahadūr*, *Mārttāṇḍa Varma*, *Dharmarājā*, and *Premāmṛtam*. The present century has been particularly productive in the field of fiction. Chandu Menon's social novels and C. V. Raman Pillai's historical novels had already earned appreciation of the reading public. Close on the heels of these novels came Appan Tampuran's *Bhūtarāyar* and later K. M. Panikkar's *Keraḷa Siṁham*. A new school of novelists became active soon. They rejected, by and large, the romanticism of the past and sought to present life in a realistic manner, posing relevant problems of society in the process. V. Mohammed Basheer's *Bālyakālasakhi* (1949) is a notable specimen of the new type of novels. Though he wrote on many aspects of life, his chief contribution lies in the way he deals with the problems of his own community. It was, however, Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai who raised the realistic novel to the height of real greatness. His novels include *Raṇṭiṭaṅṅazhi*, *Eṇippaṭikaḷ*, and *Cemmīn*[7]. The characters of *Cemmīn* are drawn from the humble fisherfolk community. Among others, P. Kesava Dev (*Oṭayil Ninnu*, *Ayalkkār*[8]), S. K. Pottekkad (*Viṣakanyaka*, *Oru Deśattinṭe Katha*[9]), Joseph Mundassery (*Professor*), R. S. Kurup (*Toṭṭi*), P. C. Kuttikrishnan (*Ummāccu*, *Sundarikaḷum Sundaranmārum*[10]), E. M. Kovur (*Kāṭu*), and Muttathu Varki (*Iṇaprāvukaḷ*) have substantially contributed to the growth of the new fiction in Malayalam in which a proletarian emphasis

[7]*Cemmīn* won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1957.

[8]P. Kesava Dev's *Ayalkkār*, which deals with the evolution of the three major communities of Kerala—Nairs, Christians, and Ezhavas—won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1964.

[9]Pottekkad's novel, *Oru Deśattinṭe Katha*, won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1972.

[10]This novel earned the author not only the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1960, but also a special award from the Kerala Sahitya Akademi in 1973.

looms large. Mention may be made of a few more significant novels of the post-Independence period. Among these are *Jīvikkān Marannupoya Strī* by Vettur Raman Nair, *Nālukeṭṭu* by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, *Jvāla* by K. Surendran, *Kaḷḷu* by G. Vivekanandan, and *Verukaḷ* by Malayattoor Ramakrishnan. A few novelists have tried with some success the 'stream of consciousness' technique. *Maññu* by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, *Ara Nāzhika Neram* by Parappurathu, and *Ūññāl* by Vilasini are three representative works of this *genre*.

The standard of the Malayalam short story has been fairly high for quite a long time and it is mainly through this medium that Malayalam literature has become truly democratic. It has demonstrated that literature is not the monopoly of a particular caste or group, as it used to be, when *maṇipravāḷam* was the forte of the Nambūdiri Brahmins, *āṭṭakkatha* mainly of the Kṣatriyas, and *kiḷippāṭṭu* of the caste Hindus. Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai became popular in Kerala as a short story writer before he switched over to novel writing. Other acclaimed short story writers include Karoor Nilakanta Pillai, E. M. Kovur, Lalithambika Antarjanam, Ponkunnam Varki, V. Mohammed Basheer, P. C. Kuttikrishnan, S. K. Pottekkad, N. P. Mohammed, N. P. Chellappan Nair, R. S. Kurup, and Vettur Raman Nair. Some of them belong to the left-wing group of writers and their themes chiefly concern social justice. Lalithambika Antarjanam's stories point to the social contradictions in the Nambūdiri community.

DRAMA

Dramatic literature in Malayalam is not particularly rich. The span of its history is only eighty years and most of the plays came to be written after Independence. Two earlier plays of note on social themes are *Kalyāṇī Nāṭakam* by Kocchunni Tampuran and *Mariyāmmā Nāṭakam* by Kochipan Taragan. The latter reflects the life of the Christian community in Kerala. During the pre-Independence period of five decades, Malayalam drama evinced the influence of the famous plays in Sanskrit, English, and Tamil. That drama could be something more than mere entertainment was realized particularly in the forties of this century when the trend of social realism reached its high watermark. K. Damodaran's *Pāṭṭabākki* (1938) and M. P. Bhattatiripad's *Ṛtumati* (1939) may be remembered in this connexion as earlier works showing the same trend.

European playwrights, notably Ibsen, considerably influenced modern Malayalam drama. Six well known plays of Ibsen have come into Malayalam by translation: *Ghosts* (1935), *The Wild Duck* (1947), *The Pillars of Society* (1954), *A Doll's House* (1954), *The Vikings of Helgeland* (1962), and *The Master Builder* (1966). The spirit of Ibsen is clearly discernible in the way some serious problems, either social or psychological, are projected in such plays as *Taptabāṣpam*

(1934) by Kuttanad, *Bhagna-bhavanam* (1942), *Balābalam* (1946), *Kanyaka* (1949), and *Anurañjanam* (1950) by N. Krishna Pillai. C. J. Thomas imbibed the essence of drama from Sophocles to Strindberg and propagated a mature idea of the art-form. His *Crime 27 of 1128* (1954), Pulimana's *Samatvavādi*, K. Surendran's *Bali*, and G. Sankara Pillai's *Snehadūtan* are a few examples of recent plays which pulsate with some problems or other. Edasseri Govindan Nair (*Kūṭṭu-kṛṣi*, 1950), and K. T. Mohammed (*Kuṭiyān*) deal with problems connected with farming during the post-Independence period. Thoppil Bhasi's *Aśvamedham* (1962) deals with the problem of leprosy in India. It movingly portrays the frustration of a family which has become a victim of this disease and emphasizes society's responsibility towards these people. T. N. Gopinathan Nair, Ponkunnam Varki, Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, R. S. Kurup, C. N. Sreekantan Nair, C. L. Jose, and N. N. Pillai have enriched Malayalam drama during the contemporary period and made it a people's art. N. N. Pillai's plays (*Pretalokam*, 1965; *Guerilla*, 1971) are uniformly powerful, pungent, and provoking, and he has tried out various techniques from melodrama to surrealism concentrating on one in each play. His *Nāṭaka-darppaṇam*, a modern treatise on the technique of writing and producing plays, won the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for 1972.

OTHER LITERARY FORMS

Remarkable progress has been registered in other prose forms of literature as well—e.g. literary criticism, biography, travelogue, etc. Critics like A. R. Rajaraja Varma and P. K. Narayana Pillai showed in the early part of this century how the intrinsic quality of literary works should be examined without overlooking the external apparatus which is but a means to that end. The next generation of critics included A. Balakrishna Pillai, M. P. Paul, Joseph Mundassery, Kuttikrishna Marar, Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai, P. Damodaran Pillai, and P. K. Parameswaran Nair. Among the contemporary practitioners in the field, S. K. Nair, Sukumar Azhikode, Guptan Nair, M. Achutan, P. K. Balakrishnan, and M. Krishnan Nair deserve special mention. To P. K. Parameswaran Nair goes the credit of raising the standard of writing biographies in Malayalam. He combines a spirit of research with literary craftsmanship. Of his biographical works *Sāhitya Pañcānanan* (on P. K. Narayana Pillai) and *C. V. Rāman Piḷḷai* are particularly worthy of note. Mention may be made of some other masters in the field such as A. D. Harisarma, N. Balakrishnan Nair, and K. M. George. There are some significant autobiographical works also. *Ātmakatha* by K. M. Panikkar, *Jīvita-samaram* by C. Keshavan, *Kazhiñña Kālam* by K. P. Kesava Menon are some notable examples. Malayalam literature owes its rich treasure of travel writing to a number of authors, some of whom belonged to the nineteenth century. *Āpatkaramāya Yātra* by K. M. Panikkar, *Indonesian*

Diary by S. K. Pottekkad, *Mexican Nāṭukaḷil* by C. B. Kumar, *Amerikkayil Poya Katha* by K. M. George are noteworthy travelogues of the present century.

The study of the history of Malayalam literature has assumed importance in recent years. The first attempt to write such a literary history was made by P. Govinda Pillai towards the close of the nineteenth century. His work, called *Malayāḷa Bhāṣācaritram*, showed the way, and since its publication there has been systematic research in this subject. R. Narayana Panikkar's *Keraḷa Sāhityacaritram*, which won a Sahitya Akademi Award in 1955, is a notable work in seven volumes. Mention has already been made of Ullur's five-volume history of Malayalam literature.

Journalism had its role to play in the growth of Malayalam literature. *Malayāḷa Manorama*, at the beginning of this century, took upon itself the task of encouraging writers of creative talent. The first literary conference in Kerala was sponsored by this journal. Various magazines came into existence which served to provide impetus to the literary activity of the time. Special mention may be made of two weeklies—*Mātṛbhūmi* and *Malayāḷa Rājyam.*

Marxian influence has been particularly evident in post-Independence creative literature. This has led to a deliberate narrowing down of the scope of literature. The 'Back to the soil' slogan has made the labourer a hero. This is only the natural swing of the pendulum from the other side, where extolling the royal household was the norm. We should be happy, however, that recent trends show balance and widening of interests. Most of the creative writers have discovered that they cannot afford to be the stooges of political parties and that freedom of the mind is the very life-blood of creative thinking and writing. Though it is difficult to make a comparative estimate, one can say that modern Malayalam literature ranks among the most virile and progressive literatures in India.

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MARATHI

LANGUAGE

MARATHI is the official language of the State of Mahārāṣṭra, spoken by forty-two million people (according to the 1971 Census). It is quite a progressive speech and since the thirteenth century has had a noteworthy literary history. The history of the language, however, goes back to about A.D. 1000.[1] It uses the Nāgarī script, locally known as the Bāla-bodha, which replaced the older alphabet called the Moḍī, current in the Maratha land down to the eighteenth century. Marathi is a Prakritic speech 'standing rather by itself'[2] and has been classified in the Southern Group by Dr S. K. Chatterji in his enumeration of the important languages and dialects of New Indo-Aryan.[3] There are several theories about the origin of the Marathi language. C. V. Vaidya is of the opinion that it developed from Sanskrit and took a distinct shape from about A.D. 700. Sten Konow maintains that it developed from Māhārāṣṭrī Apabhraṁśa, the latest phase of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan of Mahārāṣṭra. According to Dr P. D. Gune, this language acquired its standardized form in the eleventh century. Some maintain that Marathi has no connexion with other Prakrits but had an indigenous growth, coloured with Jaina hybrid Sanskrit, which has been called Southern Apabhraṁśa.

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, the basic words of Modern Marathi are *tadbhava*, i.e. derived from Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit, with large borrowings from *tatsama* or Sanskrit. It has, however, a number of words of the nature of substrata from non-Aryan languages (Dravidian and Austric). In recent times borrowings from Perso-Arabic, Portuguese, English, and even African languages have also occurred.[4] The history of Marathi literature can be broadly divided into three periods:

i) Early or Old Marathi period, up to A.D. 1350;

[1] The first specimen of Marathi language can be traced to the Marathi inscription dated A.D. 983 consisting of only one sentence: *Śrī Cauṇḍarāye Karaviyale* (done by Śrī Cauṇḍarāja). It is inscribed in Marathi and Kannada at the foot of the huge monolithic image of Gomaṭeśvara in Mysore. Later inscriptions such as the edict of King Aparāditya (A.D. 1183), the grant of King Soidva (A.D. 1202), as well as the Pandharpur inscription (A.D. 1273) of the days of King Śiromaṇi Rāmadevarāv, are in Old Marathi.

[2] Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 215.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[4] The comprehensive Marathi dictionary, *Mahārāṣṭra Śabdakoṣa* in eight volumes by Y. G. Date and C. G. Karve, has 1,12,189 words, out of which the words from Perso-Arabic stock are 2,900 and from European languages are 1,500 including 560 English words.

ii) Middle Marathi period, from A.D. 1350 to 1800;
iii) New or Modern Marathi, after A.D. 1800.

EARLY MARATHI PERIOD

The reign of the last three kings of the Yādava period (A.D. 1189-1320) witnessed the growth of quite a large literature both in verse and prose. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Pañcatantra* were rendered into Old Marathi. Śrīpati's work on astrology, *Ratnamālā*, and Mukundarāja's philosophical treatise, *Viveka-sindhu*,[5] are among the early technical works in Old Marathi. Poetry of an ornate and rhetorical type is found in poems like *Nalopākhyāna* and *Rukmiṇī-svayaṁvara*.

The sacred books of the Mahānubhāva sect, founded in A.D. 1267 by Cakradhara, originally a Brāhmaṇa from Gujarat, were written in cryptic scripts which have been deciphered by scholars like V. K. Rajwade, V. B. Kolte, and H. N. Nene. They are in prose and deal with philosophical topics in simple Marathi, deliberately rejecting Sanskrit. Members of the sect were worshippers of Kṛṣṇa, the mythical sage Dattātreya, and three Mahānubhāva founders. Two of their most sacred books are *Līḷā-caritra* and *Siddhānta-Sūtra*. *Līḷā-caritra* (*c.* 1286), written by Mahīndra Bhaṭa, records the life-story of Cakradhara including his instructions to his devotees. *Siddhānta-Sūtra* is a compilation of the sayings of Cakradhara by Keśavadāsa. The Mahānubhāva writers left a fairly rich literature in verse also which is to be found in seven long poems, namely, *Vaccha-haraṇa*, *Rukmiṇī-svayaṁvara*, *Śiśupāla-vadha*, *Uddhava-Gītā*, *Jñāna-prabodha*, *Sahyādri-varṇana*, and *Ridhipura-varṇana*. The first three are narrative poems depicting episodes in the life-story of Lord Kṛṣṇa and the last two give accounts of the sacred places of the Mahānubhāvas, while *Uddhava-Gītā* and *Jñāna-prabodha* are essentially philosophical in character. There are, besides, the *dhavaḷas* (devotional songs) of Mahadāisā, a woman devotee of Cakradhara. She happened to be the first Marathi poetess. Mahānubhāva literature formed the first expression of a revolt against Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy.

The work of uniting different orthodox and heterodox elements of Hinduism was carried on with success for four centuries by the Hindu saint-poets of Mahārāṣṭra associated with another more powerful Brāhmaṇical sect known as the Vārakarī Panth.[6] Jñāneśvara or Jñānadeva (1271-93) was the first

[5] Apart from *Viveka-sindhu*, Mukundarāja is credited with another Marathi work, *Paramāmṛta*. Both deal with Śaṅkarācārya's exposition of the Vedānta. These books, however, never became popular owing to both difficulty of subject and stylistic defects.—Editor.

[6] It became the chief means of expression of the Bhakti doctrine in Mahārāṣṭra. It started as an offshoot of the Jñāna school of the Nātha Pantha of Gorakṣa Nātha, with its Yoga practices and its Śaiva-Vedānta philosophy, and after coming to Mahārāṣṭra it joined forces with the local Vedānta school which favoured the worship of God as Viṣṇu in his form of Viṭhṭhala at the shrine in Pandhar-

among the Hindu saints who made the Vedānta popular for everybody through the spoken language. He proclaimed the equality of man in the eyes of God and openly revolted against the tyranny of Hindu orthodoxy. His monumental work, *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, popularly known as *Jñāneśvarī*, consisting of 9,000 *ovī*[7] stanzas, forms an erudite commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. He wrote it in 1290 at the age of nineteen. His *Amṛtānubhava* is a treatise on the Vedānta philosophy couched in excellent poetry. Variety of imagery and lucidity of diction characterize both the works. Jñāneśvara is held in profound esteem as the first great Marathi literary and philosophical genius. Another philosophical poet of note contemporaneous with Jñānadeva was Nāmadeva (1270-1350), who was a tailor by profession. Two of Nāmadeva's devotional poems are found in the *Ādi Grantha* of the Sikhs. His name ranks among the noteworthy saint-poets of India, and with his death in A.D. 1350 ends the Early period of Marathi literature. Nāmadeva's *guru* Visobā Khecara, a grocer by profession, was a poet himself. Other early saint-poets of humble rank were Muktābāī, Nāmadeva's sister; Janābāī, a maid-servant; Sāvantā, a gardener; Gorobā, a potter; and Cokhā, a sweeper. There were also Muslim saint-poets like Sheikh Mohammed.

MIDDLE MARATHI PERIOD

The major part of the period from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1550 can be looked upon as a 'dark period' of Marathi literature. The first invasion of Alauddin Khilji in 1294 led to the gradual establishment of Muslim rule in this part of the country. The age was not favourable for steady literary progress due to war and famine in the country. Among teachers and writers of the post-Nāmadeva period were Narasiṁha Sarasvatī and Janārdana Svāmī. Both belonged to the Vārakarī Panth. A number of devotional poems are attributed to them.

Ekanātha Svāmī (1548-99) in the sixteenth, and Tukārāma (1588-1649) in the seventeenth century built up the great structure of the *bhakti* poetry. Ekanātha's *Bhāgavata* (known as *Ekanāthī Bhāgavata*) and *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa*,

pur, and became a school of Vedāntic *bhakti* with the figures of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa as personal deities through which the devotees approached the Godhead. Pandharpur became the great centre of this school, and from the word *vārī*, meaning 'the annual pilgrimage (to Pandharpur)', which was enjoined on its followers and which became very popular, the sect got the name of Vārakarī. A number of great religious teachers had become associated with this school of Vedāntic *bhakti* by A.D. 1290. —Editor.

[7] By the middle of the fourteenth century two distinct literary forms had been well established in Marathi. One was the *ovī* metre (which was a sort of rhythmic prose, the sentence being divided into short lines of about ten syllables each, followed by a half-line) which was employed in narrative poems. It may be mentioned that the seven long poems of the Mahānubhāva writers were written in this metre. The other was the *abhanga* metre which was used for lyric compositions, particularly devotional songs.—Editor.

each having 20,000 *ovī* stanzas, not only made Marathi poetry exalted by their grand style and poetic fervour, but also firmly established Hindu philosophical beliefs in those days of national set-back under the Muslims. A saint and a great social reformer, Ekanātha was profoundly influenced by Jñāneśvara. He redacted *Jñāneśvarī* and brought out an authentic version of the text. His renderings of the Purāṇic stories immensely contributed in rehabilitating the old Hindu culture in Mahārāṣṭra. Among a number of minor poets who followed Ekanātha, Dāsopanta deserves special mention. He was a voluminous writer and a master of facile verse. Thomas Stephens (1559-1619), an English Jesuit who came and settled in Goa, was a contemporary of Ekanātha. He had a great love for Marathi and wrote *Khṛsta Purāṇa,* an extensive work on the Old and New Testament stories in chaste Marathi.

Tukārāma's lyrical *abhaṅgas* in simple Marathi (5,000 in number) are pointed and direct in style, and throbbing with an intense devotion to his God. They have a charm of their own, and form a veritable *Bible* for the people of Mahārāṣṭra. Born in a Śūdra family, Tukārāma was a poet of the masses. He was a vehement critic of the hypocrisies of his time and was a great unifying force bringing the masses under one religious banner before the Maratha revival under Śivājī during the second half of the seventeenth century. Among other great poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were: Mukteśvara (1608-60), Samartha Rāmadāsa (1608-82), Vāmana Paṇḍita (1615-78), Raghunātha Paṇḍita (*c.* 1650), Śrīdhara (1678-1728), and Mayūra Paṇḍita or Moropanta (1729-94). Mukteśvara, son of Ekanātha's daughter, re-told the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in Marathi in a vigorous style. Samartha Rāmadāsa, spiritual teacher of Śivājī, wrote *Dāsa-bodha,* a work of both high seriousness and practical wisdom for the rulers as well as the masses, in a style of rare vigour and forthrightness. Great national leaders like Śivājī and his followers found their inspiration and incentive to action in *Dāsa-bodha*. Vāmana Paṇḍita devoted himself to composing narrative poems based on Purāṇic themes, such as *Gajendra-mokṣa*, *Sītā-svayaṁvara*, and *Veṇu-sudhā.* Notable also is his commentary, *Yathārtha-dīpikā,* on the *Bhagavad-Gītā.* Furthermore, he rendered the *Bhagavad-Gītā* into Marathi under the title *Samaślokī-Gītā*. He also translated some Sanskrit works into Marathi verse.[8] Raghunātha Paṇḍita's narrative poem *Nala-Damayantī-svayaṁvara* is based on the Nala story of the *Mahābhārata*. Both Śrīdhara and Moropanta flourished during the Peshwa period (1700-1818). The former was the leading poet of the early days of the Peshwas and the latter of the later and the greatest days of the Peshwa glory when Mahārāṣṭra had emerged as the strongest power in the whole of India. Śrīdhara carried the tradition of Ekanātha, Mukteśvara, and

[8] Vāmana Paṇḍita enriched Marathi prosody by introducing new metres based on Sanskrit. Marathi was till then rather poor in this respect.—Editor.

Vāmana Paṇḍita. His *Pāṇḍava-pratāpa*, *Rāma-vijaya*, and *Hari-vijaya* are based on the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* respectively. Moropanta is the greatest Marathi poet of the eighteenth century. He has to his credit a large number of poems on Purāṇic themes, such as *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* and *Mantra-Bhāgavata.* The most important work of Moropanta is his rendering of the *Mahābhārata* in the *āryā* metre. His devotional lyrics, *Gaṅgā-prārthanā*, *Saṁśaya-ratna-mālā*, and *Kekāvalī*, are also held in high esteem in Mahārāṣṭra.

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the growth of a kind of heroic poetry, known as *povāḍā* (from Sanskrit *pravāda*), which became very popular. The poets who composed these poems were wandering ballad-makers and singers, known as *śāhīrs*. The *śāhīrs* recited their compositions to the accompaniment of a simple one-wire lute, and could keep audiences of thousands enthralled by their animated songs about wars and heroic exploits. The first famous *povāḍā* is by Agnidāsa on the subject of Afzal Khan's meeting with Śivājī, the second by Tulasīdāsa on the capture of the fort of Siṁhagaḍ by Tānājī, Śivājī's heroic lieutenant. There was also another form of popular poetry known as *lāvaṇī* which came into prominence in the eighteenth century. The *lāvaṇī* songs dealt mainly with earthly love. Honājī Bāḷā, Prabhākara, Saganbhāu, Paraśurāma, and others were famous *lāvaṇī* composers during the Peshwa period. The growth of these types of folk-poetry, side by side with the sophisticated and decorative *kāvyas*, immensely enriched Marathi language and literature during the last century and a half of its Middle period.

Marathi prose, which came into existence as early as the Yādava period, was also slowly developing and from about the middle of the seventeenth century it took a definite form in the chronicles of the Maratha rulers, known as *bakhars*. *Vākenavis-bakhar*, *Sabhāsadī-bakhar* (*c.* 1697), *Ājñā-patra*, and *Śiva-digvijaya* (1718) are some of the representative specimens of these prose chronicles.

MODERN MARATHI PERIOD

The transition from the Peshwa period to the British period was complete after the Treaty of Bassein in 1818. Some great thinkers, scholars, political leaders, social reformers, and educationists came forward and brought about a real intellectual and cultural renaissance in Mahārāṣṭra in the nineteenth century. Bal Gangadhar Sastri Jambhekar (1810-46), Govind Viththal Mahajan (1815-90), and Krishna Sastri Chiplunkar were pioneers in modernizing the mind of the people. The foundations of Marathi journalism were laid around 1840 by Jambhekar with his daily *Darpaṇa* and the periodical *Digdarśana*, and by Mahajan with his *Prabhākara*. Krishna Sastri Chiplunkar's *Vicāra-laharī* (1853) was a further milestone in the development of journalism. Among others who followed were Parasuram Tatya Godbole (1799-1874),

Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1825-71), Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar (1850-82), Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1866-1915), Mahadev Govinda Ranade (1842-1907), Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-93), Jotiba Phule (1827-89), Bhimrao R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), and Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925). They all contributed to the renaissance in literature and thought in Mahārāṣṭra. India responded intellectually and emotionally to the Western challenges mainly through Bengal and Mahārāṣṭra.

POETRY

The modernity in Marathi literature was felt simultaneously in poetry and novel towards the end of the nineteenth century and gradually it cast its spell over other domains of literature. Let us start with the poems of Krishnaji Keshav Damle popularly known as 'Keśavasuta' (1866-1905), who heralded the dawn, as it were, of the modern age in Marathi literature. His first poem was published in 1885; this, however, betrayed a style typical of the scholar-poets belonging to the period immediately preceding. But he was soon able to cast off his fascination for traditional forms and composed poems which gave something new to Marathi literature in style, in expression, and in content. His awareness of contemporary social and political thought and his acquaintance with English literature came to his advantage in this respect. Among other remarkable contemporary poets were: Narayan Vaman Tilak (1865-1919), Ram Ganesh Gadkari (1885-1919), Vinayak Janardan Karandikar (1872-1909), Tryambak Bapuji Thomare (1890-1918), Narayan Muralidhar Gupte (1872-1947), and Bhaskar Ramachandra Tambe (1874-1941), who achieved distinction particularly in the twenties.

The twenties of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a group of poets, called the Ravikiraṇa-maṇḍala, who tried to avoid extravagance of emotion in their poems. Their special interest lay in the formal and technical aspects of poetry. Y. D. Pendharkar ('Yaśovanta') was the most notable poet of this group. A note of frustration characterizes his poems. Other poets of the group are S. K. Kanetkar and M. T. Patvardhan. In 1925 Prahlad Keshav Atre (1898-1968) published a collection of parodies entitled *Jheṇḍūcī Phule* which made great fun of both sentimental sob-stuff and the strawberry-and-cream trend in poetry. There were several other poets contemporaneous with the Ravikiraṇa-maṇḍala, who represented a reaction against them. Of them, Anant Kanekar (b. 1905), is the most distinguished. He, however, forsook poetry after the publication of his *Cāndrāt* (1933).

The use of a real modern idiom in poetry began, however, in the forties, particularly after the Second World War, though the older idealism continued to attract the average reader. The trio who brought about the revolution in

form and content, including stark realism, were B. S. Mardhekar (1907-56), P. S. Rege (b. 1910), and A. R. Deshpande ('Anil'; b. 1910). Though P. S. Rege already struck some of the typical features of this new poetry, Mardhekar's *Kāhī-kavitā* (1947) heralded it in its true spirit. Mardhekar was tried on a charge of obscenity in his writings, but was later exonerated. He is to Marathi what T. S. Eliot is to English, both in poetry and aesthetic theories. His book on poetics, *Saundarya-ani-sāhityā*, won in 1956 a posthumous award from the Sahitya Akademi. P. S. Rege did something magical to the use of poetic language in Marathi. He experimented with it and expanded its frontiers in his pithy, gossamerlike yet sinewy poems. 'Anil' introduced, on the one hand, innovations in technique ('free verse' was rehabilitated by him in Marathi) and, on the other, deepened the social awareness of the poet by emphasizing his responsibilities. The maturity of his talent is amply reflected in *Bhagna-mūrti* (1940) and *Pertevhā* (1947). The Mardhekar-Rege school was kept alive by many younger advocates of 'pure poetry' like Mangesh Padgaonkar, Dilip Chitre, Arun Kolhatkar, and others. Side by side with this, there was the other school of progressive poetry to which belonged V. V. Shirwadkar, better known as 'Kusumāgraja' (his famous work: *Viśākhā*, 1942), Sarat Chandra Muktibodh, Vasant Bapat, Vinda Karandikar, and Narayan Surve. While poets like B. B. Borkar, Indira Sant, N. G. Deshpande, and G. D. Madgulkar restricted themselves to lyric poetry proper, the so-called 'intellectual' poets went on to cater for a different audience and to serve a separate function. In the fifties, Marathi poetry was rapidly advancing to an incomprehensible area like abstract art, to a land without labels.

Recent Marathi poetry is much more concerned with technical innovations than with content. As a reaction to this formalism, there are angry young poets who call themselves *dalita panthers* and write with sharp pens dipped in venom. There are also experiments in typography and calligraphy, collage poems and 'eye' poems by R. K. Joshi.

NOVEL AND SHORT STORY

The Marathi novel has a history of more than a century since the publication of Baba Padmanji's *Yamunā-paryaṭana* in 1857. Padmanji represented the social trend, while N. S. Risbud with his novels like *Mañjughoṣā* (1868) and R. B. Gunjikar with his *Mocaṅgaḍ* (1871) stood for the romantic and the historical respectively. But the Marathi novel was still seeking a really mature and creative talent in the field which it found in Hari Narayan Apte (1864-1919), commonly referred to as the 'prince of novelists'. From 1885 onwards he produced quite a large number of novels—historical, romantic, and social. Idealism is writ large in the novels of Apte and he particularly excelled in depicting the psychology of women. Among his notable works the

following deserve mention: *Paṇ Lakṣyāt Koṇ Gheto*, *Uṣaḥkāla*, *Kevaḷ Svarājyāsāṭhī*, *Gaḍ Ālā Paṇ Siṁha Gelā*, *Sūrya-grahaṇa*, *Vajrāghāta*, etc. Vaman Malhar Joshi (1882-1943) has to his credit a few popular novels: *Rāgiṇī* (1915), *Suśilecā Deva* (1930), and *Indu Kāḷe Āṇi Saralā Bhoḷe* (1935). Vishram Bedekar's novel, *Raṇāṅgaṇa* (1939) is a most characteristic work in many ways. It has an international canvas and is marked by a note of profound humanism. Translations of Bengali novels, particularly those of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, and Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, were done by V. S. Gurjar, K. R. Mitra, and others. Narayan Sitaram Phadke (b. 1894) and Vishnu Sakharam Khandekar (1898-1976) were the rage of the reading public from about 1930 to 1950. Phadke while advocating 'art for art's sake' also used political backgrounds for his love stories. The technical skill of the author is evident in his *Jādugār*. His three other important novels are *Pravāsī*, *Uddhāra*, and *Jhelam*. The novels of Khandekar stand in contrast to those of Phadke. *Ulkā*, *Krauñca-vadha*, and *Yayāti* are among his best works. Another popular writer, Gajanan Tryambak Madkholkar, was primarily concerned with political fiction. *Muktātmā*, his first novel, is also the first successful political fiction in the language. He mixed, however, a due proportion of romance in his novels. His *Candanavāḍī*, which sympathetically depicts a Harijan girl, is considered a masterpiece in Marathi. Purushottam Yashwant Deshpande carried the 'novel of ideas' of V. M. Joshi to its existentialist peak. *Bandhanācyā Palikaḍe* and *Viśāla Jīvana* are his two most notable novels, the former having created a stir when published. The novels and stories of Sane Guruji (1899-1950) became popular in the forties. Malati Bedekar ('Vibhāvarī Śirurkar') has made herself distinguished in the field, and her *Baḷī* (1950) is a class by itself. S. R. Biwalkar's first novel *Sunītā* (1948) is a landmark in the realm of Marathi novel dealing with Hindu-Muslim relations in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) at the time of Partition. Other novelists of note in the forties and fifties are: Gita Sane, Muktabai Dikshit, Kamalabai Tilak, Kusumavati Deshpande, G. N. Dandekar, B. S. Mardhekar, and S. N. Pendse[9].

Fiction in Marathi assumed new directions in the sixties with Bhalachandra Namede's *Koslā*, a novel analysing the lack of values in a young man's life and the irrelevance of old cherished ideals. There are controversial novels dealing with permissiveness in sex and depicting the rather seamy side of metropolitan life. Two of these much discussed novels are Bhau Padhye's *Vāsunākā* and Chandrakant Khot's *Ubhayānvayī Avyaya*. There are also popular historical novels based on important personalities. Among them Ranjit Desai's novel on Śivājī, *Śrīmān Yogī*, Gangadhar Gadgil's novel on Lokamanya Tilak, *Durdamya*, B. D. Kher's novel on Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Yajña*, and

[9] One of Pendse's novels, *Rathacakra*, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1963.

Mrinalini Desai's novel on Mahatma Gandhi, *Hā Putra Mānavācā*, all deserve special mention.

The short story, as a distinct literary *genre*, came to be established during the twenties with N. S. Phadke and V. S. Khandekar. The stories of Hari Narayan Apte and others of the earlier period cannot be considered as short stories proper. They are rather novels in a shorter dimension. The thirties witnessed a number of powerful story-writers, some of whom represented a kind of reaction against Phadke and Khandekar. They are Muktabai Dikshit, Kamalabai Tilak, Malati Bedekar, Y. G. Joshi, Vaman Chorghade, Prabhakar Padhye, S. M. Mate, Narayan Hari Apte, V. V. Bokil, Anant Kanekar, and others. Since the forties, the short story has turned to a new direction and become more and more psycho-analytical. Gangadhar Gadgil, Arvind Gokhale, P. B. Bhave, and V. Madgulkar gave this form of literature a modern idiom and a rare subtlety of expression. D. B. Mokashi, K. J. Purohit ('Śāntārāma'), G. A. Kulkarni, S. D. Panvalkar, S. J. Joshi, C. T. Khanolkar, Sadanand Rege, V. S. Pargaonkar, Kamal Desai, Sarat Chandra Chirmule, Vidyadhar Pundalik, Jayawant Dalvi, and other exponents of this art-form have carried the Marathi short story much further than the earlier popular stories of Y. G. Joshi or Vaman Chorghade, both in the depth of their understanding of the interplay of human passions and in the variety of techniques. Ranjit Desai, G. L. Thokal, D. M. Mirasdar, Shankar Patil, Ananda Yadav, Baburao Bagul, and Shankarrao Kharat have specialized in an important type depicting the life of the rural classes, in their own stark idiom, with all their downright earthy atmosphere and an all-too-human experience in the raw.

DRAMA

Mahārāṣṭra has a fairly old tradition of play-writing. But the early Marathi plays, like those in other Indian languages, were based on mythological themes. The Tamil dramatic forms, particularly *kuravañci*, exercised a deep influence on the early Marathi drama known as *laḷita* in its initial phase of development. In the realm of modern Marathi drama, Vishnu Amrit Bhave was the pioneering figure. His Purāṇic drama, *Sītā-svayaṁvara*, was staged in 1841. He wrote some more plays based on Purāṇic themes. With the spread of education and the foundation of the Bombay University in 1857, there grew a tendency to translate or adapt Sanskrit plays and later European plays, particularly those of Shakespeare, into Marathi. This continued for more than two decades. Though Vishnu Amrit Bhave is chronologically the first writer of Marathi drama in the Modern period, he was not its real originator. The credit of writing the first real modern drama goes to Balwant Pandurang Kirloskar (1843-85) who with his *Śakuntalā* (1880), *Saubhadra* (1882), and *Rāma-rājya-viyoga* (1884) provided a synthesis between the mythological

content and the modern treatment. The author has infused into the traditional themes of these plays, particularly of *Saubhadra*, a romantic aroma and delineated them with a remarkable dramatic skill. The poignancy of their appeal is due also to the power of their music. After Kirloskar, G. B. Deval (1854-1916) and K. P. Khadilkar (1872-1948) set Marathi drama on a more sound and secure ground. Deval's most characteristic play is *Śāradā*, his only original play. He has to his credit six more plays all of which are adaptations, three from Sanskrit and three from English. Khadilkar's mythological play, *Kīcaka-vadha* (1910), was banned by the British Government, as Kīcaka and Bhīma resembled Lord Curzon and Lokamanya Tilak respectively in their speeches on the stage. Nationalist sentiment was thus seeking masked expression through such mythological and historical plays. Ram Ganesh Gadkari's plays (e.g. *Prema-sanyāsa* and *Puṇya-prabhāva*) depicting social and moral problems became popular. His plays are characterized by his creative and facile dialogue. N. C. Kelkar (1872-1947) wrote a number of plays based on history as well as mythology. Vasudeo Sastri Khare (1858-1924) wrote fine historical plays like *Śivasambhava*.

The first Hindi film *Alam Ara* was screened in Bombay in 1930, and the stage suffered a heavy blow at the hands of the cinema. But a few playwrights kept up the struggle, like Bhargavram Viththal Warerkar, better known as Mama Warerkar (1883-1964), and Prahlad Keshav Atre. Both used colloquial language and broad humour in their social plays, and satire was their main weapon. Warerkar wrote about forty plays, and tried to modernize the stage by making some modifications in dramatic technique as well as in production. Starting with mythological themes, he went on experimenting with various subjects. Two of his important plays are *Apūrva Vaṅgāl* (1953) and *Bhūmi-kanyā Sītā* (1955). The former is on Gandhiji's Noakhali tour in East Bengal. P. K. Atre was essentially a humorist and a greater source of strength to Marathi drama. His *Lagnācī Beḍī*, on a feminist theme, is a really noteworthy play. Another playwright who also tried to revitalize the stage was S. V. Vartak, leader of the group *nāṭya-manvantara*. His play *Āndhaḷyāñcī Śāḷā* (1933) was an adaptation from B. Björnson, famous Norwegian playwright. Purushottam Lakshman Deshpande has revolutionized the Marathi stage in recent years with his plays and very widely admired 'one-man' shows of humour-cloaked social comment. Vasant Kanetkar's extremely touching historical play *Rāyagaḍālā Jenhvā Jāg Yete* opened a new dimension for Marathi drama and Vijay Tendulkar has pushed it forward by his flair for the theatre of the Absurd. There are many other successful dramatists like V. V. Shirwadkar, C. T. Khanolkar, Nana Jog, C. Y. Marathe, Purushottam Darvhekar, S. G. Sathe, Ratnakar Matkari, and Vidyadhar Gokhale, who are giving of their best to enlarge the horizon.

The new drama is to a great extent concerned with sex and violence and the hypocrisy of modern life. Vijay Tendulkar's plays like *Sakhārāma Bāindar* and *Ghāśirām Kotvāl* and a recent play *Vāsanā-kāṇḍa* by Mahesh Elkunchwar created a lot of stir among connoisseurs as also among ordinary spectators. Drama is freely borrowing from folk-forms like *tamāśā*[10] and *laḷita*. The problems it seeks to discuss are partly biological and partly socio-political. So there is an eternal conflict between merely popular plays and plays with a lasting literary value. Marathi has its own quota of commercially popular plays, translations and adaptations, and mere entertainers also. Some old plays of Deval and Gadkari continue to charm the audience with their musical interludes and scintillating dialogues.

OTHER DOMAINS OF LITERATURE

Marathi literature is very rich in personal essays, sketches, travelogues, autobiographies, and biographies. N. S. Phadke and V. S. Khandekar attenuated the sweep and verve of thought found in the early discursive essay of the days of Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar and S. M. Paranjape (1864-1929) to a more witty personal idiom and a choice of common subjects of everyday life. Many others like Kusumavati Deshpande, Anant Kanekar, V. M. Dandekar, N. M. Sant, and K. J. Purohit have enriched this form. Side by side with their essays, there are the humorous essays of P. L. Deshpande and others. The essay suffered some sort of decline in the forties; but during the last twenty-five years Durga Bhagwat, Iravati Karve (both have won Sahitya Akademi Awards), N. G. Gore, and Vinda Karandikar have given to this *genre* a further depth by their scholarship and wide range of subjects, poetic sensibility and delicate handling of the language. Besides, they have added a special charm to it by subdued irony and understatement, witty observations and satirical sketches. R. B. Joshi's travel sketches have the flavour of genuine essay in them.

Biography in Marathi has quite an old tradition which can be traced to the works of the Mahānubhāva sect. In the Modern period the life of Dr Johnson written by Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar and lives of heroes like Garibaldi and Mazzini by N. C. Kelkar and V. D. Savarkar respectively have rendered great service in setting new standards in this field. N. R. Phatak, B. M. Purandere, Dhananjay Kir, and others have widened the horizons of this particular *genre*. Autobiographies were written during the days of the Peshwas, and the one by Nānā Phaḍanavis (1742-1800) is remarkable for its frank self-analysis. *Māzā Pravāsa* (1857) of Godse Bhatji and the memoirs (1910) of Ramabai Ranade (1862-1924), the wife of M. G. Ranade, are in a class by themselves. The auto-

[10] *Tamāśā* is a kind of dance-drama with songs and music, which became popular in Mahārāṣṭra in the eighteenth century. In those days young boys dressed as women used to sing vulgar and even obscene *lāvaṇīs* in the *tamāśā* performances.—Editor.

biographies of D. K. Karve and Dharmanand Kosambi, Lakshmibai Tilak, V. D. Savarkar, Senapati Bapat, N. V. Gadgil, Chintamanrao Kolhatkar, and B. V. Warerkar are very notable records of their age as well as of their personal reactions and vicissitudes in life.

Mahārāṣṭra with its tradition of scholarship in disciplines like history, philosophy, politics, and linguistics is very much advanced in literature dealing with these subjects. During the early years of the twentieth century V. K. Rajwade and C. V. Vaidya concentrated on works of historical research and S. M. Paranjape on vigorous political writings. *Gītā-rahasya*, the *magnum opus* of Lokamanya Tilak, is a profound testament of the author's political philosophy and philosophical acumen. G. S. Sardesai, D. B. Parasnis, T. S. Shejwalkar, D. V. Potdar, and V. S. Bendre contributed greatly to Marathi historical writings in the years that followed. R. D. Ranade and Lakshman Sastri Joshi have made rich contributions to Indian philosophy and logic, and Iravati Karve and G. S. Ghurye have earned a fine reputation in the field of sociology. N. G. Kalelkar and Ashok Kelkar are linguists of great stature. Lexicographical and encyclopaedic works have been undertaken in Mahārāṣṭra with great diligence right from the days of Śivājī when a *Rājya-vyavahāra-koṣa* was compiled, up to Chitrav Sastri's more recent *Prācīna-caritra-koṣa*. *Mahārāṣṭra Jñāna-koṣa* of S. V. Ketkar (1884-1937) is an encyclopaedia in twenty-three volumes. Added to these, there is Sanskrit scholarship in all fields including poetics. The emergence of literary criticism can be traced to the early Marathi periodicals, particularly to the illustrious monthly of Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar, the *Nibandha-mālā* (1874). Literary criticism has had a varied record, and amongst modern critics G. T. Deshpande, K. N. Watwe, R. S. Jog, S. K. Kshirsagar, R. S. Walimbe, B. S. Mardhekar, W. L. Kulkarni, Kusumavati Deshpande, Prabhakar Padhye, Madhav Achawal, Vasant Davtar, and D. K. Bedekar have contributed towards the development of this *genre*. Marxist criticism could not strike any deep roots in Mahārāṣṭra, though Lalji Pendse, Sarat Chandra Muktibodh wrote with a socialist-realistic bias. It is the logical positivist or existentialist approach that seems to be gaining ground. This finds favour with writers as well as readers.

Marathi literature has contributed to the cultural integration of India in various ways. There are, for example, poems, novels, and plays on personalities who do not belong to Mahārāṣṭra but are adored as leaders of national importance. Mention may be made of the novels on Swami Vivekananda,[11] Subhas Chandra Bose, and Sri Aurobindo written respectively by B. D. Kher, P. K. Atre, and Jyotsna Devdhar. G. D. Khanolkar's *Ravīndra-vīṇā* and B. B. Borkar's *Ānandayātrī* are two very good books on Tagore's life and work.

[11] A drama and a long poem on Vivekananda in Sanskrit have also been composed by S. B. Velankar and S. B. Varnekar.

Marathi literature has evinced, during the last thirty years after Independence, remarkable variety and vigour. Writers belonging to different ideologies and socio-political beliefs have produced works of literary merit in all fields. The list of writers in Marathi who received Sahitya Akademi Awards includes B. S. Mardhekar and R. B. Patankar (aesthetics), N. R. Phatak (biography of G. K. Gokhale), T. S. Shejwalkar (biography of Śivājī), Godavari Parulekar (autobiography), V. S. Khandekar and S. N. Pendse (novels), and Durga Bhagavat and P. L. Deshpande (light essays). The present-day Marathi literature is the product of a healthy interaction between a deep respect for the past and a forward-looking feeling for the future. A very encouraging factor is that activitsts in political field from Lokmanya Tilak to Vinoba Bhave have shown great sensitivity to matters literary and cultural. Now, scientific literature is also rapidly developing and mathematicians like Jayant Naralikar write science fiction.

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ORIYA

LANGUAGE : ITS ORIGIN

ORIYA[1] is the official language of the State of Orissa which forms a part of the Indian Union. In ancient days Orissa was known variously as Utkala, Kaliṅga, and Oḍra-deśa. There is ample historical evidence to show that the people of Utkala (lit. the land pre-eminent in *kalā* or the arts) excelled in every branch of the arts, and the Oriya literature was one of the earliest to flourish in the Indian Sub-continent. Recognized in the Indian Constitution as one of the major languages, Oriya is spoken (according to the 1971 Census) by about twenty million people residing in Orissa and in the contiguous areas of the neighbouring States. The language was derived from Māgadhī Prakrit and influenced by the local pre-Aryan and other Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit dialects used by the Aryan-speaking people who had settled in Orissa from the Ardha-Māgadhī and Śaurasenī areas. Oriya as a New or Modern Indo-Aryan language came into being about the tenth century A.D. It can be looked upon as the immediate sister of Bengali and Assamese, and first cousin of Maithili, Māgadhī, and Bhojpuri.

For convenience, the history of the Oriya language and literature may be classified broadly into three main periods, namely, the Old (up to A.D. 1500), the Middle (A.D. 1500-1800), and the New or Modern (after A.D. 1800). In the course of evolution through the periods mentioned, the language and literature of the land have assumed distinct traits as a result of various political, social, and cultural movements, culminating in the present form.

OLD ORIYA LITERATURE

Orissa, the land of Lord Jagannātha, has absorbed almost all the religions of India, and this is reflected not only in its art and architecture, but also in its literature. The Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela (first century B.C.) in Prakrit may be taken to be the earliest indigenous literary expression in the land. The language of this inscription, having a definite artistic flair, is

[1] The anglicized words *oriya* and *orissa* are derived from *oḍiā* and *oḍiśā* both of which again are derived from *oḍra* (or *uḍra*) and *oḍra-viṣaya*>*oḍiviśā* respectively. The Oḍras, an ancient aboriginal tribe, still survive as a cultivating class in the deltaic areas of Orissa. They are now called 'Oḍas'. Oḍra-deśa thus signifies the land of the Oḍras or Uḍras. The word *oḍa* or *oḍiśā* is supposed to have an association with the act of 'tilling' in the Dravidian tongues. The other two tribes associated with the names of ancient Orissa, the Utkalas and Kaliṅgas, seem to have gradually lost their supremacy and assimilated with the other insiders in the course of time.

much closer to Modern Oriya. 'It is almost an Ode on military conquest and imperial grandeur, written in a befitting grand manner'.[2] The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang's (seventh century A.D.) reference to the language of this region as somewhat differing from the speech of Mid-India definitely indicates that Oriya, which took its modern regular shape by the thirteenth century, had developed as a distinct speech by that time.[3] The first major literary specimens of ancient Oriya literature may be traced in the Buddhist *caryāpadas* and *dohās* of the seventh-ninth centuries.[4] These poems are the natural outcome of the influence of Buddhism which was prevalent in Orissa for over a millennium.[5] Arguments claiming these compositions as their own have, however, been advanced on behalf of other literatures (viz. Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, and Maithili) also. After Buddhism, Śaivism spread in Orissa and influenced its literature; Śāktism came closely after. *Cautiśās* (poetic compositions in thirty-four stanzas, each successive stanza beginning serially with a consonant of the Oriya alphabet) were composed in this age depicting in most cases the divine delectations of Śiva and Pārvatī. Vatsa Dāsa's *Kaḷasā-cautiśā,* Avadhūta Nārāyaṇa Svāmī's *Rudra-sudhānidhi* (both belonging to the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), and a few anonymous votive tales in prose, *vratakathās,* such as *Somanātha-vratakathā* and *Nāgala-caturthī-kathā,* bear testimony to the spread of Śaivism in Orissa. Vatsa Dāsa's *Kaḷasā-cautiśā* is a noteworthy specimen of lyric poetry which exhibits the finesse of a pure Oriya style of the romantic order. Avadhūta Nārāyaṇa Svāmī's *Rudra-sudhānidhi* is accepted as one of the finest examples of poetic prose in Oriya and is claimed as unparalleled in the prose literature of the whole of India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is again the earliest complete prose work in Oriya.[6] The language of *Rudra-sudhānidhi* is chaste and forceful. With contents of Yogic, Tāntric, and Vedāntic philosophies, the work is as charming as Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī.*

[2] Cf. Mayadhar Mansinha, *History of Oriya Literature* (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1962), p. 18.

[3] Cf. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* Vol. II, p. 198.

[4] Cf. Haraprasad Sastri's Introduction (p. 17) to his Bengali book (Ed.) *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* (Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, 1323 B.S.). See also Mayadhar Mansinha, *op. cit.,* pp. 22-25. The date of these compositions, however, is still a controversial issue.

[5] With the conquest of Aśoka in the third century B.C. Orissa or Kaliṅga became a stronghold of the noble Dhamma (religion) of Lord Buddha.

[6] Orissa had a long tradition of prose writing from ancient times and, strangely enough, the prose pieces seem to have been the older literary specimens than regular poems. But these prose pieces are mostly of the nature of grants or inscriptions. Oriya prose, as found in some ancient temple inscriptions and copper-plate grants, reveals that the language was already mature enough to convey all forms of thought. The Mahāliṅgeśvara inscription of A.D. 990, the Mukhaliṅgeśvara inscription of A.D. 1035, and the Bhuvaneśvara stone inscription of Narasiṁha Deva of A.D. 1249 may be cited as examples. The palm-leaf chronicle of the Jagannātha temple known as the *Mādala Pañji* also offers some valuable specimens of Old Oriya prose. It is a highly controversial book in Oriya literature. Many scholars ascribe this prose chronicle to the twelfth century, while, according to Dr H.K. Mahatab, it is a sixteenth century work.

The influence of Śāktism centring round the worship of Female Energy (Śakti) is clearly seen in the epic poetry of Sāraḷā Dāsa[7] (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) which comprises the *Mahābhārata*, *Vilaṅka Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Caṇḍī Purāṇa*. In his *Mahābhārata* Sāraḷā Dāsa invokes the grace of Goddess Sāraḷā, a famous deity of Orissa, before he undertakes to write, and ascribes his poetic merit to her blessings and guidance. It is interesting to note that some poets of Orissa have kept up the tradition of Sāraḷā Dāsa in praying for the blessings of Goddess Sāraḷā as a prelude to their creative enterprises. Sāraḷā Dāsa's *Mahābhārata*, his masterpiece, is a high watermark in the realm of epic poetry in Oriya. It is the most popular among the four or five versions of the *Mahābhārata* in Oriya. The story of the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas ending in the victory of the latter is in no way original, but in the hands of the Oriya epic poet it has received a new colour. By giving this brief version of the *Mahābhārata* (in 700 verses), Sāraḷā Dāsa brought the theme of the great epic within the reach of the common man at a period when Sanskrit had become inaccessible and almost unknown to the ordinary people. The Oriya *Mahābhārata* bearing the unmistakable stamp of the local atmosphere and the time-spirit reflects the contemporary socio-economic conditions in Orissa. Sāraḷā Dāsa's *Vilaṅka Rāmāyaṇa* has as its theme the killing of the thousand-headed Rāvaṇa by Sītā, when Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa as well as Hanūmān failed in their attempt to encounter him in battle. His third work, *Caṇḍī Purāṇa*, glorifies Goddess Durgā. This work is the first of its kind in Oriya. Sāraḷā Dāsa was the most modern of all the poets in Old Oriya literature and a feminist in the true modern sense.

Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa's lyrical ballad *Keśava-koiḷi* is a famous work of the fourteenth century. It depicts the grief of Yaśodā when Kṛṣṇa, her foster child, departed from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā. *Keśava-koiḷi*, a poem of thirty-four verses, is still very popular in Orissa. It combines both *cautiśā* and *koiḷi* patterns in it. Under the influence of Sāraḷā Dāsa, Arjuna Dāsa (fifteenth century) composed an episodic poem, *Rāma-bibhā*. This marked the beginnings of the *kāvyas* in Oriya literature, which swept the whole land a couple of centuries later. Among other poets of the fifteenth century, Nīlāmbara Dāsa's name deserves mention. He translated the *Jaimini Mahābhārata* and the *Padma Purāṇa* into Oriya.

MIDDLE ORIYA LITERATURE

The Middle period in Oriya literature witnessed the spread of Vaiṣṇavism (in its twin branches of Rāma cult and Kṛṣṇa cult sometimes also called Jagannātha cult), the last and the most fruitful religious influence that left a far-

[7] Sāraḷā Dāsa flourished during the reign of King Kapilendra Deva (1435-66), founder and the greatest ruler of the Solar dynasty in Orissa.

reaching impact on the literature and people of the land. Five outstanding poets, known as the *pañca sakhās* or 'five friends' of Caitanya (1485-1533), flourished during the first quarter of the sixteenth century and left behind them an enormous mass of religious literature in Oriya, which is still read and enjoyed by hundreds. These poets are Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa, Yaśovanta Dāsa, and Acyutānanda Dāsa. These *pañca sakhās* advocated Vaiṣṇavism, and their literature chiefly dealt with man's quest of God for the attainment of salvation. Their works, particularly the adaptations of the epics and Purāṇas, solved the problem of illiteracy in Orissa to a great extent. Among the *pañca sakhās*, the contributions of Balarāma Dāsa and Jagannātha Dāsa to Oriya poetry are the most significant. Balarāma Dāsa wrote the first Oriya *Rāmāyaṇa* (*c.*A.D. 1500), the most popular among more than a dozen versions of the epic tale of Rāma and Sītā existing in the language. Like Sārạlā Dāsa's *Mahābhārata*, Balarāma Dāsa's *Rāmāyaṇa* is also tinged with local colour. He has to his credit a large number of smaller works also, of which *Bhāvasamudra* deserves special mention. It is a unique literary expression of the sublime devotion, complete surrender, and self-forgetting love of an essentially pious soul who sometimes challenges his beloved Lord and takes Him to task in the most daring terms, which of course clearly brings out the real *bhakta* in him.[8]

Jagannātha Dāsa's *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has a greater and wider appeal for the

[8] An idea of his apparently challenging but fundamentally prayerful attitude can be had from the following lines taken at random from his work.

Referring to the abduction of Sītā, he bursts into open defiance:

'That you Jagannātha, let your wife go to Rāvaṇa,
Is very like you;
Not able to maintain your own wife
Why did you blame another for doing it ?
And she, tired of suffering so much with you,
Went rightly to a man who would make her comfortable !
And are you indeed worthy of that beauteous daughter of King Janaka ?
Believe me, my Lord, you look like no more
Than a servant beside her !'

The poet even challenges Jagannātha's existence in Orissa !

'My Lord, your home is outside Jambudvīpa,
At Dvāraka, somewhere in the sea,
Why don't you go back to live in your own land ?
Why are you here, in our country ?
Have you made yourself overlord here
To insult innocents like Bali Dāsa ?'

But the sublime prayer, the genuine tone of total surrender, and the self-forgetting love of a highly sensitive devotee burst forth most poignantly in many places tearing all veils of pique:

'You made me a prisoner at the hands of the king,
But I have made you a prisoner in the secrecy of my heart !
Tell me, my Lord, that you are my Prisoner,
And that gives me blessed happiness !'

—(translation by Mayadhar Mansinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93).

reading public of Orissa than even Sāraḷā Dāsa's *Mahābhārata*. It is still held in the highest esteem in every nook and corner of Orissa as a relic of divinity. Defying the contempt of the royal court, friends, and critics, Jagannātha started writing his *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the language of the masses in order to show them the clear path of faith and virtue, which the common man without a fair knowledge of Sanskrit could hardly find out with any sense of certainty. Jagannātha not only undertook to write in Oriya, but succeeded in writing it in the most elegant and lucid diction hitherto considered impossible. In its simple dignity, unadorned beauty, and inherent poetical quality, his language reminds one of the authorized version of the English *Bible*. For translating the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata* into Oriya, Jagannātha invented a new rhyming couplet with nine syllables. Popularly known as the *bhāgavata* metre, it has since then turned out to be the handiest metre in Oriya. Jagannātha's work is not at all a literal translation of the original, but 'its general aroma of sanctity, its soft fluency, its quiet dignity and the sublime air of high moral and spiritual life it breathes, go straight into the hearts of hearers and readers'.[9] Jagannātha Dāsa was a prolific writer in Oriya as well as in Sanskrit. Ananta Dāsa, Yaśovanta Dāsa, and Acyutānanda Dāsa also wrote a large number of books. Acyutānanda's *Harivaṁśa* is a highly sacred work to the people of Orissa, and in popularity it is next only to *Bhāgavata* of Jagannātha Dāsa. These five mystic poets released religion out of the stone walls and spread it in the hearts of the people, taking it to great poetic heights.

Influenced by the *pañca sakhās*, a group of religious poets and poetesses wrote poems solely on the love theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They were Rāya Rāmānanda, Mādhavī Dāsī, Śiśu Śaṅkara Dāsa, Mahādeva Dāsa, Murāri Rāya, Cāndakavi, Dāmodara Campatirāya, and Pratāparudra Deva—the Gajapati king of Orissa. The influence of the Brajabuli literature may also be traced in the Oriya literature of this period, especially in the works of these poets. The cult of Jagannātha is manifest in its greatness in this age through hymns and other poetic *genres* influenced by the esoteric principles of Yoga. Śrī Caitanya also gave a new impetus to the literature of this period by his *prema-dharma* or cult of love.

It was the age of epics and Purāṇas, and taking inspiration from Sāraḷā Dāsa and the *pañca sakhās*, several poets created a vast mass of Purāṇic literature in Oriya. Among them Mahādeva Dāsa,[10] Pītāmbara Dāsa,[11] and Kṛṣṇacaraṇa

[9] Cf. Mayadhar Mansinha, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[10] Mahādeva Dāsa was the most prolific of the three. His works include the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Viṣṇukeśarī Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa* as well as *Kārttika-māhātmya, Vaiśākha-māhātmya, Māgha-māhātmya, Āṣāḍha-māhātmya, Dvādaśī-māhātmya*, and *Nīlādri-māhātmya*.

[11] Pītāmbara Dāsa wrote only one Purāṇic epic, *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa*, but in narrative skill, imaginative wealth, character delineation, originality of thought, and in stylistic elegance it stands out as one of the most remarkable productions in the whole Middle Oriya literature.

Paṭṭanāyaka[12] were the most popular. Of numerous versions of the epics, the most remarkable is Kṛṣṇa Siṁha's *Mahābhārata* which is fairly accurate in its translation of the original. *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa* of Viśvanātha Khunitā and *Ṭīkā Rāmāyaṇa* of Maheśvara Dāsa are also popular for their lyrical appeal.

In the first part of the seventeenth century, the *kāvya* literature reached its zenith. This period of Oriya literature popularly known as the *kāvya-yuga*, the age of ornate poetry, started in open rebellion against the strong and simple devotional faith and religious enthusiasm enshrined in the works of the *pañca sakhās*. This age is also called an age of convention and style. Happy similes, apt metaphors, and verbal jugglery embellish the poems of this age. The influence of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* towards the growth of this ornate poetry in Oriya is clearly recognizable. The tendency had already become conspicuous in a few earlier works like *Rāma-bibhā* of Arjuna Dāsa. Some gems of this *genre* belong to the latter part of the sixteenth century. They are: *Uṣābhilāṣa* by Śiśu Śaṅkara Dāsa, *Rahasya-mañjarī* by Devadurlabha Dāsa, *Śaśisenā* by Pratāpa Rāya, and *Śaśirekhā* by Padmanābha Śrīcandana. Rāmacandra Paṭṭanāyaka in his *Hārāvali* (early seventeenth century) made a bold departure from convention by choosing the principal characters from the commonalty. This was a new type which may be called novels in verse.[13] From the middle of the seventeenth century, as already mentioned, poets began to write in an ornate and artificial style which was a dominant feature of the new age. The first poem having an artificial tinge is perhaps *Kalpalatā* by Arjuna Dāsa. It was followed by *Premālocanā* by Viṣṇu Dāsa, *Līlāvatī* by Raghunātha Haricandana, *Kāñcanalatā* by Śrīdhara Dāsa; a number of fictional, historical, and devotional poems including *Kāñcī-Kāverī* by Puruṣottama Dāsa, *Caitanya Bhāgavata* by Īśvara Dāsa, *Jagannātha-caritāmṛta* by Divākara Dāsa, *Kalāvatī* by Pārtha Śrīcandana, *Ratnamañjarī* and *Raghunātha-vilāsa* by Dhanañjaya Bhañja, *Jagamohana-chanda*, *Rasakallola*, *Ārta-trāṇa-cautiśā*, and other poems by Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa,[14] *Sarvāṅgasundarī Citrakalā* by Lokanātha Vidyādhara, and *Prema-pañcāmṛta* by Bhūpati Paṇḍita. *Rasa-kallola*, Dīnakṛṣṇa's *magnum opus*, is a type of its own, and it stands unrivalled in its diction, music, metrical beauty, and aesthetic appeal. Other well-known authors of this period are Madhusūdana, Sadāśiva, Śiśu Īśvara Dāsa, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and Kāhānu Dāsa. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Rasa-vāridhi* is an excellent adaptation of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. Kāhānu Dāsa's *Rāmarasāmṛta-sindhu* is a beautiful *kāvya* in 108 cantos of 108 verses each on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme. These works show that erotic themes and artistry of presentation

[12] Kṛṣṇacaraṇa Paṭṭanāyaka had to his credit two works, *Vāmana Purāṇa* and *Kalki Purāṇa*. But they were not as popular as the works of the other two writers.

[13] Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 206.

[14] Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa was a follower of the Jñāna-bhakti school of Vaiṣṇavism. His great scholarship and thorough acquaintance with all Sanskrit sciences served as an added advantage to his remarkable poetic genius.

were developing into a poetic mode that reached its culmination in the poetry of Upendra Bhañja (1670-1720) and was adopted by Sadānanda, Abhimanyu, and Mandāradhara. Dīnakṛṣṇa, Upendra Bhañja, and Abhimanyu were the outstanding poetic geniuses of this period, and Upendra Bhañja was the most highly talented of the trio. At a period when poetic themes admitted of little variety, he concentrated mostly on the artistry of execution. His literary output is a motley world consisting of merits and demerits, the pure and the trivial, the fine and the gross, the pointed and the circumlocutory. His vocabulary was rich, and he showed so great a skill in its use that he appeared to be a poetic wizard without a rival. *Lāvaṇyavatī*, *Vaidehīśa-vilāsa*, and *Koṭi-brahmāṇḍa-sundarī* are his masterpieces. Of his numerous other works, *Rasika-hārāvali*, *Prema-sudhānidhi*, *Subhadrā-pariṇaya*, *Kalā-kautuka*, *Abannā-rasa-taraṅga*, *Rasa-pañcaka*, and *Gītābhidhāna* deserve special mention. The last two books were written specially to enlighten young aspirants about poetical and rhetorical devices. *Vidagdha-cintāmaṇi* is the finest work of Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṁharā and a remarkable contribution to the realm of Oriya Vaiṣṇava poetry of the ornate type. Some of the cantos of this *Kāvya* are so pathetic and yet so charming that a sensitive reader is sure to be moved to tears on reading them. Unfortunately, side by side with the 'sublime flashes of his (the poet's) vision of Divine love', his depiction of the popular earthly concept of love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa sometimes brings 'his golden images'[15] down to the level of sensuousness. But it must be said to his credit that his delineation of love is unique in Oriya literature, the parallel to which is rarely to be seen in any literature. Despite the erotic flashes on a superficial reading, one is astounded by the allegorical depth and implied mysticism in his poetry. He devoted three *chandas* (cantos) consisting of 148 stanzas only to depicting love in its various forms found in the human as well as the animal world. Apart from this, Abhimanyu composed a few more *kāvyas*, of which *Sulakṣaṇā*, *Rasavatī*, *Premakalā*, and *Prema-cintāmaṇi* deserve special mention.

The poetic tradition of Upendra Bhañja, Dīnakṛṣṇa, and Abhimanyu was followed by a number of poets: Bhaktacaraṇa Dāsa (*Manobodha-cautiśā* and *Mathurā-maṅgala*), Yadumaṇi Mahāpatra (*Prabandha-pūrṇacandra*), Kṛpāsindhu Bhikhāri Dāsa, Cakrapāṇi Paṭṭanāyaka, 'Kavisūrya' Baladeva Ratha, Banamali, Gopalakrushna Pattanayak, and others. Their poems are simple and graceful; but the stamp of artificiality can be traced there. *Kiśora-candrānanda-campū* of Baladeva Ratha (1789-1845) is a remarkable composition written on the theme of the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A musical drama in construction, it is a string of enchanting lyrics composed in the *cautiśā* pattern, each lyric being the utterance of a character. The character of Lalitā, messenger between the divine lovers, powerfully depicted in this work stands out as

[15] Cf. Mayadhar Mansinha, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

unique in the whole range of Oriya literature. The songs of the *Campū* cover a very wide range of musical composition. Held in great respect by experts, they offer a real test to the students of music. Taken as a whole, the *Campū* can be looked upon both as a brilliant 'lyrical drama' and as an exquisite piece of 'musical poetry'. Apart from this small work of thirty-four songs, 'Kavisūrya' has to his credit several hundred songs also almost similar in character to those in the *Campū*. Gopalakrushna (d. 1862) and Banamali are two other great Vaiṣṇava song-makers of the late Middle period, the former being as prolific as Baladeva. Free from conventionalities, the songs of Gopalakrushna and Banamali can be compared with those of the famous Vaiṣṇava poets, Vidyāpati of Mithilā and Caṇḍīdāsa of Bengal. Gopalakrushna is unique in another respect. He is the only poet as yet to depict Kṛṣṇa as a child with all his frolics and pranks.

The metaphysical tradition ushered in by the *pañca sakhās*, particularly by Acyutānanda Dāsa, was continued by a few late medieval poets. The most prominent among them are Bhima Bhoi (d. 1895), the blind and unlettered Khond poet, and Arakshita Dasa. The former's *bhajanas* contained in books like *Stuti-cintāmaṇi* are still very popular in Orissa. Arakshita Dasa is the author of the well-known *Mahīmaṇḍala-Gītā*. Both of them advocated the worship of, and faith in, Brahman the formless One and preached openly against idolatry. Bhima Bhoi was the poet who dreamt of the emancipation of mankind. In one of his poems he says: Let condemned be my life to hell, but let mankind be saved.

Another landmark in Oriya literature of the Middle period is *Samara-taraṅga* of Vrajanātha Baḍajenā (1730-95 ?). It can easily claim a place of distinction in Indian literature as a poem of war and heroism. It records in heroic style and picturesque manner the historically doubtful victory of the forces of Trilocana Mahīndra Bahadur, king of Ḍheṅkānal, over the Marathas under Cimanjī Bhoñslā. A historical (?) poem, *Samara-taraṅga* offers a thrilling study of patriotic sentiment, vivid details of military manoeuvres, and a noble account of soldierly conduct. Apart from *Samara-taraṅga*, the following two of his thirteen books now extant deserve special mention: *Caturvinoda*, a story-cycle in prose, and *Ambikā-vilāsa*, a *kāvya* on the marriage of Śiva with Ambikā or Umā. The authorship of *Ambikā-vilāsa*, however, is still doubtful. The variety in poetic *genres* of Oriya literature in its Middle period is astonishing. To mention a few of them: *purāṇa, kathā, māhātmya, pālā, boḷi, padī, gītā, saṁhitā, janāna, bhajana, vrata, mānasā, kīrttana, prasaṅga, citāu, dohā, gāna, ṭīkā, campū, paṭala, avakāśa, vilāsa, gujjarī, ogāḷa, kavaca,* and *nirṇaya.*

MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

Broadly speaking, the Modern period in Oriya literature began with its

contact with the West after the British occupation of Orissa in 1803. The period witnessed the spread of Western education and culture, gave rise to new trends of thought, and widened the literary vision of the writers. Consequently, both in form and content, there was a complete break from the past, the dominant trends being humanism, love of Nature, nationalism, realism, etc.

THE GREAT TRIO AND OTHERS

Phakirmohan Senapati (1843-1918), Radhanath Ray (1848-1908), and Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) are the great pioneers of Modern Oriya literature. The three writers, however, expressed themselves in different ways. They took Man, Nature, and God as their motifs respectively. It is said of the trio that Phakirmohan represented *Satya*, Radhanath stood for *Sundara*, and Madhusudan for *Śiva*.[16]

Phakirmohan has works both in prose and verse to his credit, but is better known as a prose writer. He created a vigorous style in which the spoken language was used freely for the first time in literary composition. He is the first great writer of novels[17] in Oriya and his works include *Chamāṇa Āṭhaguṇṭha*, *Māmu*, *Prāyaścitta*, and *Lachamā*. These books represented a reaction against the older school in ways more than one. The use of the spoken language and the selection of the common people as heroes and heroines are the two important novel features noticed in Phakirmohan's works. He introduced a new outlook into novel-writing also by depicting the contemporary social life of Orissa. Phakirmohan's deep insight into human nature is reflected in his novels. He is also the first writer of modern short stories in Oriya, which have now been collected in two volumes under the title *Galpa-svalpa*. His *Ātmajīvana-carita*, an autobiography, is a remarkable specimen of the *genre*. It is as interesting as any work of fiction. Though primarily known as a prose writer, Phakirmohan was a gifted poet too. Besides his verse translations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gītā*, the *Harivaṁśa*, and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the author has to his credit such original poetical works as *Utkala-bhramaṇa* (1892), *Puṣpamālā*, *Upahāra*, *Avasara-vāsare*, and *Bauddhāvatāra-kāvya* (1909).

Radhanath, who came from a Bengali family settled in Orissa, loved Nature deeply and interpreted her every passing phase and mood with a passion and wealth of imagery, hardly surpassed in any other modern Indian literature. He was the first Oriya poet to reveal the beauties of Nature to the common eye; the landscape, the hills, rivers, and brooks of Orissa have been made

[16] These are the three aspects of the supreme Spirit as enunciated in the Upaniṣads.

[17] The credit of writing the first novel in Oriya goes to Ramasankar Ray, father of modern Oriya drama. *Vivaśinī*, his only complete novel, was written about twelve years before Phakirmohan attempted his first in *Chamāna Āṭhaguṇṭha*, published in book form in 1901. But it is in the hands of Phakirmohan that the novel in Oriya literature came to maturity.

familiar by his pen. He still remains the greatest landscape painter in Oriya poetry. He clothed Nature with a human personality and depicted her as capable of human understanding and sympathy. His long lyrical narrative *Cilikā* is a unique specimen of Nature poetry. The lake Chilka was dearer to him than any human beloved could be. She consoled him when he was depressed by bitterness, sorrow, and sickness. She unfolded before his eyes visions of Orissa's past glories. Radhanath was a patriot, and infused the spirit of love for the country into the hearts of the people. He was the first to give in *Mahāyātrā*, his *magnum opus*, an epic in blank verse to Oriya literature. It was written on the theme of the final departure of the Pāṇḍavas to the Himalayas after the great battle of Kurukṣetra. Although incomplete,[18] it is indeed a landmark in Oriya literature. He also exhibited rare talent as a social reformer. His *Darabāra* is a verse satire on human vanities. His notable verse romances other than *Cilikā* are: *Kedāra-Gaurī*, *Candrabhāgā*, *Nandikeśvarī*, *Yayāti-keśarī*, *Uṣā*, and *Pārvatī*. They have a sensuous character about them.

Mahārāṣṭrian by birth, Madhusudan, a contemporary of Radhanath, was a *bhakta-kavi* (devotional poet). He was an optimist who saw order and peace in the world. A member of the Brāhmo Samāj, he was not satisfied with worldly attachments and yearned for union with the Spirit Divine. Madhusudan made remarkable experiments in verse forms. He composed his sonnets after Shakespeare and Milton. *Vasanta-gāṭhā*, a sonnet-sequence, and *Kusumāñjali*, a collection of devotional poems, 'embody some of the highest flights of his imagination in the realms of Truth, World and Time'.[19] His *Himācale Udaya-uchava* is an outstanding Nature poem. *Utkala-gāthā* containing songs and poems on Orissa, forcefully reveals Madhusudan's patriotic fervour. His *Ṛṣiprāṇe Devāvatarana* gives an imaginative but impressive picture of a Vedic sage. It is said to have been highly eulogized by Rabindranath Tagore. He has also to his credit a wonderful translation of Bhavabhūti's *Uttara Rāma-carita*. He wrote also a number of stories and essays in forceful prose.

Next in importance is Gangadhar Meher (1862-1924), weaver-poet of Sambalpur. Due to lack of good education, the range of his world was limited, but in his own way he contributed considerably to the realm of modern Oriya poetry. He described natural scenery and human passions and sentiments with admirable skill and artistry. His poetry is rich in imagery and colour. He wrote beautiful odes, sonnets, and lyrics as well as *kāvyas* on classical models. His *kāvyas*, *Tapasvinī* and *Kīcaka-vadha*, are among the rarest gems in the whole range of Oriya literature. His Sītā in the former is a unique creation

[18] It is now available only in seven cantos. It was originally planned by the poet to be completed in as many as thirty cantos. Radhanath is reported to have finished the twenty-first canto, but he had to destroy the other fourteen cantos as they were suspected of containing strong anti-British feelings.

[19] Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

of his poetic genius. It has been rightly observed: 'An enormous quantity of poetry has been produced in Oriya on the portrayal of Sītā, the ideal woman. But nothing in the whole of Oriya literature can surpass the beauty, charm and grandeur of Sītā as she comes to life in Meher's famous *kāvya*, *Tapasvinī*'.[20] Though he borrowed his material from the classics of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, his original creative touches are too unmistakable to be missed. His other poetical works include *Praṇaya-vallarī*, *Indumatī*, *Utkala-lakṣmī*, *Kavitā-kallola*, *Arghya-thāḷi*, *Bhāratī-bhāvanā*, *Padminī*, and *Kṛṣaka-saṅgīta*.

Nandakishore Bala, familiarly known as a *pallī-kavi* (poet of the village), has immortalized rural Orissa in his *Pallī-citra* and *Nirjhariṇī*. His poems exhale the smell of the soil and radiate the quiet and unsophisticated aroma of the countryside. His novel *Kanakalatā* is also surcharged with the flavour and romance of rural Orissa. He also made his name as a writer of children's poems and his *Nānā Bāyā Gīta* is an excellent specimen of this particular branch of literature. Chintamani Mohanty followed the style of Radhanath in his poetic art. Humour was one of his fortes. He was a laborious poet and wrote profusely. His *Vikramāditya* is a heroic *kāvya* in blank verse and his *Viśva-citra* is a collection of poems written in a satirical vein.

SATYAVĀDĪ YUGA

The period that followed is commonly called the Satyavādī Yuga. It covers a brief range of eleven years (1909-20) and has its origin in a kind of idealistic cultural activity which centred round the Satyavādī school founded by Pandit Gopabandhu Das. The other pioneers of this movement were eminent scholars like Kripasindhu Mishra, Godavarish Mishra, Harihara Das, and Nilakantha Das, who sought to reform society and rebuild the nation. Nationalism found an effective expression in their poems, essays, and plays. Nilakantha Das and Godavarish Mishra won Sahitya Akademi Awards for their outstanding autobiographies. Gopabandhu, who was a staunch patriot, launched his campaign of revitalizing the nation through education and literature. His two popular poems written in the Hazaribag jail (1924-26), *Bandīra Ātmakathā* and *Dharmapada*, clearly bring out the man and the literary genius. *Māyādevī*, *Koṇārake*, and *Khāravela* are the three chief historical *kāvyas* of Nilakantha, of which the second is his *magnum opus*. He excelled also in adaptations. In *Dāsa Nāyaka* and *Praṇayinī* he reproduced so to say Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* and *The Princess* respectively. Nilakantha was a vigorous stylist in prose too. His *Ārya-jīvana* is a collection of essays interpreting in a scintillating style the Brāhmaṇic ideal of life and society. His *Oḍiyā Sāhityara Kramapariṇāma* is a critical study of the history of Oriya literature. Kripasindhu based his works on history, weaving facts into the delicate fabric of language. His three out-

[20] Cf. Mayadhar Mansinha, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

standing works in prose are *Koṇāraka*, *Bārabāṭī*, and *Utkala-itihāsa*. Though essentially historical in character, they are enlivened by a marked literary grace and charm. Godavarish composed a number of historical ballads, poems, and patriotic plays, which have a definite stamp of originality and which created a sensation when published. These authors contributed in their own ways to the awakening of a national spirit among the people. Though nationalism and reformation were the dominant trends of this age, the delineation of love and beauty and the expression of personal emotions also formed features of Oriya poetry of this period. Of contemporary writers, Madanmohan Pattanayak, Padmacharan Pattanayak, Lakshmikanta Mahapatra, Satchidananda Das, and Brajamohan Panda have shown excellence in poetry preserving the typical spirit of the movement.

SABUJA YUGA

The Satyavādī Yuga was succeeded by the Sabuja Yuga or 'the era of the greens' (the word 'green' stands for youth) which prevailed between the years 1921 and 1935. It was a reflex of the Sabuja Patra (Green Leaf) literary coterie of Calcutta, with its journal, *Yugavīṇā*. The leader of the Sabuja Patra movement was Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868-1948), an eminent writer of Bengal, whose powerful journal *Sabuja Patra* (1914) played a very vital role in the literary history of Bengal. What characterized this age was the dominant influence of the contemporaneous Bengali literary ways and thoughts. Rabindranath Tagore's ideas formed a basis for imitation, a craze which overwhelmed the Oriya writers of this period. Poets of this group evinced a freshness in their form, language, technique, symbolism, and imagery as well as in their spirit of revolt and youthful exuberance. The distinguished writers of this age are Annadasankar Ray, Kalindicharan Panigrahi, Baikunthanath Pattanayak, Harihara Mahapatra, Harishchandra Badal, and Sarat Chandra Mukherjee. Annadasankar's poem *Kamalā-vilāsira Vidāya* and Baikunthanath's sonnet-sequence *Mṛttikā-darśana* bring out what is best in both the poets.

PEOPLE'S POETS AND OTHERS

Side by side with the Sabuja group, there arose a class of writers who called themselves 'people's poets'. They chiefly echoed the ideas of Freud, Karl Marx, Lenin, and Walt Whitman. Chief among them are Bhagavaticharan Panigrahi, Satchidananda Routray, Ananta Pattanayak, and Manomohan Mishra. The most prominent among them are, however, Satchidananda Routray and Ananta Pattanayak. Satchidananda Routray is claimed as the great innovator of the ultramodern note in the present-day Oriya poetry. His revolutionary and experimental poems have established his fame. The most important works of Routray are *Pāṇḍulipi* (1947) and *Kavitā* (1962), both being collections of

poems. He is a source of inspiration to many modern progressive Oriya writers. Ananta Pattanayak tried to bring about a social revival through his poems and his themes savour of a deep sympathy for the afflicted soul. He is an experimentalist so far as techniques are concerned.

Among other eminent contemporary writers of the period, the best known are Mayadhar Mansinha, Radhamohan Garnayak, and Godavarish Mahapatra. Mansinha's remarkable talent found expression in numerous forms of literary activity, such as lyrics, epics, drama, travelogue, fiction, and literary criticism. He has also compiled an encyclopaedia. Most of the lyrics of Radhamohan Garnayak are based on historical legends and traditions of national culture. His poems savour of a fine lyrical grace. Godavarish Mahapatra, editor of *Niānkhuntā*, was a devastating satirist who ruthlessly exposed the corruptions and hypocrisies in every level of society, politics, and administration. He was also a first-rate short story writer in Oriya. He was posthumously honoured with the Sahitya Akademi Award for his book *Kantā O Phula*. There are others like Kunjabehari Das, Baikunthanath Das, Krushnachandra Tripathi, Bidyutprabha Devi, and Pranakrushna Samal, who also deserve special mention.

DRAMA

From Ramasankar Ray (1860-1920), father of modern Oriya drama, up to the young prolific playwrights of the present day, dramatic literature in Oriya has flourished side by side with other branches of literature. The first modern Oriya drama was, however, *Bābājī* written by Jagamohan Lal in 1877. But it was not a stage success. Radhamohan Rajendra Deb (king of Chikiti), Gopinath Nanda Sarma, and Harihara Mishra carried on the classical Sanskrit tradition. Ramasankar wrote nearly thirty plays of different types: historical, mythological, social, and farcical. *Kāñci-Kāverī* (1880), his first drama and also his *magnum opus*, had a tremendous significance in the evolution of modern Oriya drama. In his dramas Ramasankar used blank verse and prose with admirable skill. Aswini Kumar Ghosh wrote *Koṇāraka*, *Kāḷāpāhāḍa*, *Hindu-ramaṇī*, and thirty other plays. Kalicharan Pattanayak wrote more than twenty plays including *Abhiyāna*, *Cakrī*, and *Phaṭā Bhuin*. Both Aswini Kumar and Kalicharan were talented playwrights who set an ideal for future writers. Two outstanding plays of the first quarter of the twentieth century are *Puruṣottama Deva* and *Mukunda Deva* of Godavarish Mishra of the Satyavādī group. They are specially distinguished for their high poetic quality and strong patriotic fervour. Govinda Surdeo, another contemporary dramatist, showed a flair for historical and Purāṇic episodes in his quaint style. The dramas of Kamapala Mishra (*Sītā-vivāha*), Kalindicharan Panigrahi (*Priyadarśī*), Baikuntha Pattanayak (*Muktipathe*), and Bhikaricharan Pattanayak (*Kaṭaka-*

vijaya) also deserve mention. Of the succeeding dramatists, the following are the most distinguished: Bhanjakishore Pattanayak, Ramachandra Mahapatra, Ramachandra Mishra, Gopal Chhotaray, Kamalalochan Mohanty, Jadunath Das Mahapatra, Raghunath Mishra, Satyanarayan Panda, Kartik Kumar Ghosh, Narasingha Mahapatra, Ramaranjan Mohanty, and Debendra Singha. They have written in the tradition of Kalicharan Pattanayak. Vaishnab Pani, Balakrushna Mohanty, and Gopal Das were among the pioneers of opera in Orissa.

OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

Gopinath Nanda Sarma, Mrityunjay Rath, Nilamani Vidyaratna, Syamasundar Rajguru, and Tarinicharan Rath were all great essayists. They may be said to have laid the foundation of literary criticism in Oriya by writing a number of articles on the contribution of the poets belonging to the ancient and medieval periods. Gopinath Nanda Sarma showed his talent also as a great philologist and lexicographer. *Oḍiyā Bhāṣātattva* (1927) and *Śabdatattvabodha* (1916) are instances in this regard. Mrityunjay Rath became the source of inspiration for the members of the Prachi Samiti, the pivot of which was Artaballabh Mohanty. The Samiti edited a number of old works focussing their subject-matter, style, and inherent beauty. Among the early modern writers who contributed to the growth of the essay and criticism, mention should be made of Biswanath Kar, Bipinbehari Ray, Kulamani Das, Gaurisankar Ray, Girijasankar Ray, Nilakantha Das, Basudeb Mahapatra, Kapileswar Das, Brajabehari Mohanty, Sashibhusan Ray, Ratnakar Pati, and Suryanarayan Das. Gopalchandra Praharaj (1874-1950) was a distinguished prose writer and a great satirist. He was the author of the biggest Oriya dictionary *Pūrṇacandra Oḍiyā Bhāṣākoṣa* (1931) in seven bulky volumes. A quadrilingual one (Oriya, Bengali, Hindi, and English), this dictionary has filled a long-felt want.

POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

The achievements of the writers of the post-Independence period give promise of their bright future. The poets have made experiments with new techniques. Their poems contain new ideas, spiritual and otherwise. Internationalism and modern social, cultural, and political concepts are found to have been reflected in their writings. Jnanendra Varma, Guruprasad Mohanty, Bhanuji Rao, Binode Nayak, Jagannathprasad Das, Chintamani Behera, Jadunath Das Mahapatra, Binode Routray, Durgacharan Parida, Durgamadhav Mishra, Brajanath Rath, Praharaj Satyanarayan Nanda, Benudhar Rout, Ramakanta Rath, Sitakanta Mahapatra, Umasankar Panda, Kailas Lenka, Rajendra Panda, Saubhagya Mishra, Nrisingha Kumar Rath,

Bibekananda Jena, Surendra Mohanty, and Rabi Singh deserve mention as important poets of the period. Three of them, Binode Nayak, Guruprasad Mohanty, and Sitakanta Mahapatra have been honoured with the Sahitya Akademi Awards for their books *Sarīsṛpa*, *Samudra-snāna*, and *Śabdara Ākāśa* respectively. Ramakanta Rath's poetry is distinguished by powerful themes and rich imagery. Some of the old veterans who distinguished themselves before Independence have continued to appear in this period also. The most remarkable of them are Satchidananda Routray, Ananta Pattanayak, Mayadhar Mansinha, Radhamohan Garnayak, and Baikunthanath Pattanayak. Radhamohan Garnayak and Baikunthanath Pattanayak have won the Sahitya Akademi Awards for their books *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Sūrya O Andhakāra* respectively.

The new reflections and researches in the spheres of politics, psychology, philosophy, history, science, and arts have considerably influenced the domains of the Oriya novel, short story, and play. There was hardly any remarkable novel in Oriya written after Phakirmohan excepting the two works of the Sabuja group, *Vāsantī* (1927) and *Māṭira Maniṣa* (1931). The former was a collective venture and the latter was written by Kalindicharan Panigrahi. But Oriya literature has found a flow of talent in this field during the post-Independence period. The new novelists who have won popularity are Kanhucharan Mohanty (*Kā*, *Śāsti*), Gopinath Mohanty (*Parajā*, *Amṛtara Santāna*, *Māṭi Maṭāla*), Nityananda Mahapatra (*Hidamāṭi*, *Bhaṅgāhāḍa*), Chandrashekhar Rath (*Yantrārūḍha*), Vaishnabcharan Das (*Mane Mane*), Rajkishore Pattanayak (*Calābāṭa*), Kamalakanta Das (*Bau*), Upendra Kumar Das (*Malājahna*), Harekrushna Mahatab (*Pratibhā*), Basanta Kumari Pattanayak (*Amaḍābāṭa*), Surendranath Mohanty (*Nīlaśaila*), Bibhuti Pattanayak (*Nāyikāra Nāma Śrāvaṇī*), Mahapatra Nilamani Sahu (*Tāmasī Rādhā*), Santanu Kumar Acharya (*Nara-kinnara*), and Govinda Das (*Amāvasyāra Candra*). Both the Mohanty brothers, Gopinath and Kanhucharan, and Surendranath Mohanty won the Sahitya Akademi Awards.[21] Of the novelists in Oriya Gopinath Mohanty and a few others have shown traces of existentialism and 'stream of consciousness' in their works. Right from Phakirmohan Senapati, the novelists in Oriya have portrayed the contemporary society of Orissa. Phakirmohan in his novels has shown how the innocent are oppressed; in the writings of Kalindicharan Panigrahi the oppressed are not inclined to accept the injustice done to them, and in the works of Gopinath Mohanty, they rebel against the oppressor. Notable among the modern short story writers are Nityananda Mahapatra, Godavarish Mahapatra, Anantaprasad Panda,

[21] Gopinath Mohanty was honoured with the Award for his novel *Amṛtara Santāna* (based on the tribal life of Orissa) in 1955. Kanhucharan received the Award for his *Kā* in 1957 and Surendra Mohanty, for his *Nīlaśaila* in 1969. Gopinath Mohanty was further honoured with the Jnanpith Award for his novel *Māṭi Maṭāla* in 1975.

Surendranath Mohanty, Rajkishore Ray, Rajkishore Pattanayak, Brahmananda Panda, Bibhuti Bhusan Tripathi, Mahapatra Nilamani Sahu, Manoj Das, Ramachandra Mishra, Krushnaprasad Mishra, Kishoricharan Das, Baikuntha Das, Harihara Das, Bamacharan Mitra, and Akhilmohan Pattanayak. In their treatment, action, theme, and setting Oriya short stories have transcended the limits of regional colour and achieved universal appeal. Among these short story writers, Manoj Das has won the Sahitya Akademi Award for his book *Kathā O Kāhānī*. Pranabandhu Kar, Manoranjan Das,[22] Biswajit Das, Ratnakar Chaini, Bijay Mishra, and Byomkesh Tripathi have evinced remarkable originality and boldness in the sphere of modern Oriya drama and the one-act play during the period.

Considerable progress has also been noticed in literary criticism. Among the literary critics who occupy a distinctive position are Nilakantha Das, Binayak Mishra, Artaballabh Mohanty, Sudhakar Pattanayak, Mayadhar Mansinha, Chittaranjan Das, Harekrushna Mahatab, Paramananda Acharya, Surendra Mohanty, Natabar Samanta Ray, Chintamani Behera, Sarbeswar Das, Kunjabehari Das, Chintamani Das, Kanhucharan Mishra, Gourikumar Brahma, Banshidhar Mohanty, Gopal Chandra Mishra, Janakiballabh Mohanty, Pathani Pattanayak, G. C. Udgata, Krishnacharan Behera, Murari Jena, Nityananda Satapathy, Gangadhar Bal, K. C. Sahu, Narendra Mishra, Debendra Mohanty, Nilamani Mishra, Brindaban Acharya, Dasarathi Das, Srinibas Mishra, Bibhudatta Mishra, Asit Kabi, Dolagovinda Shastri, Khetrabasi Nayak, and B. M. Padhi. Krushna Chandra Panigrahi, Sudarsan Acharya, Kedarnath Mahapatra, and Satyanarayan Rajguru have immensely contributed to the critical study of the history and culture of Orissa. The post-Independence Oriya essay had a very interesting development reminding readers of G. K. Chesterton, Robert Lynd, and others. Writers like Govinda Tripathi (*Baṭuā*), Gopal Praharaj (*Bhāgavata Tuṅgire Sandhyā* and *Nanāṅka Bastāni*), Chandrasekhar Rath (*Mana-araṇya*), Nityananda Mahapatra (*Patra O Pratimā*), Ramachandra Mishra (*Heresā*), Chittaranjan Das (*Taraṅga O Taḍit*), Chaudhury Hemakanta Mishra (*Niṣiddha Pustaka*), and Chintamani Mishra (*Devadevāṅka Dugati*) have created a new style, combining the humorous with the serious.

As a testimony to the wide varieties of experience, Oriya writers can boast of first rate travelogues like *Dairira Kiyadaṁśa* by Jalandhar Dev, *Paścimapathika* by Mayadhar Mansinha, *Vipulā Ca Pṛthvī* by Sriharsa Mishra, *Deśa-videśe* by Govinda Das, and *Laṅkā-yātrī* by Kunjabehari Das. In addition to these, Radhanath Rath, S. Supakar, Golokbehari Dhal, Sriramachandra Das, and others have written excellent travelogues. In the sphere of journalism

[22] Manoranjan Das was a recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award for his drama *Araṇya-phasala* in 1972.

too, Oriya writers have made positive contributions. Among creative journalists, mention may be made of Balakrushna Kar, Radhanath Rath, and Harekrushna Mahatab. Their editorials have contributed much towards the growth and development of the Oriya language and literature. The autobiographies of Harekrushna Mahatab and Kunjabehari Das are remarkable specimens of the *genre*.

Of the women writers in Oriya, the following are of distinctive merit: Kuntala Kumari Sabat, Sarala Devi, Basanta Kumari Pattanayak, Sitadevi Khandanga, Nandini Satapathy, Binapani Mohanty, Kuntala Acharya, Bidyutprabha Devi, Pratibha Satapathy, Supritidevi Gantayat, Rajeswaridala Behera, Hemalata Mansinha, Manorama Mahapatra, Kalpanakumari Devi, Debahuti Das, 'Nārī Kavi' Appana, Haripriya Devi, Nirmala Devi, Labanya Nayak, Brahmotri Mohanty, Snehalata Mahapatra, and Priyambada Mishra.

Some of the outstanding names in the field of scientific and technical literature are: Gokulananda Mahapatra, B. Samanta Ray, Kulamani Samal, Debakanta Mishra, Radhanath Rath, Gopalchandra Pattanayak, and Jayakrushna Mohanty. Gokulananda Mahapatra among these writers has made distinct contributions to the field. His popular science fictions like *Pṛthivī Bāhāre Maniṣa* have brought him to the limelight. Books on politics, sociology, medicine, psychology, logic, economics, and various other technical subjects are being written in Oriya. Baidyanath Mishra and a few others have already earned reputation for their writings on parliamentary democracy and socio-political topics. Kunjabehari Tripathi, Golokbehari Dhal, and Dhaneswar Mahapatra have contributed to the critical studies in Oriya language and script. In the sphere of translation also, Oriya literature is sufficiently advanced. As a whole, as it stands today, Oriya literature is quite rich and its canvas considerably broad.

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PUNJABI

LANGUAGE : ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH

PUNJABI, as the name suggests, is the language of the Punjab, the land of the five rivers. Though the political boundaries of the Punjab have changed from time to time, the linguistic boundaries have remained intact since the origin of the modern vernacular. Punjabi is one of the Indo-Aryan languages. It evolved out of the Apabhraṁśa of the region. It has been said that from Sanskrit originated Prakrit, whence the Apabhraṁśa language.[1] Therefore, the characteristics of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa can be traced in the Punjabi language. According to Dr G. A. Grierson, Punjabi is not the language of the entire land of the five rivers.[2] He is of the view that the vernacular of the whole of eastern Punjab is Punjabi.[3] He considers the language of the western Punjab or Lahnda(or Lahndi) as a separate language. Therefore, for him the word 'Punjabi' connotes only Eastern Punjabi. But he has not been able to draw a hard and fast boundary line between the two. Dr P. D. Gune follows Dr Grierson and confirms that Punjabi is the language spoken in the modern Punjab, excepting the westernmost part along the banks of the Indus, which is the place of Lahndi. He further says that the classification of Lahndi under the name of Multani as one of the dialects of Punjabi by Hoernle and others is not correct because it has proved to be an independent dialect, allied more with Sindhi than with Punjabi.[4] Dr Grierson has classified the modern Indian languages into two groups, the outer and the inner. According to him, Punjabi belongs to the inner circle and Lahndi to the outer. This classification, however, has not been accepted by Dr S. K. Chatterji.[5] Dr Grierson has mentioned Majhi, Doabi, Powadhi, Rathi, Malwai, Bhattiani, and Dogri as the dialects of Punjabi.[6] The areas of Majhi and Lahndi are contiguous to each other, and Principal Teja Singh, who made a comparative study of Majhi and Lahndi in his book *Sāhit Darśan*, has come to the conclusion that they are closely related to each other, just as Majhi and Malwai. He has asserted

[1] *Vide* R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1957. Translation from German by Subhadra Jha), p. 1.

[2] *Vide* his *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 608.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 607.

[4] Cf. P. D. Gune, *An Introduction to Comparative Philology* (Oriental Book House, Poona, 1958), pp. 282-83.

[5] *Vide* his *The Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Vol. I, pp. 32-33.

[6] G. A. Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

that the language of the land of the five rivers is Punjabi, which includes the areas of Malwa, Doaba, Bar, Pothohar, Dhanni, and Multan (or Lahnda). According to him, Lahndi is part and parcel of Punjabi.[7] Later Punjabi scholars have accepted the view of Principal Teja Singh that Lahndi is a dialect of Punjabi. It has been generally accepted that it was a popular literary medium prior to the production of literature in Eastern Punjabi.

The Vedic language has been called the oldest Punjabi,[8] because it is nearer to Punjabi than Hindi. Classical Sanskrit evolved from the Vedic is the main source of Punjabi vocabulary and Śaurasenī Prakrit is nearest to Classical Sanskrit. Dr S. K. Chatterji has remarked that Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa (which originated from Śaurasenī Prakrit) was not merely the spoken language of the area round about Mathurā, it was a sort of *lingua franca* for the whole of north, north-western, and north-eastern India.[9] It was actually this Apabhraṁśa that gave birth to Punjabi and was also the mother of the saints' language, known as *sant-bhāṣā* or *sādhukaḍī-bhāṣā*.[10] The land of Lahndi is the place of settlement of the ancient Kekayas.[11] This has led some scholars, especially Dr Prem Prakash Singh, to affirm that there is a possibility that not only Lahndi, but also Eastern Punjabi evolved from Kaikeyī Apabhraṁśa.[12] But Dr Gune says that Lahndi is the outcome of Paiśācī.[13] According to Dr Mohan Singh, Paiśācī Bhākhā, Bhūt Bhākhā, Avahat, and Jatkī are the other names of Punjabi.[14]

In both poetical and prose works of Punjabi literature, the standard literary medium is the dialect known as Majhi, though the influence of various other dialects is found here and there. With the Muslim penetration into the Punjab, there was a great Perso-Arabic influence on the Punjabi language. The Medieval period in Indian history extends from the eighth to the eighteenth century. During the first five hundred years, Islam penetrated into India from the South, Sind, and the North-West and during the next five hundred years, it held its sway over the whole of India as a ruling force. The Muslims invaded India in about A.D. 1000 and about the same time Punjabi had gradually evolved out of the Apabhraṁśa of the area, which might have been one of the three Paiśācīs as mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya, namely, Kaikeyī, Śaurasenī, and Pāñcāla.[15]

The oldest writings in Punjabi, e.g. the *janam-sakhis* and the compositions of the *Ādi Grantha*, were written in the Gurumukhi script. The Muslims, however,

[7]Teja Singh, *Sāhit Darśan* (Prakash Pustakala, Patiala, 1951), pp. 20-22.
[8]*Ibid.*, p. 23.
[9]Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[10]Cf. S. S. Kohli, *A Critical Study of the Ādi Granth* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1976), p. 48.
[11]Cf. P. D. Gune, *op. cit*, p. 288.
[12]*Vide* his *Pāñjabī Balī da Nikās te Vikāś* (Lahore Bookshop, Ludhiana, 1955), p. 255.
[13]P. D. Gune, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
[14]Mohan Singh, *Jatindar Sāhit Sarovar* (Prem Sahit Niketan, Delhi, 1950), p. 83.
[15]Cf. R. Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

used the Persian script for their writings in Punjabi, but phonetically, it could not reproduce the actual Punjabi sounds as it lacked necessary sound signs (letters). Gurumukhi has remained the vehicle in the Punjab for its language. The composition of Guru Nānak named *pattī* establishes that this script was being used in the Punjab much earlier. It came to be known as Gurumukhi (which literally means 'from the mouth of the Guru') after its adoption for the writings of the Sikh Gurus. It is a simple, flawless, and most appropriate medium of Punjabi expression. According to the researches of S. G. B. Singh,[16] it is an offshoot of the Brāhmī script and its letters are much older than those of the Devanāgarī script.

LITERATURE

PRE-NĀNAK PERIOD

In the pre-Nānak period, Nāthas and Yogīs were very active in the Punjab. Their compositions are found in two languages—the Apabhraṁśa and the language of the common people. Gradually, the language of the common people replaced the Apabhraṁśa and manifested itself as *sant-bhāṣā* (*sādhukaḍī*). This language contained words not only from Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa, but also from Persian and Arabic, because by that time Islam had established itself in India and even the Muslims could be initiated into the fold of Yogic cults. This new language became popular with the popularity of the saints who moved from place to place in order to preach their creed and meet their followers scattered over the various parts of the country. The peculiar characteristics of this language were: the religious diction derived from Sanskrit and Prakrit works, the affixes and case-terminations of the language of the area in which the saints lived, the analytical character, the mixed vocabulary and the inflections because of the travels of the saints from one area to the other, and finally the influence of Persian and Arabic.[17] In the pre-Nānak period, Nāmadeva and Kabīr visited the Punjab for some time; therefore, we find a tinge of Punjabi in their hymns written in *sant-bhāṣā*.

The only poet of note in the Punjab of the pre-Nānak period is Baba Fariduddin Shakarganj (1173-1266), a Sufi saint. He was a mystic of a very high order. Because of the purity and sincerity of his mystic fervour, his poetry was included in the *Ādi Grantha*[18]. He is famous for his exuberance of love for God. His mysticism may be called Quranic mysticism. The *Ādi Grantha* contains four hymns and 112 *ślokas* of Baba Farid. His poetry is rich in imagery. He conveyed

[16]His *Gurmukhī Lippi da Janam ta Vikāś* (Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1972), pp. 60 and 77.

[17]S. S. Kohli, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[18]The *Ādi Grantha*, sacred scripture of the Sikhs, is a collection (made in 1604 by Guru Arjuna, fifth Guru of the Sikhs) of devotional and mystic poems by the Sikh Gurus and by some others who preceded them and were celebrated as *bhaktas* or lovers of God.—Editor.

his thoughts through various metaphors and symbols. The seeker is for him a lady in search of her lord, God. A man of God has been likened to a swan and a worshipper of mammon to a crane. The spiritual teacher is like a boatman who takes us to the other bank of the river of *saṁsāra*. The body is like a fort which is captured by the angel of death, who extinguishes the two earthen lamps or eyes. The grave is the 'real home'. The verses of Baba Farid are composed in Lahndi. The maturity of the verses of Baba Farid makes us realize the richness of the literature preceding him. Unfortunately, because of the geographical situation of the Punjab, most of the literature preceding and succeeding Baba Farid has been lost. We do not find any composition worthy of note for about three centuries after him. In the *Ādi Grantha*, besides the verses of Baba Farid, we find some references to *vārs* written in this period. A *vār* is a typical Punjabi poem which celebrates the exploits of heroes fighting in the battlefield.

A specimen of Punjabi prose of the pre-Nānak period has come to light. It is entitled *Ekādaśī Mahātam*. The famous epigraphist, Dr B. C. Chhabra, has deciphered the script of the manuscript as Devaśeṣa, a stage of development between Śāradā and Gurumukhi.[19] According to Jagannath Aggarwal, the language of the manuscript is undoubtedly Punjabi and the script used is full-fledged Śāradā. He ascribes the manuscript to the thirteenth/fourteenth century and considers it to be the earliest known specimen of the Punjabi language preserved in writing.[20]

NĀNAK AGE : GOLDEN PERIOD OF PUNJABI LITERATURE

The golden period of Punjabi literature begins with Guru Nānak (1469-1538) and ends with the passing away of the tenth and the last Sikh Guru, Guru Govinda Siṅgh (1666-1708). In this period, the folk traditions of the pre-Nānak age were preserved. The religious fervour of the *bhakti* movement manifested itself in the traditional metres. The *vārs* were composed by the Sikh Gurus singing the glories of the Almighty, the religious preceptor, and the ideal person (Gurumukh). Besides these religious types of *vār*, we have a model *vār* of Guru Govinda Siṅgh entitled *Caṇḍī-dī-vār* depicting the battles of Goddess Durgā with the demons.

The poetry of Guru Nānak is marked by lyrical exuberance, richness of imagery, and pointedness of thought. It is chiefly Upaniṣadic in theme. His masterpiece *Japjī* is considered an epitome of the *Ādi Grantha*. His philosophical thoughts never overshadow his poetic genius. There are references to all the creeds and sects of his time in Nānak's lyrics. He wrote in different styles, and

[19] Cf. Tarlochan Singh Bedi, *Pānjabī Vartak da Ālocanātmak Adhyayan* (Amarjit Kaur, New Delhi), p. 21.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

his poems show his knowledge of most of the vernaculars of North India. The Gurus who succeeded him elucidated his doctrines in their lyrics. Most of the poems of Nānak are not in pure Punjabi but in Old Hindui, Braja-bhāṣā, and the speech of Delhi, occasionally mixed with Punjabi. Guru Arjuna (1565-1605), the fifth Guru, compiled and edited the *Ādi Grantha* about the year 1604 and thereby preserved the poetry of the Sikh Gurus and the medieval saints for posterity. The *Ādi Grantha* is a treasury of Old Hindui dialects.

The poets of the *Ādi Grantha*, who wrote either in Eastern Punjabi or in Western Punjabi besides the saints' language, are: Baba Farid, Guru Nānak, Guru Aṅgada, Guru Amara Dāsa, Guru Rāma Dāsa, Guru Arjuna, Satta, Balvand, and Sundara. Baba Farid, Satta, and Balvand are essentially poets of Western Punjabi, but Guru Nānak and Guru Arjuna have also written some hymns in that dialect. The verse of Guru Arjuna is marked for its haunting melody and verbal beauty. His most popular composition is *Sukhamaṇi*. He also wrote a few *ślokas* in Sindhi.

The Muslims had established themselves in the Punjab in the pre-Nānak period. The influence of Persian and Arabic on Punjabi had begun at that time. The literature of the Nānak age was indebted to the traditions of Persian literature. *Janam-sakhis* (in prose), *sukhans* (in prose), *qissas* (in verse), and *namas* (in verse), which were written in the Nānak period and the succeeding periods, had their models in Persian literature. Since Persian was the court language, its influence on Indian literature was inevitable. Not only were Persian words absorbed into Punjabi, the poets also drew several similes and metaphors from Persian.

In the Nānak age there were three distinct movements in Punjabi poetry. Mention of the religious poetry of the Sikh Gurus has already been made. There were, besides, Gurudāsa (*c.* 1551-1629) and other Sikh poets like Jalhan and Suthra. Gurudāsa composed forty *vārs* as a sort of 'pendant' to the *Ādi Grantha*. Written in a simple style, they are all didactic poems conveying teachings of moral import through fables and stories. The Sufi poets like Shah Hussain, Sultan Bahu, and Ali Haidar represented the second movement. Their *kafis* and *siharfis* have a significant place in the realm of Indian mystic poetry.[21] As opposed to the sayings of Baba Farid, they present a note of revolt. The third movement was with regard to *qissa* poetry. Dāmodara, a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), was the first in this line. He composed the first Punjabi *qissa* dealing with the story of Hīr and Ranjhā.[22] Pilu (late seventeenth century), Hafiz Barkhurdar (probably a disciple of Pilu), Muqbil

[21]*Kafis* are short lyrical and generally mystical poems and *siharfis* are poems based on the (thirty) letters of Persian alphabet.—Editor.

[22]The love story of Hīr and Ranjhā has been treated in long narrative poems by a number of Punjabi poets.—Editor.

(*c.* 1696 or, according to some, *c.* 1750), and Ahmad Gujjar followed Dāmodara. They wrote love romances which are full of exquisite descriptions of various moods of the human mind and contain specimens of remarkable poetry. Both Pilu and Hafiz Barkhurdar took their theme from the popular tragic story of love of Mirza and Sahiban.

The prose of the Nānak period is mostly religious and revolves round the personality of Guru Nānak. *Janam-sakhis*, *sakhis*, *goshts*, *paramārathas*, *parchis*, *uṭhāṅkās*, etc. are various forms of this prose, which contain biography, anecdote, dialogue, commentary, and exposition steeped in the philosophy and religion of Guru Nānak. In these works there is a comparative study of the thoughts of Guru Nānak and the religious systems of the areas visited by him. There are five important versions of the *janam-sakhi*, namely, *Janam-sakhi* by Bālā (sixteenth century), *Purātana Janam-sakhi*, *Śambhunātha Vālī Janam-patrī*, *Janam-sakhi Meharban*, and *Jñāna-ratnāvalī* or *Janam-sakhi* by Maṇi Siṅgh (d. 1737). The last was written after the passing away of Guru Govinda Siṅgh.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The period which is known as the later Mogul period in Indian history was one of great storm and stress in the Punjab. The Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Siṅgh Bahadur uprooted Mogul imperialism from the land of the five rivers. Though hundreds of Sikhs and Banda himself were captured and brutally murdered, the power and prestige of the Sikhs began to grow. The principal Sikh chiefs established their sway in different parts of the Punjab. The various confederacies (or *misals*) ultimately consolidated their power under the leadership of Rānjit Singh (1780-1839) by the end of the eighteenth century. The small military monarchies disappeared and a Sikh kingdom was established. Two luminaries of Punjabi literature belong to this period. We have the culmination of Sufi poetry in Bulhe Shah and the climax of *qissa* poetry in Waris Shah. The *kafis* of Bulhe Shah and the *qissa* treating the Hīr-Ranjhā story by Waris Shah[23] have become classics in Punjabi literature. The Udāsī and Nirmalā saints contributed a great deal towards the development of Punjabi prose which more or less followed the literary tradition of the Nānak period. The Mīṇās and Sevāpanthīs have also not lagged behind in their contribution, especially to Punjabi prose. A remarkable work of this period is *Pāras Bhāg*. It is a translation by Addan Shah of *Kimiyae-Sadat* of the great Muslim scholar, Imam Ghazali.

[23]This *qissa* by Waris Shah, which was composed in 1766, is the most extensive and at the same time most popular poem in Punjabi on the Hīr-Ranjhā story. Judging from the extent as well as the popularity of this work, its author has been acclaimed as the greatest poet of Punjabi before the modern age. The poem is significant for another reason. It gives us a very beautiful and detailed picture of the contemporary village life of the Punjab.—Editor.

PERIOD OF RANJIT SINGH

The first half of the nineteenth century is highly significant, because the Punjabis, after centuries, established their own rule in the Punjab during this period. But Persian continued to be the court language. Though Ranjit Singh is said to have been an admirer of art and literature, he could not find much time to patronize them because of his various military expeditions. The poets who flourished in this period are Hasham, Ahmad Yar, Qadar Yar, Imam Bakhsh, and Shah Mohammed. The first four poets wrote *qissas* or longer poetic romances and the last one wrote a *vār* depicting the battles between the Sikhs and the English giving a correct picture of the whole situation. There was no significant contribution to prose literature except the translations of *Adlay Akbari*, *Akbarnama*, and the *Bible*. The Christian missionaries had established a centre at Ludhiana in 1837, and William Carey of the Serampore Mission did some spade-work regarding Punjabi grammar. Other grammars and an English-Punjabi dictionary were also brought out, besides the Punjabi translations of the *Bible* at various Mission centres.

BRITISH PERIOD AND MODERN PUNJABI LITERATURE

The British period in the Punjab extends for nearly one century, from 1849 to 1947. During the first half of British rule, the old tradition of *qissa* poetry, and the poetry of religious, didactic, and lyrical nature continued. In the first twenty-five years Mohammed Bakhsh and Fazal Shah are the pre-eminent *qissa* poets and Ghulam Rasul is the famous didactic poet. Some of the important masters of traditional poetry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century are Kishan Singh Arif, Bhagwan Singh, Mansingh Kalidas, Hidayatullah, Mohammed Buta, and Ghulam Farid.

There was a general degeneration among the Sikhs because of the British occupation of the Punjab. With the adoption of the English language as the medium of instruction and the teaching of English literature in schools and colleges, there was a great social awakening among the educated people of the Punjab. The Sikhs had a golden past of heroic feats and sacrifices, but their kingdom having been lost to the British, their future seemed bleak. They had become weak politically and socially, and taking advantage of this situation, several religious missions raised their heads in the Punjab and prepared for an onslaught on Sikhism. A few young intellectuals among the Sikhs took up the cudgels and came forward to awaken their community. This led to the commencement of the Singh Sabha movement. An organization named Khalsa Tract Society was established. Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957) was one of its founder-members. The Ārya Samāj movement had also gained momentum in the Punjab. Both these movements were of considerable social and religious significance. Under their impact as well as that of English literature, there was

an attempt at social and religious reform through various literary mediums. Bhai Vir Singh appeared as a literary giant at this juncture. He composed not only smaller poems of great merit, but also composed an epic entitled *Rāṇā Sūrat Siṅgh* (1905). Written in a kind of blank verse called *śrīkhaṇḍī chanda*, *Rāṇā Sūrat Siṅgh* is essentially a religious work. Bhai Vir Singh also wrote biographies, novels, and dramas. His biographies of Guru Govinda Siṅgh (1925) and Guru Nānak (1928) are quite well known. A tragic story of Sikh heroism is unfolded in his *Sundarī* (1897)—one of the earliest novels in Punjabi. His other novels, namely, *Vijay Siṅgh*, *Satvant Kaur*, and *Bābā Naudh Siṅgh* have also the chivalry and heroism of the Sikhs as their themes. He has also a number of charming lyrics to his credit. He is rightly called the father of modern Punjabi literature. The seeds of a romantic movement are discernible in his poetry, which culminated in the poetry of Puran Singh (1882-1932), Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876-1954), Kirpa Sagar (1879-1939), and Mohan Singh (b. 1905). Poet and essayist, Puran Singh rendered into English a number of Punjabi poems by Bhai Vir Singh. Emotional fervour and a note of humanism mark his original poems. As an essayist, he is at his best in his *Khule Lekh* (1929). Dhani Ram Chatrik's notable collections of verse are *Candana-vāri*, *Keśar Kiārī*, *Nava Jahan*, and *Sufi Khana.* Kirpa Sagar is particularly famous for his long romantic poem, *Lakṣmī Devī* (1920-21). He also wrote a historical play, *Ranjit Siṅgh* (1923). Mohan Singh is a poet with a modern outlook. Puran Singh, Pritam Singh Safir, Diwan Singh Kalepani, and several others are indebted to Bhai Vir Singh for the mystic trend in their poetry. The popularity of the historical novels of Bhai Vir Singh induced Charan Singh Shahid and others to write a similar type of fiction. This tradition of writing historical novels has continued in modern literature in the novels of Narindar Pal Singh, Harnam Das Sehrai, Tarlok Singh Toofan, Sadhu Singh Hamdard, and Bhajan Singh. The tracts of Bhai Vir Singh written with the object of social uplift inspired Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid (1881-1936) to write novels for the propagation of high morals.

Poet Dhani Ram Chatrik, novelist Nanak Singh, and dramatist Ishwar Chandar Nanda came under the impact of the movement for social uplift. The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and several other nationalistic movements awakened the masses politically. Creative writers did not sit idle. Their patriotic fervour found expression in vigorous poetry. The progressive movement in the realm of Indian literature started around 1935 and received an impetus from the victory of the socialist powers in the Second World War. Socialism was considered the panacea of all the ills of humanity. The eminent prose writer, Gurbakhsh Singh, was very much under the influence of this progressive movement. In Punjabi poetry Mohan Singh, Bawa Balwant, Amrita Pritam, and several others drew inspiration from the progressive movement. Besides

Gurbakhsh Singh, Teja Singh, Lal Singh, Harinder Singh Roop, and Sahib Singh made their contributions to Punjabi prose. Among them Teja Singh is noted for his chaste Punjabi. In this period Kartar Singh Duggal emerged as a leading short story writer and Harcharan Singh as a promising dramatist. Nanak Singh wielded his influence over the Punjabi novel in the pre-Partition period.

POST-PARTITION PUNJABI LITERATURE

The nationalist and progressive forces at work during and after the Second World War compelled the British imperialists to withdraw from the Indian Sub-continent. On the 15th of August, 1947, came Independence, and in its wake, millions of people had to move from one area to another, because the country was partitioned and communal forces were at work. The Punjab was cut in twain. This holocaust gave a subject and a theme to many types of writers—poets, short story writers, novelists, and dramatists.

With the dawn of Independence and the emergence of India as a republic, new vistas and horizons were spread out for Punjabi literature. Many of the pre-Independence poets continued to compose poetry in the post-Independence period. Worthy of notice among those are Mohan Singh, Pritam Singh Safir, Bawa Balwant, and Amrita Pritam. Progressive in their outlook, they freely expressed their views on imperialism and capitalism. The poets who have shown their worth after Independence include Avtar Singh Azad, Harbhajan Singh, Jaswant Singh Neki, Sukhpal Vir Singh Hasrat, Takhat Singh, Santokh Singh Dhir, Gurcharan Rampuri, Surjit Rampuri, and Shiv Kumar Batalavi. Traditionalists like Hazara Singh Gurdaspuri, Teja Singh Sabar, Hira Singh Dard, Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Nand Lal Nurpuri, Vidhata Singh Tir, and others also made new experiments. The main characteristics of the new poetry are a broader outlook on life, an intellectual and subjective approach, subtlety in expression, and novelty in technique. The poets are influenced by other Indian literatures in their experiments in form and technique. They are more inclined towards the metres of folk-poetry. Though revolutionary and progressive, they also sing songs of love and peace.

As regards prose, we have the writings of old stalwarts like Teja Singh, Gurbakhsh Singh, Sahib Singh, Lal Singh, and Harinder Singh, and others like Prem Singh, Ganda Singh, Bhai Sher Singh, Dr Sher Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Bhai Randhir Singh, and Sohan Singh Josh. Some new writers like Kapur Singh, Ishwar Chitarkar, Jagjit Singh Anand, Balwant Gargi, Suba Singh, and Kulbir Singh Kang have made their presence felt. The prose writings in various journals are mainly literary and critical essays. The contribution of Nanak Singh to the development of the novel in this period is significant. He wrote novels about Partition, its after-effects, and other problems. Other

novelists worth mentioning are Surindar Singh Narula, Kartar Singh Duggal, Jaswant Singh Kanwal, Mohindar Singh Sarna, Colonel Narindar Pal Singh, Sohan Singh Sital, and Gurdial Singh. Sant Singh Sekhon, Kartar Singh Duggal, Gurbakhsh Singh, Sujan Singh, Kulwant Singh Virk, Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Devindar Satyarthi, Santokh Singh Dhir, Navtej Singh, Swinder Singh Uppal, Mohan Singh, and Hari Singh Dilbar are well-known writers of short stories. Those who have made a mark in the domain of drama include Ishwar Chandar Nanda, Sant Singh Sekhon, Balwant Gargi, Harcharan Singh, Gurdial Singh Khosla, Gurdial Singh Phul, Roshan Lal Ahuja, Kapur Singh Ghumman, and Gurcharan Singh Jasuja.

The new literature is marked by a realistic outlook and sound nationalism. Writers of fiction have become more materialistic showing a preference for psychological treatment in their works. At times their realism degenerates to the depiction of morbid, sexual, and baser aspects of life. A new movement in Punjabi poetry, known as the experimental movement, aims at seeking new modes of perception and new spheres of imagery. It revolts against the romanticism born out of a combination of middle-class individualism and anti-class revolutionary forces. This movement has yet to make a significant headway. Another striking feature of the post-Partition Punjabi literature is the growing tendency towards Hindi-ization and Sanskritization of the language comparable to a similar trend towards Urdu-ization and Persianization of Punjabi in Pakistan.

The foregoing survey of Punjabi literature covering a span of nearly a millennium exhibits the impact of various movements, invasions, and forces on a people full of life and vigour and the creation of a literature depicting their aspirations, both religious and secular, spiritual and mundane. While Guru Nānak and his successors and Sufis like Baba Farid Shakarganj, Shah Hussain, and Bulhe Shah enriched this literature with their lyrical outbursts delineating their spiritual and mystic experiences, the romantic and heroic ballads of Dāmodara and Waris Shah depicted the secular aspects of life. The trends and tendencies in modern Punjabi literature reveal the impact of various movements. Besides nationalist trends, there is a tendency to cross the boundaries and talk in terms of international peace and justice.

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SINDHI

SINDHI is one of the Indic languages of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. In India, it is spoken in the Kutch (Gujarat) and Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) regions. There are, besides, about a million Sindhi immigrants spread over the urban and semi-urban areas of western and northern India, particularly in Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Delhi. In Pakistan, Sindhi is spoken in the Sind and Lasa Bela (Baluchistan) regions. Sindhi is spoken by about seven million people distributed in the two countries—Pakistan and India. Out of the total Sindhi speaking population, about 5·6 million are reported to be in Pakistan and the rest are in India. In the 1971 Census of India, 1,204,678 persons have recorded Sindhi as their mother tongue and 470,991 have recorded Kachhi (a dialect of Sindhi) as theirs.

LANGUAGE : ITS ORIGIN AND LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES

The Sindhi language belongs to the North-West group of the Indo-Aryan family. As regards the linguistic ancestry of Sindhi, both Dr Ernest Trumpp and Sir George Grierson opine that it has been directly derived from the Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa. Although there are some scholars who have expressed their doubts about the validity of this theory, it is generally accepted that Sindhi is a language of Sanskrit-Prakrit origin.[1] It has absorbed some characteristics of the neighbouring languages: Baluchi (an Iranian language) and Brahui (a Dravidian language) on the west, Pashto and Kashmiri (Dardic languages) on the north-west and north, Multani and Bahawalpuri (Lahnda dialects) on the north and north-east, Marwari (a Rajasthani dialect) on the east, and Gujarati on the south and south-east. Due to the Muslim influence since the eighth century A.D., Sindhi vocabulary and grammar have been saturated with Arabic and Persian elements in roughly similar proportion as English is with French. Besides, with the persistent influence of Hinduism and the *bhakti* movement, the spread of Sikh faith in Sind and the impact of British rule during the last one hundred years till 1947, and now due to the modernizing influence of technical progress in the Sub-continent, Sindhi has also absorbed a large stock of vocabulary from Hindi, Sanskrit (mostly through Hindi), and English, thus assuming a pan-Indian character.

SCRIPTS AND DIALECTS

The Sindhi language has used various scripts during the course of its history.

[1] *Vide* L. H. Ajwani, *History of Sindhi Literature* (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1970), pp. 9-18.

There was no regular script in use for writing Sindhi before the British conquest of Sind in 1843. Sindhi writings were hitherto mostly found in two scripts: Persian and Devanāgarī. Besides, traders were generally using the Landa (Hatai) script which is closely related to the Mahajani characters of Marwar and the Śāradā script of Kashmir. The use of the Gurumukhi script, which is an improved and polished form of Landa with borrowed features from the Devanāgarī script, has also been noticed among certain sections of the people, particularly among Hindu women. In 1849 Captain George Stack published the first English-Sindhi dictionary in the Devanāgarī script. Sir Bartle Frere, who became Commissioner of Sind in 1851, appointed a committee which recommended in 1852 an artificial script for Sindhi. This script, known as Arabic-Sindhi, consisted of 52 letters. It was used extensively for one hundred years and more for printing works of Sindhi literature. In 1858, A. Burn translated the Gospel of St. John into Sindhi using the Persian script, and in 1859 its Gurumukhi version was also published. In the latter part of the century, when British rulers introduced the Sindhi language for education, they gave official recognition to a modified form of the Perso-Arabic script. But the use of the Devanāgarī and Gurumukhi as well as the Landa scripts continued for religious, personal, and business purposes. After the post-Partition immigration of Sindhi Hindus to India, attempts have been made to revive the Devanāgarī script for educational purposes in India. At present, both the Arabic-Sindhi (modified Perso-Arabic) and the Sindhi-Devanāgarī (modified Devanāgarī) scripts are taught in various schools in India. But the Arabic-Sindhi script, devised artificially under the auspices of the British Government, is generally in common use.

According to Grierson, Sindhi has six major dialects: (1) Siro or Siraiki (northern Sind), (2) Vicholi (central Sind), (3) Lari (southern Sind), (4) Lasi (Lasa Bela State and Khirthar range on the western border of Sind), (5) Thari or Thareli (eastern Sind and Jaisalmer District in Rajasthan State), and (6) Kachhi (Kutch regions of Gujarat on the southern border of Sind).

STORY OF SIND : A BRIEF OUTLINE

The present province of Sind is located in the north-west corner of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. It now forms a part of Pakistan. As Prof. L. H. Ajwani defines its present geographical limits, it is 'the most westerly part of the Indian Sub-continent. It is an alluvial plain formed by the river Sindhu or Indus plus the delta of the river. A range of hills in the west demarcates Sind from Baluchistan and a stretch of desert in the east distinguishes it from Rajasthan. The Rann of Cutch in the south is the boundary between Sind and Cutch'.[2] In olden times, however, Sind was a much larger region and

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

its boundary extended up to Saurāṣṭra in the south.[3] Situated astride some of the major approaches to India, it has been a much-frequented invasion route. It was the seat of the ancient Indus valley civilization during the third millennium B.C. as discovered from the Mohenjo-Daro excavations. It was one of the early settlements of Indo-Aryan speakers in India in the second millennium B.C. During the ancient days of Indian history, Sind 'appears', as Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji observes, 'to have been quite abreast with other parts of India'.[4] There are references to Sind in ancient Sanskrit documents as the country of 'Sindhu-Sauvīra'. It has been depicted in the *Mahābhārata* as an important province, the ruler of which was Jayadratha who sided with Duryodhana in the battle of Kurukṣetra and was vanquished and killed by Arjuna. Jayadratha was matrimonially related to Duryodhana, being the husband of the latter's sister, Duḥśalā. In the days of the Mauryas, Sind constituted a part of their kingdom. Around 100 B.C. the Śakas or Scythians began to pour into Sind and ultimately became merged with the original inhabitants. During the days of the Guptas also, Sind was an important State and continued to be so, participating 'in the common cultural life of the Hindu people of the rest of India'[5] till the coming of the Arabs early in the eighth century A.D. Conversion of the people was the foremost aim of the early conquerors and by far the most permanent result of their conquest. In the eleventh century, Sind fell to Mahmud of Ghazni, and when Mohammed Ghori established his empire in Delhi, it became a part of it. Till the middle of the nineteenth century, it remained under Muslim rule, being first governed by two native Rajput tribes (Sumras and Sammas) converted to Islam as an independent State and then taken over by Turkish tribes (Arghuns and Tarkhans) and then annexed to the Mogul empire during Akbar's reign; on the breaking up of the Mogul empire, two Baluchi tribes, first the Kalhoras and then the Talpurs, took it over. In 1843 the British conquered Sind from the Talpurs and annexed it to British India. Sind took active part in the struggle for independence. In 1947 British India was partitioned into two sovereign countries, India and Pakistan, and Sind was included in Pakistan.

LITERATURE

It seems exceedingly likely that literature in Old Sindhi started from the late Apabhraṁśa period. It would appear that before A.D. 1000 there was an Old Sindhi work on the ancient history of Sind, which was translated into

[3] For a detailed geographical account of 'Sindhu-deśa' (the province of Sind) in the centuries immediately before, as well as after, the Christian era, see Dr Bratindra Nath Mukherjee's article in *Our Heritage*, Vol. XV, Part II (Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1967), pp. 3-12.

[4] *Vide* his *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 349.

[5] *Ibid.*

Arabic by Abu Salih Bin Suayb Bin Jami. The date of the Arabic version is not known, but it was certainly made before A.D.1026, because this was translated into Persian by Abul Hasan Ali Bin Mohammed in A.D.1026. This Persian version was further abridged in a later Persian work known as *Mujmil al Tawarikh.* The date of this work is, however, not known.[6]

SHAH ABDUL LATIF AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Besides some stray songs attributed to the days of the rule of the Arabs and the folk-poetry of Mamui *fakirs* and Rajput poets traced back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the earliest records of Sindhi literature are the Sufi (mystic) poems of Kazi Kazan (d. 1551) and Shah Abdul Karim (1536-1620), great-great-grandfather of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit (1689-1752). But to the world outside, Sindhi literature means almost exclusively the work of Shah Abdul Latif, popularly known as 'Shah Bhitai' or simply 'Shah'. This is not surprising, because it is the work of Shah which is so much alive on the lips of many villagers even today. Shah ranks very high among classical Sufi poets of India and his *Risalo,* the most valued work in Sindhi literature, is accepted as one of the world's masterpieces. He combined in himself the powers of a skilful narrator, a mature Nature poet, and a profound mystic. In his hand, a rustic language was raised to the height of perfect expressiveness and artistic elegance. After Shah came Sacal (1739-1829) and Sami (1743-1850). The highly lyrical *kafis* of Sacal form a class by themselves. They are clearly reminiscent of thoughts contained in the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavad-Gītā.* Sacal's poetry is further characterized by a spirit of revolt and a fiery freedom of thought. The *ślokas* of Sami are also full of Vedāntic overtones and marked by a note of serene contemplativeness and soothing melody. There were, besides, the Vedāntic poetry of Dalpat (1769-1841) and the Vaiṣṇava lyrics of Rohal (d. 1780). Hamal Laghari (1815-79), Murad Fakir, Daryakhan, and Bedil (1814-72) and his son Bekas (1859-82) are Sufi poets of great fame. Many of them wrote in the Siraiki dialect of Sindhi.

The whole structure of Sindhi Sufi poetry is based on numerous folk-tales and popular legends. Chief among these are of Umar-Marui, Sasui-Punhun, Suhni-Mehar, Nuri-Jam Tamachi, Lila-Chanesar, Rai Dyach-Sorath, and Mumal-Rano. Sind being claimed as the 'home' of Indian Sufism, the early literature of the land is immensely influenced by that faith. Sufism in Sind marks a synthesis of Indian mystical and theistic systems, on the one hand, and Sufism of the Iranian type as enunciated in the classics of Jami, Attar, and

[6] Dr S. K. Chatterji has discussed about the original work written in the old language of Sind and its Arabic and Persian versions (which gave stories of the ancient history of Sind, of the *Mahābhārata* heroes, and of some later kings of India from the Purānas) in the Appendix to his *Languages and Literatures of Modern India* (pp 341-48).

Rumi, on the other. The *bhakti* movement of northern and central India during the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries has influenced Old Sindhi literature (poetry) to a great extent. The Hindi poetry of Kabīr, Nānak, Sūradāsa, Tulasīdāsa, and Mīrābāī left a great mark on Sindhi culture as well as literature. The poetical form cultivated was also principally the *dohā* like that of the poetry of Hindi and other North Indian languages. Dādū Dayāl, a prominent saint-poet of Hindi, wrote in Sindhi as well.

BRITISH PERIOD : 1843-1947

The British conquest of Sind in 1843 was an event of far-reaching significance so far as the literature of the land was concerned. Persian ceased to be the court language and English took its place; but for ordinary communication as well as literary purposes Sindhi became the medium. This heralded a fresh growth of the literature of the land. The introduction of the Arabic-Sindhi script in 1852 facilitated the process.

POETRY

The period as a whole witnessed a flood of Sindhi *ghazals*, *masnavis*, *rubaiyats*, *musaddases*, *mukhamases*, and *qasidas* composed in imitation of Persian models. The role of Khalifa Gul Mohammed (1809-56), popularly known as 'Gul', was that of a pioneer so far as Sindhi poetry in the Persian pattern is concerned. *Diwan* of 'Gul' contains 175 *ghazals* replete with Persian imagery, idiom, and allusions. Shamsuddin 'Bulbul' (1857-1919), Mir Abdul Husain Khan 'Sangi' (1851-1924), Lilaram Singh Watanmal 'Khaki', and Mirza Kalich Beg (1853-1929) are some of the many who merit mention as Sindhi poets writing on the Persian model. The trend was seen continued in the second phase of the British era (1900-1947) also in the compositions of Hyderbux Jatoi, Lekhraj Kishinchand 'Aziz', Parsram Hiranand 'Zia', H. I. Sadarangani, Sobhraj Nirmaldas, and Ghulamali Rahimbux. N. V. Thadani's verse-translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* appeared in 1923. Although written in Sanskritized Sindhi, it strictly followed the Persian prosodic model. Menghraj Kalwani, Mulchand Lala, Chainrai Bulchand, and T. L. Vaswani also translated the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the last-mentioned having done so in free verse. There were some who composed Sufi poems and poems on love in the traditional line, chief among these masters being Udharam Thanwerdas, Akhund Abdur Rahim, Asumal, Jiwat Singh, Kutub Shah, Bedil, and Bekas. The last two poets, though already referred to as the successors of Shah, actually belong to the first phase of the British era, i.e. to the period 1843-1900. They are the most outstanding poets in Sindhi literature after Shah, Sacal, and Sami. Both of them primarily owe their poetic inspiration to Sacal so far as their Sufistic poems are concerned. They have, however, tried their hands at poems on the Persian pattern as well. Bedil

composed poems in several other languages apart from Sindhi. He has his Sindhi verse compositions both in *beyt* and *kafi* forms. He has three volumes of Sindhi poems to his credit, namely, *Vahdatnama*, *Srudnama*, and *Faraiz Sufia*. The *kafis* of Bekas often resemble his father's, but many of them are marked by an element of sensuousness.

The poems of Kishinchand 'Bewas' (1885-1947) may be said to have inaugurated the new or modern trend in Sindhi poetry. They marked a distinct departure from the tradition set by 'Gul'. 'Bewas' wrote in a homely and natural language, and his poems deal with the lives of the poor and describe the beauties of Nature. *Shirin Shair* (1929), *Samundi Sipun* (1929), and *Gaṅgā Jun Lahrun* are some of his best-known poems. He has also to his credit many poems written in the Persian tradition, but he did not make himself a slave to the strict rules of the Persian prosodic pattern. He rather freed Sindhi poetry from the obsessions of imitating Persian patterns and brought in new modes and themes in poetry. He also turned to themes which would appeal to children. 'Bewas' was a great lover of Rabindranath Tagore, and the optimistic note in his poetry is due to the influence of the latter on him. Hundraj 'Dukhayal' (*Saṅgīta Phul*, 1946), Hari Dilgir (*Kod*, 1942), Ram Panjwani, Gobind Bhatia, and others followed the literary tradition which 'Bewas' started. 'Dukhayal,' under the influence of the struggle for national independence, and afterwards in active association with the Bhūdāna movement, has brought poetry very close to the masses by his patriotic fervour and human sympathy. The famous savant Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1927) wrote a book of philosophic poems entitled *Mana-ja-chahbuk* (1923-26). It was a landmark in Sindhi poetry in many respects. Hariram Mariwala's translation of Rabindranath's *Fruit-gathering* in *Phala-chund* and Dayo Mansharamani's translation of some of Kazi Nazrul Islam's fiery poems in *Bagi* might be mentioned in passing. Dewandas Kishnani 'Azad' was another illustrious poet of the second phase of the British period. Although not strictly a follower of 'Bewas', 'Azad' could not help imbibing some aspects of the former's poetry. His masterpiece, *Pūrav Sandeśa* or *Buddha-jīvana* (1937), is a classic adaptation of Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*. It bears the stamp of the genius of 'Azad', his bold poetic vision, and his artistic vigour. Nanikram Dharamdas Mirchandani produced in 1947 a translation of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* which, however, did not prove to be a successful attempt. M. U. Malkani's translations of Rabindranath's *Gardener* (*Prīt-ja-gīta*, 1940) and *Gītāñjali* (1942) attracted quite a large audience. Some other names of the later British period which deserve mention are: Narain 'Śyāma', Sheikh Ayaz, Khialdas 'Fani', Baldev Garija, Arjan 'Shad', Moti Prakash, and Goverdhan Bharati. Most of these poets continued to be active during the post-Independence period also.

PROSE

The printing press and journalism,[7] increasing literacy, and interest in Western forms of writing opened new vistas in Sindhi literature. The movement for social reforms in Bengal led by Raja Rammohun Roy made an indelible mark on the early Sindhi prose. The appearance of Swami Vivekananda on the Indian scene in the late nineties, and his fiery speeches and writings on Hinduism and the heritage of India also made a vigorous impact on the prose works of Sindhi men of letters, particularly on those of the Hindus.

Although there are some claimants for an earlier beginning, the emergence of Sindhi prose proper can be ascribed to the early years of the British era. The first fifty years of the era, however, did not witness any original prose work of particular merit. It was exclusively a period of translations, and of grammars and dictionaries. The grammatical and other works by Captain Stack, E. Trumpp, Udharam Thawerdas, Nandiram Mirani, and others laid the foundation on which Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani (1844-1916), Mirza Kalich Beg (1853-1929), Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1927), and Parmanand Mewaram (1866-1938) built a superstructure. Before going to say anything about the four stalwarts of Sindhi prose, we should mention Thamatmal Narumal whose lexicon, *Viyutpati-koṣ* (1886), is really an important book. It shows that the majority of Sindhi words are of Sanskritic origin. Kauromal appeared on the literary scene with his original essay *Pako Paha* (1872). This was the first of its kind written in Sindhi. Then appeared his more well-known works which were translations of notable Sanskrit or Bengali works, e.g. *Ratnāvalī* (1888), *Ārya-nārī-caritra* (1905), and *Rādhārāṇī* (1914). A man of varied interest, Mirza Kalich Beg was a prolific writer both in verse and in prose. His literary career virtually started with the publication of his translation of Bacon's *Essays* under the title of *Maqalat al Hikmat* (1877). It was followed by his renderings into Sindhi of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (1890) and Ghazali's *Kimayi-i-Sadat*. Mirza Beg gave in his *Zinat* (1890) the first original novel to the Sindhi language.[8] His other novel *Rustum Pahlwan* (1905) is based on Firdausi's *Shahnama*. The material for his first and best play *Khurshid* (1885) was taken from a Gujarati play. His other important plays include *Śakuntalā* (1896), *Hasna Dildar* (1897), and *Shah Elia* (1900), the first being a translation of Kalidāsa's great work and the other two of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and *King Lear* respectively. Dayaram Gidumal's prose works are all characterized by a vigorous and forceful style

[7] Some of the early important journals in Sindhi, which had a good share in the development of Sindhi prose are: *Sindh Sudhār* and *Sarasvatī* (1870) of Hiranand Showkiram; *Prabhāta* (1891) of Lekhraj Tilokchand; and *Jote* (1896), a Catholic journal started by two Indian converts, one Sindhi and the other Bengali—Khemchand Amritrai and Brahmabandhav Upadhyay. The last-mentioned was a very powerful organ in shaping and reflecting the Sindhi genius in the social and literary fields. It scrupulously avoided politics.

[8] Some scholars, however, think that it is not an 'original' work.

rarely to be seen in any other Sindhi prose writer. Himself a vastly learned scholar, he had a special liking for philosophical themes, and his *Jap Sahib* (1891), *Gītā-jo-sāra* (1893), and *Yoga-darśana* (1903) are considered as three masterpieces in the realm of Sindhi philosophical literature in prose. Among his other prose works, the most remarkable is his Introduction to Mirza Kalich Beg's verse translation of *Rubaiyat Omar Khayyam.* Parmanand Mewaram, popularly known as the 'Addison of Sind', rendered a great service in facilitating the growth of Sindhi prose. He was the editor of *Jote,* a powerful literary fortnightly in Sindhi, for about four decades (1900-1938). Under his able editorship, this magazine played the same role in Sind as *Saṁvāda Prabhākara* under Iswar Chandra Gupta in Bengal by discovering and encouraging new literary talents, the chief among them being the essayist, Wadhumal Gangaram. One of the achievements of Parmanand as the editor of *Jote* was the publication of *Gul Phul* in two volumes (1925 and 1936). These volumes contained the best writings hitherto published in *Jote.* The best prose work of Parmanand is *Kristji Peravi* (1923) which is an elegant translation of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas À Kempis. He has to his credit yet another great work, a dictionary of the Sindhi language (1910), which still remains the best of its kind in the language. He also wrote simple stories for children and made a collection of some of them in his *Dil Bahar* (1904).

In 1914 Fateh Mohammed Sewhani wrote a biography of Prophet Mohammed, which is accepted as the best and most authentic work on Mohammed in Sindhi till today. His *magnum opus,* however, is the biography of Abul Fazl and Faizi, which appeared in 1936. The literary fame of Nirmaldas Fatehchand mainly rests on his two works of fiction, *Sarojinī* (1914) and *Dalurai-ji-nagarī* (1944). Hotchand Gurbaxani (d. 1947) is held in high esteem in Sindhi literature as a writer of prose. His first public literary venture was a novel, *Nur Jahan* (1915). It is an adaptation of an English novel of the same title by Sardar Jogendra Singh, but in some places the adaptation transcends the original. The most outstanding work of Gurbaxani is, however, his edition of Shah's *Risalo* published in 1924. U. M. Daudpota's scholarly edition of Shah Abdul Karim, which appeared in 1937, is in the tradition of Gurbaxani. Bherumal Mahirchand (d. 1950) distinguished himself in modern Sindhi literature as a writer of travel books, such as *Sind-jo-Sailani* (1923) and *Latifi Sair* (1926). He also wrote essays dealing with various social problems. He was a writer of fiction too, and *Ānanda Sundrika* (1910) is his first attempt in the field. His popular *Golan-ja-gundar* (1928) was a translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* One of his most important contributions to Sindhi literature is his history of the Sindhi language, *Sindhi-boḷi-ji-tarikh* (1941). Jethmal Parsram (1885-1948) was another prose writer of great ability. His critical work on Sacal, *Sacal Sarmast* (1922), is one of the unique things in the whole range of Sindhi works of literary criticism. He tried

his hand at translations and adaptations as well, and his *Pūrav Joti* (1923) in which he adapted Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* bears the stamp of his genius. His *Chamra-posh* (1923) may be said to have carried the germs of the Sindhi short story. Lalchand Amardinomal (1885-1954) left an abiding mark in Sindhi literature as an outstanding writer of prose. His fictional works include *Kishni-jo-Kasht* (1917) and *Coth-jo-cānd* (1947). Some literary historians believe that the English novel *Mrs Halliburton's Troubles* might have furnished material for the former.[9] The author, however, denied the validity of this speculation. Of the biographical works to his credit, the following may be mentioned: *Mohammed Rasul Allah* (1910), *Rāma Badshah*[10] (1912), *Shahano Shah* (1914), and *Sunharo Sacal* (1916). He was a successful playwright too, and when performed on the stage, his *Umar Marui* (1925) earned for him laurels of enthusiastic appreciation. Assanand Mamtora's beautiful romantic novel *Shair* saw the light of the day in 1941. In his Introduction to this book, Lalchand Amardinomal eulogized it as one of the few original works of fiction in Sindhi. Besides contributing substantially to the domain of children's literature, Shewak Bhojraj made his mark in Sindhi literature with his two autobiographical novels, *Āśīrvāda* (1933) and *Dādā Śyāma* (1934). Allah Bachayo's *Sair-i-Kohistan* (1942) is the finest travel book in the language. As a work of prose also it can legitimately claim a position of dignity. Other important novels written in the forties are: Guli Sadarangani's *Ithad* (1941); Ram Panjwani's *Qaidi* (1943), *Sharmila* (1944), and *Latifa* (1945); Naraindas Bhambhani's *Malhin* (1942) and *Vidhvā* (1943); and J. D. Ahuja's *Rāṇī* (1947). The stories of Gobind Punjabi (*Sard Ahun*, 1941) and Gobind Malhi (*Registani Phul*, 1944) prepared the ground for the development of the short story which came to its maturity during the post-Independence period. Translations of the novels and stories of Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath, Śarat Chandra, and Prem Chand were legion. The development of non-fictional prose works did not lag behind either. The essays of Naraindas Malkani (*Anar Dana*, 1942), Wadhumal Gangaram (*Pangati Inqilab*, 1940), Gobind Bhatia (*Warq*, 1940), Tirth Basant (*Chingun*, 1940), and Lekhraj Aziz (*Adabi Aino*, 1941) are the high watermarks of Sindhi prose before Independence.

In the evolution of Sindhi drama, the D. J. Sind College Amateur Dramatic Society (1894-1914) and the Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club (1923-31) played the most significant roles. Among the plays written and staged under the auspices of the Society, the following deserve special notice: Jethanand's *Nala-Damayantī* (1894), Lilaram Singh Watanmal's *Hariścandra* (1895), and Shewasing Ajwani's *Kanisht* (1902). The *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Sheridan's *Pizarro* were the respective sources of these plays. The plays of Mirza

[9] Cf. L. H. Ajwani, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[10] Amardinomal wrote this book on Swami Ram Tirth (1873-1906), who made a great impact on the Hindus of the Punjab and Sind during the first quarter of this century.

Kalich Beg, who was associated with the Society, have already been mentioned. The most successful productions of the Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club include Lalchand Amardinomal's *Umar Marui* (1925); K. S. Daryani's *Mulk-ja-Mudabar* (1923), a rendering of Ibsen's *Pillars of Society*, M. U. Malkani's *Kismet* (1923), and Ahmed Chagla's *Khuni* (1931). M. U. Malkani, one of the founders of the Club, produced plays during the post-Independence period also. He mainly concentrated on writing social plays. He is the pioneer in the field of one-act plays in Sindhi. Among other successful plays of the later British period are: Lilaram Pherwani's *Hik Rāt* (1936), Ram Panjwani's *Mumal Rano* (1941), and Ismail Ursani's *Bad Nasib Thari* (1941).

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Sindhi literature has undergone a remarkable transformation since Independence. Some new influences have made a deep mark on most contemporary writings. The struggle for independence and the violence-ridden partition of the country which led to the migration of Sindhi Hindus to India, spread of various creeds and beliefs like Marxism, Freudism, existentialism, etc. derived through Western literature, the five-year plans, the problems of the linguistic minority, the Chinese and Pakistani attacks on India—all these played a significant part in the development of contemporary Sindhi literature. The Sindhi literature of the post-Partition period shows greater diversity and newer spheres of literary pursuit. During the last three decades, Sindhi literature has made significant strides in poetry, novel, short story, one-act play, biography, essay, literary criticism, and other fields.

Post-Partition poetry shows a marked departure from the poetry of the earlier period in form, technique, and content as well as outlook. Towards the end of the British period Sindhi poetry had already begun to free itself from the strict rules of Persian forms like *ghazal*, *masnavi*, and *rubaiyat*, and to follow Western forms like sonnet, blank verse, and free verse. Novelty is the key-note of the post-Independence Sindhi poetry. There are poets like Krishin 'Rahi', Lekhraj 'Aziz', Narain 'Śyāma', and H. I. Sadarangani, who have employed form and metre peculiar to the old poetry (e.g. *dohā*, *ghazal*, *rubaiyat*, etc.), but in theme and approach their poetry shows a complete deviation from their earlier counterparts. Sind took an active part in the struggle for freedom. Patriotic poems, therefore, occupy a special position in the history of Sindhi literature. In the contemporary period too, a large number of poets have written and are still writing poems full of patriotic fervour. Among them are: Lekhraj 'Aziz', Dayal Asha, Govardhan Bharati, Hiro Thakur, Moti Prakash, Arjan 'Shad', Prabhu 'Wafa', and Arjan 'Hasid'. The growing impact of Western poetry led to the emergence of New Poetry (*nai kavitā*) in Sindhi literature towards the end of the fifties. An obsession with sex distinguishes many of the new poets.

There are, however, poets interested in various other contemporary trends and situations. Some of the notable exponents of this new trend in literature are Govardhan Bharati, Nand Jhaveri, Harish Vaswani, Mohan Kalpana, Vasdev Mohi, Anand Khemani, Prem Prakash, Vishnu Bhatia, Govardhan Tanwani, Lachhman Hardwani, and Shyam Jaisinghani.

The post-Independence period has also witnessed quite a few novelists and short story writers of remarkable calibre. Although there are exceptions, the novelists in general lack an awareness of the contemporary social perspective. A tendency to depict sex in all its nakedness, to probe the intricacies of human psychology, to question the age-old human values, and to propagate Marxist ideologies marks the writings of the majority of the Sindhi novelists. There are, however, a few voices advocating spiritual ideals and faith in God. The more distinguished names in the contemporary novel include Ram Panjwani, Gobind Malhi, Sundri Uttamchandani, Mohan Kalpana, Lal Pushp, Guno Samtani, Shyam Jaisinghani, and Param Abichandani. The short story, which has reached a more developed stage, is characterized almost by the same features as is the novel. But a conscious attempt is to be noticed among the short story writers to portray life and society in the raw. In fact, there is hardly any facet of life that has not been touched upon. Unemployment, poverty, frustration, domestic conflicts, and various social injustices and inequities have been depicted with remarkable accuracy and objectivity. Prominent among these writers are: Anand Golani, Sugan Ahuja, Sundri Uttamchandani, Popati Hiranandani, Tara Mirchandani, Kala Prakash, Gobind Malhi, Gobind Punjabi, Kirat Babani, Tirth Basant, Santdas Jhangiani, Lal Pushp, Mohan Kalpana, and Vishnu Bhatia. It may be mentioned that in both the *genres* women writers have made substantial contributions.

In the field of drama, the writing of full-length plays has practically been discarded and one-act plays have become the fashion of the day. As for theme, the writers of one-act plays have turned to contemporary social problems as well as problems at the national and international levels. Among the chief protagonists in the *genre*, the following deserve special mention: M. U. Malkani, Vasdev 'Nirmal', Gobind Malhi, Govardhan Bharati, Harikant Jethwani, Ranjan Chawla, Jiwan Gurshani, and Tirth Basant.

The period under review has also witnessed considerable growth in such other important domains of literature as biography, essay, and literary criticism. The writers who have distinguished themselves in these fields are Tirth Basant, Chetan Mariwalla, Lalsingh Ajwani, Kalyan Advani, M. U. Malkani, Lekhraj 'Aziz', Bhojraj Nagrani, Popati Hiranandani, Harish Vaswani, and Arjan 'Shad'. Besides, Narain Bharati has made a commendable collection of Sind's folk-songs and tales in a series of nine volumes, and scholars like Jhamatmal Bhavnani, Satish Rohra, Murlidhar Jetley, and L. M. Khubchandani made

some noteworthy contributions in the field of linguistics which is a recent phenomenon in Sindhi literature. There are some scholars who have come forward to write standard literary histories. Among them the most important are: M. U. Malkani, Murlidhar Jetley, and Lalsingh Ajwani.

To sum up, Sindhi literature had frequently to undergo periods of interrupted development for obvious historical reasons. As such, it may not be comparable to most other modern Indian literatures in point of output. Nevertheless, it can boast of some great masters in various fields. Early Sindhi poetry had passed from the Sufistic poems of love in Shah's *Risalo* and the volcanic *kafis* of Sacal to the serene *ślokas* of Sami. The first phase of the British period (1843-1907) may be described as the period of *diwans*, *musaddases*, and *rubaiyats* in Sindhi poetry. The second phase or the period 1907-1947 saw a change both in content and form. The poetry of Sufism and love delighted the Sindhis still, but they did not want merely prototypes of some Persian poems. Kishinchand 'Bewas' along with others opened a window for modern themes. Sindhi prose grew in the British era. The spade-work for Sindhi prose was undoubtedly the achievement of some devoted Europeans who facilitated the process by compiling dictionaries and grammars of the language. The modern Sindhi prose is greatly indebted to Parmanand Mewaram, H.M. Gurbaxani, Bherumal Mahirchand, Jethmal Parsram, and Lalchand Amardinomal. During the post-Independence period, there has been in Sindhi quite a good and strikingly varied output in poetry, novel, short story, and other branches of literature. Some women writers have come forward in the literary field and made noteworthy contributions. Information is not also wanting of significant literary activities in Sindhi across the borders. It can be hoped that future masters of Sindhi literature will lead it to a point of progress comparable to that of other developed languages of modern India.

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TAMIL

THE LANGUAGE

TWO millennia of almost continuous literary history with an added significance of being a spoken tongue throughout this period have ensured a place of honour for Tamil (Tamizh) in the galaxy of languages of the world. It is considered by scholars as close to the proto-Dravidian, forerunner of the cultivated languages of South India. The richness of its vocabulary and the antiquity of its literature impart to Tamil a rank in the Dravidian group similar to that of Sanskrit among the Aryan languages.[1] An ancient classical speech that possesses an enormous stock of indigenous literature, Tamil has retained its vigour and youthfulness with an abundant vocabulary to express modern ideas. It can be considered as a 'finer language to think and speak in than any European tongue'.[2] In 'its poetic form,' says Dr Miron Winslow, 'Tamil is more polished and exact than Greek and in... borrowed treasures more copious than Latin'.[3] Official language of Tamil Nadu, it is spoken in India (according to 1971 Census) by about thirty-seven million people. The speakers of this tongue have spread out from their original home of Tamizhaham (Tamil Nadu) to Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Fiji, South Africa, etc. Literary tradition claims for the language a much wider area, 'Lemuria'[4] as it is called, with a highly cultivated speech.

On the basis of certain words found in the Vedas, some scholars think that the Dravidian tongue might have had an impact on Sanskrit.[5] The antiquity

[1] Cf. André Lefèvre, *Race and Language* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., London, 1894), p. 127.

[2] William Dwight Whitney, *The Life and Growth of Language* (Henry S. King & Co., London), pp. 244-45.

[3] Miron Winslow, *Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil* (American Missionary, Madras, 1862), Introduction, pp. iii-iv.

[4] Lemuria is considered to be the bed of the present Indian Ocean. An English scholar also asserts this view thus: 'Peninsular India or the Deccan (literally, the country to the south) is geologically distinct from the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Himalaya. It is the remains of a former continent which stretched continuously to Africa in the space now occupied by the Indian Ocean... In the Deccan we are, therefore, in the first days of the world. We see land substantially as it existed before the beginnings of life.'—T. W. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India* (Williams & Norgate, London), p. 23. See also K. K. Pillai, *A Social History of the Tamils*, Part I, p. 42.

[5] Cf. T. Burrow, 'Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit', *Transactions of the Philosophical Society* (1945), pp. 79-120 and also his 'Further Dravidian Words in Sanskrit', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XII (1948), pp. 365-96. See also M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, First Series (The Guardian Press, Madras, 1914), pp. 154-55 and 168.

of the Tamil language is established by the fact that words like 'tugi' for 'peacock' (from Tamil *togai*), 'arousa' for 'rice' (from *arici* in Tamil) were introduced in the European languages as early as King Solomon's time (*c.* 962-930 B.C.), which must have been due to vigorous commercial relations between ancient Tamizhaham and the Mesopotamian valley.[6] The term *drāviḍa* is considered by some as of Sanskrit origin,[7] whereas Sanskrit scholars think it as the Sanskritized form of *tamizh*.[8] C. W. Damodaram Pillai derives *tamizh* from the root *tami* (lonely). According to him, *tamizh* means 'peerless'. In *Piṅgalandai*, a Tamil lexicon, it is explained that *tamizh* means sweetness and mercy.[9] Hence, 'Tamizh' is a language which is 'sweet'. The word *tamizh* is used in early Tamil literature to denote the language, the people, and their country.

LITERATURE

The growth of Tamil literature admits of three main period divisions. The Early period, stretching from *c.* 600 B.C. to A.D. 600, has two sub-divisions, namely, the Saṅgam period (*c.* 600 B.C.-A.D. 200) and the post-Saṅgam or epic period (*c.* A.D. 200-600). The Middle or Medieval period begins around A.D. 600 and continues up to 1750. This comprises the following sub-divisions: the period of Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs (*c.* A.D. 600-900), the period of literary revival (*c.* A.D. 900-1200), and the period of exegetical, philosophical, Purāṇic, didactic, and minor works (*c.* A.D. 1200-1750). The Modern period includes the period of transition (*c.* A.D. 1750-1850) and that of renaissance and growth (from 1850 onwards). The period divisions indicated above are, however, not always rigid. There are instances of writers classified under a particular group flourishing earlier or later than the period assigned to the group.

Tamil, which is rich in synonyms, had even as early as A.D. 200 a large and copious indigenous stock of vocabulary. And so, it has always been resisting unrestricted borrowing of words from other languages including Sanskrit. The literature of the Early period is virtually free from words of foreign origin in

[6] In the *Hebrew Bible* (Old Testament: Chronicles and Books of Kings) these words are found. Cf. André Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 125. See also T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London, 1917), p. 116. There is also abundant reference in *Pattinappālai*, a Saṅgam work, to indicate a list of the goods imported on the shores of the Coḷa port-capital Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam. The discovery of a Roman factory near Pondicherry (Arikamedu) is an irrefutable evidence of the maritime commerce that existed between South India and the Roman world. For further details see E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1974), pp. 57-64 and Martimer Wheeler, *Ancient India*, Vol. II, pp. 17 ff.

[7] See G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 277 and 298.

[8] See M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *op. cit.*, p. 6; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Dravidian Literature*, p. 1.

[9] *Inimaiyum nīrmaiyum tamizh enalāhum.—Piṅgalandai*, X. 580. *Tam*, a reflexive pronoun, has given rise to a very interesting class of words like *tam-appan* (father), *tāy* or *tam-āy* (mother), *tam-aiyan* (elder brother), *tam-akkai* (elder sister), *tam-kai* (younger sister). *Izh*, which means sweetness, is the root of *izhm* or *izhum*, *izhudu*, etc.—Cf. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

spite of Tamizhaham's commercial relations with the Roman world. Sanskrit is almost absent in its texture. The language of the poetry is not ornate but simple. It is in blank verse, in chaste classic style, devoid of rhetorical and metrical flourishes. The description is true to Nature. *Āśiriyappā* (*ahaval*), *kalippā*, *veṇbā*, and *vañcippā* are the metres mainly used. The Tamil of the Middle period is marked by an abundance of Sanskrit words, mostly relating to religion, ethics, and philosophy. For metrical composition, *viruttam*, *tāṇḍakam*, and many forms of Sanskrit prosody are taken recourse to. Gone is the simple and the natural poetry of the earlier age. There being a struggle for religious supremacy during this period, every one of the four sects—the Śaivites, Vaiṣṇavites, Buddhists, and Jains—attempted to excel the rest. This is amply reflected in their respective literatures. The latter part of the Middle period witnessed, among other things, productions of Muslim and Christian writers. During the Modern period Tamil retained its old linguistic and literary features. Following the establishment of the East India Company's rule in Tamil Nadu from about the middle of the eighteenth century, Tamil became gradually exposed to the influence of the Western world. The process of modernization in its real sense, however, did not set in till the Madras University came into existence in 1857. Tamil literature has three principal forms: *iyal (belles-lettres)*, *iśai* (music), and *nāṭakam* (drama). A survey of Tamil literature gives us an idea of how these have grown and matured, undergoing changes in their character from time to time.

SAṄGAM PERIOD

In ancient times the association or academy of the most learned men of the Tamil land was called 'Saṅgam' (or 'Caṅkam'), whose chief function was promotion of literature. Later Tamil writers mention the existence of three literary academies (Saṅgams) at different periods. The last academy is credited with the corpus of literature now known as 'Saṅgam Works'. It is, however, almost certain that some noteworthy literature existed even before the Saṅgam era. Dr K. K. Pillai, a renowned Tamil historian, is of the view that academies of the type of the Saṅgam must have flowered under an earlier designation like 'Avai' or 'Kūḍal'.[10] Naturalism and romanticism were the salient features of the poems of the Saṅgam bards. Excepting *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest work on Tamil grammar and poetic techniques, no other works attributed to the first two Saṅgams have come down to us in their entirety. However, from the titles of the writings traditionally traced to these Saṅgams, it is evident that they dealt with music and the art of dancing.

Tolkāppiyam, the name signifying the 'ancient book' or 'the preserver of

[10] See K. K. Pillai, 'Landmarks in the History of Tamil land', *Proceedings of the Second International Conference—Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Vol. I (Madras, 1968), p. 14.

ancient institutions', was written by Tolkāppiyanār, and is the oldest extant Tamil grammar dating back to 500 B.C.[11] It lays down rules for different kinds of poetical compositions drawn from the examples furnished by the best works then extant. *Iyal* is elucidated clearly and systematically in *Tolkāppiyam.* Containing about 1,610 *sūttirams* (aphorisms), it is in three parts—*ezhuttu* (orthography), *śol* (etymology), and *poruḷ* (literary conventions and usages)—each with nine sections. While the first two parts are interesting from both linguistic and philological points of view, the third, *poruḷadhikāram*, is most valuable as it gives a glimpse of the political, social, and religious life of the people during the period when the author of this treatise lived.

The principal works of the third Saṅgam have come down to us in the shape of anthologies of poems. The two compilations forming the corpus of the poetry of the third Saṅgam are *Eṭṭuttogai* (eight anthologies) and *Pattuppāṭṭu* (ten idylls). They exhibit a consistency in the use of words and forms which is lacking in later literature. There were about 473 poets during this period; the writers of 102 poems are, however, unidentified. Of the identified poets, about thirty are women, the famous poetess Auvaiyār being one of them. The anthologies of the third Saṅgam consist of poems divided into two broad categories—*aham* or interior and *puram* or exterior. The former concerns all phases of love between men and women. An allegory of the different stages through which the soul of man passes from its manifestation in the body to its final unification with the supreme Being is seen in *aham.* The *puram* covers varieties of distinctive poems, mostly relating to man's social behaviour. Analogous to five major regions of Tamil Nadu, these poems describe five types of tracts with their distinctive features. These are: *kuriñci* (mountainous region), *mullai* (forest region), *marutam* (agricultural region), *neytal* (coastal region), and *pālai* (desert region). True love, which is either *karpu* (wedded) or *kaḷavu* (furtive), is considered under five aspects, namely, *puṇartal* (union), *pirital* (separation), *iruttal* (patience in separation), *iraṅgal* (bewailing), and *ūḍal* (sulking), and these are made to correlate with *tiṇai*, the fivefold physiographical divisions.

Eṭṭuttogai consists of *Narriṇai*, *Kuruntogai*, *Aiṅkurunūru*, *Padirruppattu*, *Paripāḍal*, *Kalittogai*, *Ahanānūru*, and *Puranānūru.* A collection of 400 verses in *ahaval* metre, *Narriṇai* deals with the five *tiṇais* on the theme of love. These poems were compiled at the instance of the Pāṇḍya king Māran Vazhudi. *Kuruntogai*, literally meaning 'a collection of short lyrics' on love, by about two hundred poets, was compiled under the patronage of a chieftain called Pūrikko. An ancient gloss on

[11] *Vide* V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 21. It is difficult to assign a definite date to this work. Some scholars hold that *Tolkāppiyam* is posterior to the classics of the third Saṅgam and hence assignable to the fourth century A.D. or even to a later date; according to another view, it should be considered as a work of the second or first century B.C. But, from Panampāranār's introductory verses (*pāyiram*) to this work, it seems that the author Tolkāppiyanār was a predecessor of Pāṇini (*c.* fifth century B.C.).

t by Perāśiriyar is lost and Naccinārkkiniyar wrote another dealing with only .wenty verses of the work. *Aiṅkurunūru*, which means 'the short five hundred', s divided into five parts, each devoted to one of the five aspects of love and :onsisting of a hundred verses in *ahaval* metre. Orambogiyār, Ammūvanār, Kapilar, Odalāndaiyār, and Peyanār are said to be the respective authors of ıundred verses each on *marutam*, *neytal*, *kuriñci*, *pālai*, and *mullai tiṇais*. Kūḍalūr Kizhār is the compiler of this work. *Padirruppattu* or 'ten-tens' consists of groups of ten poems, each by one of ten poets. It contains 'a museum of obsolete words and expressions, archaic grammatical forms and terminations, and obscure customs and manners of the early western Tamil people who were the ancestors of the modern Malayalis'.[12] This work is a store-house of historical facts about the Cera kings. A true picture of the political conditions of the Tamil and about two thousand years ago is beautifully portrayed in it. The first and last series of poems of this work are lost.

Paripāḍal (lit. 'stanzas of strophic metres') contained originally seventy long poems of which twenty-four only have survived. Love is the general theme of hese verses. Some of them, however, relate to gods, the river Vaigai, and the hillock Tirupparaṅkunram (one of the six houses of Lord Muruga). A commentary on it by Parimelazhagar is available. A collection of one hundred and fifty exquisite lyrics in *kali* metre, *Kalittogai* dwells on the theme of love. It also contains many moral maxims. Peruṅkaḍuṅgo, Kapilar, Marudan Iḷanāganār, Coḷa Nalluttiran, and Nallanduvanār are the poets of this anthology. It is the general belief that one of these five poets, Nallanduvanār, was the compiler. It has a gloss written by Naccinārkkiniyar. *Ahanānūru* or *Neḍuntogai* s a collection of 400 poems on love and is divided into three sections: *kaḷirriyānai-nirai* (array of male elephants), *maṇimiḍaipavaḷam* (string of corals interspersed with gems), and *nittilakkovai* (necklace of pearls). Containing contributions of as many as 145 poets, this work was compiled by Uruttiraśanmanār under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya king Ukkirapperu Vazhudi. *Puranānūru* is a very popular and valuable anthology of 400 verses of the *puram* type dealing with the different facets of ancient Tamil culture, war, and State matters. It is the counterpart of *Ahanānūru* which treats of love. The contributors to this collection, about 150 in number, were loyal advisers and faithful friends of the monarchs. Through their poems they even averted war.

Pattuppāṭṭu contains the following ten idylls by eight different authors: *Tirumurugārruppaḍai*, *Porunarārruppaḍai*, *Cirupāṇārruppaḍai*, *Perumpāṇārruppaḍai*, *Mullaippāṭṭu*, *Maduraikkāñci*, *Neḍunalvāḍai*, *Kuriñcippāṭṭu*, *Paṭṭinappālai*, and *Malaipaḍukaḍām*. These idylls are short poems describing mostly pastoral scenes or events. *Tirumurugārruppaḍai* by Nakkīrar is in praise of Muruga and the various shrines in which he is worshipped. The life of ancient Tamils is also

[12] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

depicted therein. Naccinārkkiniyar has commented upon this idyll. *Porunarārruppaḍai* by Muṭattāmakkaṇṇiyar is in praise of the wisdom and martial glory of the Coḷa king Karikālan. Sung by Nattattanār, *Cirupāṇārruppaḍai* extols the chieftain Nalliyakkoḍan. Descriptions of cities and villages and of the life led by the people there abound in this poem. *Perumpāṇārruppaḍai* by Uruttiraṅkaṇṇanār is a poem similar to *Cirupāṇārruppaḍai*. It glorifies Toṇḍaimān Iḷantiraiyan, king of Kāñcī. Shortest of the idylls (103 lines), *Mullaippāṭṭu* portrays the feelings of an ideal wife awaiting her husband's return from a military expedition. It is sung by a gold merchant Nappūtanār and generally supposed to have been composed in praise of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñcezhiyan.

Maduraikkāñci, written by Māṅguḍi Marudanār, is the longest of the idylls consisting of 782 lines. It gives a vivid picture of the ancient city of Madurai and celebrates the great Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñcezhiyan, hero of the Talaiyāṅkānam battle. *Neḍunalvāḍai* by Nakkīrar, written in praise of the same Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñcezhiyan, has a fine description of winter. The title is very apt, meaning 'the tedious but favourable cold north wind'. *Kuriñcippāṭṭu* by Kapilar contains a beautiful portrayal of the mountain scenery. It brings out the social conditions of the Tamil land in prominent relief. This idyll is said to have been composed to acquaint the Aryan king Pirahattan with the charms of the Tamil language and literature. That the qualities of modesty and chastity alone adorn women is emphasized in this poem. *Paṭṭinappālai*, literally meaning 'a port and separation', is a song of love. It was composed by Uruttiraṅkaṇṇanār, author of *Perumpāṇārruppaḍai*, to glorify the Coḷa king Karikālan. Torn between love and the call of the battle drum, the hèro finally decides to remain with his beloved. It gives a very graphic picture of Puhār or Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, great port-capital of the Coḷa kingdom, and has valuable information regarding trade relations of the Tamil land with foreign countries. *Malaipaḍukaḍām*, last of the idylls, is a long poem of 600 lines. It means literally 'the secretion oozing from a mountain' and figuratively 'the echo or rut of a mountain'. Sung by Peruṅkauśikanār, it extols the chieftain Nannan and his court. The poem gives a beautiful description of Nature and presents a critical account of the art of dancing as well as the details of musical instruments along with the artists' way of life.

The delineation of the early Tamil society in these poems is remarkably clear and a great deal of light is thrown on the civilization of the Tamils. The rugged virility in the songs of these early bards is not found in the more polished compositions of later ages. Saṅgam works provide us with valuable information regarding religion, social life, government, commerce, arts, music, dance, courtship, manners and customs, and the daily life of the Tamils. In those days heroism was exalted to the position of religion. From the equanimity of the Saṅgam poets came the sermons of equality. The concept of unity in existence

was preached through their poems. The following lines of Swami Vipulananda are a fitting tribute to the early poets of Tamil literature: 'Honour, friendship, devotion to duty, love of home and hearth, these are among the ideals that guided the life of the early Tamilians. These same ideals inspired their poetic utterances. The poetry they bequeathed to posterity is not a mere dream woven out of an idle fancy, but it is the record of human struggles and achievements, both in the field of action and in the realm of thought. What this ancient race felt and thought, throughout the long centuries of its existence, lies indelibly recorded in the pages of its literature. The configuration of the land has changed, the hills and rivers familiar to the ancient Tamilians have sunk beneath the ocean-bed, the waters of the Indian Ocean roll over the spots where proud Tamilian cities flourished, yet the songs of the bards of ancient Tamil land, passing down through the centuries, fall on our ears and awake in our hearts the selfsame rapture which they roused in the hearts of those who first listened to them'.[13]

TIRUKKURAḶ

There is a collection of eighteen 'minor works' known as *Padineṇ-kīzhk-kaṇakku*[14] which deals mainly with moral virtues. Some of these works are assigned to the third Saṅgam, while the others belong to a much later period. They are, however, grouped together in Tamil literature and called *kīzhkkaṇakku* which denotes a literary piece short in length. But these 'minor works' are not less important than other poems from the literary point of view. Among them, the most notable is Tiruvaḷḷuvar's (*c.* first century B.C.)[15] *Tirukkuraḷ* or *Kuraḷ*, which is in the form of couplets and deals with the three aims of life—*aram* (righteousness), *poruḷ* (wealth), and *inbam* or *kāmam* (pleasure). It consists of 133 chapters each containing ten couplets composed in *kuraḷ-veṇbā* metre. Conveying noble thoughts couched in terse language, each couplet is a gem by itself. According to Dr Albert Schweitzer, 'There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom'.[16] The first part of *Kuraḷ* (*arattuppāl*) gives the essentials of Yoga philosophy. Besides, it deals with the happy household life as well as the excellence

[13] *Vide CHI*, Vol. III (First Edn., 1937), p. 678.

[14] The following are the eighteen minor works:
(1) *Nālaḍiyār*, (2) *Nānmaṇik-kaḍikai*, (3) *Kār-nārpatu*, (4) *Kaḷavazhi-nārpatu*, (5) *Iniyatu-nārpatu*, (6) *Innā-nārpatu*, (7) *Aintiṇai-aimbatu*, (8) *Aintiṇai-ezhubatu*, (9) *Tiṇaimozhi-aimbatu*, (10) *Tiṇai-mālai-nūrraimbatu*, (11) *Kainnilai* or *Innilai*, (12) *Tirukkuraḷ*, (13) *Tirikaḍukam*, (14), *Ācārak-kovai*, (15) *Pazhamozhi-nānūru*, (16) *Cirupañcamūlam*, (17) *Mudumozhik-kāñci*, and (18) *Elādi*.

[15] Though the period of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is the most disputed question, it is generally admitted on the basis of internal evidences that his *Tirukkuraḷ* may have been composed later than *Tolkāppiyam* (*c.* 500 B.C.) but earlier than *Śilappadikāram* (*c.* second century A.D.).

[16] Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought and its Development* (Adam & Charles Black, London, 1956), p. 203.

of the path of renunciation. The thoughts of *Kuraḷ* in its second part (*poruṭpāl*) centre on polity and administration, including citizenship and social relations, in an admirable way. The third part (*inbattuppāl* or *kāmattuppāl*), consisting of couplets in dramatic monologues, treats of the concept of love. It is difficult to find similar delineation of emotion even in Saṅgam poetry. In *Tirukkuraḷ* one can see a life spiritual that is yet secular, a life secular that is yet spiritual to the core. Tiruvaḷḷuvar's philosophy of life hinges on his conception of Godhead, for to him God is the *summum bonum* of life.[17]

POST-SAṄGAM PERIOD: THE EPICS

The five major epics—*Śilappadikāram*, *Maṇimekalai*, *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi*, *Vaḷaiyāpati*, and *Kuṇḍalakeśi*—are the outstanding contributions of the post-Saṅgam period. *Śilappadikāram*, earliest extant Tamil work in the nature of drama, gives a vivid picture of Tamil society after its contact with Aryan culture. As it contains all the three aspects of Tamil literature, viz. *iyal*, *iśai*, and *nāṭakam*, it has been designated as a *muttamizhk-kāppiyam*. It is, therefore, invaluable as a source-book of ancient Tamil dance and classical music—both vocal and instrumental. The Aryan concept of Karma is embedded in the story and stated explicitly through the female protagonist, Kaṇṇagi. The author of this work is the ascetic-poet Iḷaṅko Aḍikaḷ, younger brother of the Cera king Ceṅkuṭṭuvan (latter half of the second century A.D.). *Śilappadikāram* gives a vivid description of the stage, the actor, the singer, the drummer, the flute-player, and the *yāzh* (a typical *vīṇā*). It contains beautiful specimens of *vari*, *kuravai*, *ammānai*, *ūśal*, *kandukam*, *vaḷḷai*, and other classes of musical plays. *Maṇimekalai*, a direct sequel to *Śilappadikāram*, is also a great source of information on ancient Tamil society. Written by Cittalai Cāttanār, this epic marks a new development in Tamil literature by presenting philosophical and religious debates in mellifluous style.

The other major epics, although grouped together, do not fall within this period. Jaina ascetic Tiruttakka Devar is the author of *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi* (*c.* tenth century A.D.). It is also called *Muḍi-poruḷ-toḍar-nilai-śeyyuḷ*, suggesting that it deals with the fourfold object of life, namely, virtue, wealth, pleasure, and bliss. This work is commendable for its chaste diction and sublime sentiment. Apart from establishing certain conventions and setting the pace, this epic introduces Sanskrit prosody for the first time in Tamil poetry. Its verses are 'distinguished by an immense expressional wealth, brilliant style, and prosodical variegation. Even in this respect it is an indicator of further development of

[17] This is evident from the couplets such as 'No fruit have men of all their studied lore/Save they the Purely Wise One's (God's) feet adore'—*Tirukkuraḷ*, I.1.2 (Translated by G.U. Pope). Cf. K. Appadurai, *The Mind and Thought of Tiruvalluvar* (Sekar Pathippagam, Madras, 1966), p. 19.

Tamil epical poetry'.[18] Only fragments of the last two epics, *Vaḷaiyāpati* and *Kuṇḍalakeśi*, are available. Besides these major epics, there are five other minor works probably by Jaina authors. They are: *Cūḷāmaṇi*, *Peruṅkathai*, *Nīlakeśi*, *Yaśodara-kāviyam*, and *Nāgakumāra-kāviyam*. Among these *Cūḷāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkathai* deserve special mention, since they are notable specimens of literary elegance. The influence of Sanskrit is clearly noticeable in them. In *Cūḷāmaṇi*, written by Tolāmozhittevar, *viruttam* metre is employed with facile grace. An adaptation of *Bṛhatkathā*, *Peruṅkathai* or *Udayaṇan-kathai* is composed by 'Koṅkuveḷir' (lit. chieftain of the Koṅku country) in *ahaval* metre. Portrayal of ideal characters, description of Nature, and stress on renunciation are some of the important features of these two epics.

PERIOD OF NĀYANMĀRS AND ĀḶVĀRS

After the two epics, *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*, there was a long period of darkness (*kaḷabhra*) which continued till about the end of the sixth century A.D. when the Nāyanmārs (Śaiva saints) and Āḷvārs (Vaiṣṇava saints) appeared with hymns of rare charm and religious fervour. Their advent gave Hinduism in the Tamil land a new turn and led it, in the course of time, to two distinct paths, viz. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The contribution of these saints to Tamil literature was quite considerable. About 7,000 hymns were composed by Jñānasambandhar, Appar, and Sundarar—three of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs. The collection of the hymns of these Śaiva *ācāryas* is called *Devāram*. Jñānasambandhar is said to have got a divine vision at the age of three when he started pouring out in melodious verse the joy and devotion that overflowed his heart. A happy and buoyant note is noticed throughout his hymns. Saint Tirunāvukkarasar (lit. the blessed king of speech), affectionately called 'Appar' (father) by his younger contemporary Jñānasambandhar, was persecuted by the Pallava king, Mahendra Varman I (*c.* A.D. 600-630), who afterwards became an ardent devotee of Śiva upon his conversion to that faith from Jainism. His hymns, couched in fine poetry, 'contain the quintessence of the Vedas'. The hymns of Sundarar, who claims himself as 'the devotee of the devotees', breathe a sense of intimacy with God. The hymns of these three saints were collected in the first seven of the twelve anthologies of Śaivite hymns known as *Tiru-murais*. The eighth *Tiru-murai* consists of *Tiruvācakam* and *Tirukkovaiyār* of Saint Māṇikkavācakar (? ninth century), the fourth great Śaiva *ācārya*. *Tiruvācakam* relates in rapturous melody the different stages of the author's spiritual experience and appears to be a manual on mystical theology. In *Tirukkovaiyār*, *śṛṅgāra-rasa* (erotic sentiment) serves as a thin veil to sublime and great truths. The ninth *Tiru-murai*, *Tiruviśaippā*, consists of the hymns of other saints of a later period. The tenth, known as *Tirumandiram*, contains

[18] Kamil Zvelebil, *Introducing Tamil Literature* (Madras, 1968), p. 10.

3,000 mystic songs by Tirumūlar who is supposed to have lived earlier than all other Nāyanmārs. A great mystic and a spiritual reformer, Tirumūlar composed this highly abstruse work containing the essence of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy in a language devoid of superfluities. The eleventh *Tiru-murai* is an anthology of poems by different devotees. All these eleven *Tiru-murais* were compiled by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi (*c.* eleventh century) whose own hymns occur in the eleventh book. Śekkizhār's (twelfth century) *Periya Purāṇam* or *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* is considered as the twelfth *Tiru-murai*. A remarkable and composite work of hagiology consisting of the lives of sixty-three Nāyanmārs in seventy-two cantos having 4,286 verses, it is regarded as a great classic analogous to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*.

What the Nāyanmārs did for Śaivism, the Āḷvārs did for the Vaiṣṇava faith. The latter wove their songs of mysticism around Viṣṇu. These songs, 4,000 in number, were compiled by Saint Nāthamuni (824-924) in the anthology *Divya Prabandham* or *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*, which is divided into four books, each bearing a separate name and consisting of about 1,000 verses. The first three of the twelve Āḷvārs—Poygai Āḷvār, Bhūtattāḷvār, and Pey Āḷvār—are said to have belonged to the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. Of the rest, the great names are Āṇḍāḷ (eighth century) and Nammāḷvār (Śaṭakopar; ninth century). Āṇḍāḷ or Godā or Nācciyār, the only woman-saint among the Āḷvārs, like Mīrābāī, practised *madhura bhāva* (worship of God with the attitude of a lover). Lord Kaṇṇan or Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the object of her divine love. She yearns for an eternal union with her beloved Kaṇṇan through her mystic and devotional songs. Nammāḷvār's *Tiruvāymozhi*, the third book of *Divya Prabandham*, is said to be a quintessence of the Upaniṣads. The songs of these Āḷvārs exhibit a catholicity which could not be found in the sectarian utterances of later days.

PERIOD OF LITERARY REVIVAL

The period of religious fervour was followed by a period of intense literary activity. Three great poets of this period are Kamban, Oṭṭakkūttan, and Pugazhendi. Greatest of the court poets of Kulottuṅga Coḷa III (1178-1218), Kamban[19] adapted the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil in his *Rāmakātai* or *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* following South Indian traditions for style, figures, and techniques. His choice of *viruttam* metre earned him high praise. Kamil Zvelebil, a Czech scholar, writes: '...descriptions of human emotions and relations, ...brisk tempo, dramatic force, ...extremely rich and expressive language, cascades of poetic imagery and waterfalls of similes, frequent use of onomatopoesis,

[19] There is a controversy regarding the date of Kamban. According to one version, Kamban belongs to the ninth century. Cf. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, *A History of Tamil Literature* (Annamalai University, 1965), p. 102.

ingenious alterations of the metre, extraordinary musicality of the verse—these are the main features of Kamban's style. Ideas of deep humanism, serene faith in mankind, its goodness and its abilities form the very core of his work'.[20] Ever since its composition, *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam* has been a great force in the literary life of the Tamils. A contemporary of Kamban, Oṭṭakkūttan excelled in metrical compositions (*antādi*, *kovai*, *ulā* to name only a few). He wrote *Uttara-kāṇḍam* (which completes *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*), *Takka-yāgap-paraṇi*, *Mūvar-ulā*, etc. Pugazhendi, the last of the trio, was a versatile poet famous for his work *Naḷa-veṇbā*, written in *veṇbā* metre. A poetess of the same name as Auvaiyār of the Saṅgam period is said to be a contemporary of Kamban. Her works, *Ātticcūḍi*, *Konraivendan*, *Mūdurai*, and *Nalvazhi*, are marked by simplicity and practical wisdom. *Periya Purāṇam*, already mentioned, also belongs to this period. Jayaṅkoṇḍān (*c.* A.D. 1100) is well known for his *paraṇi*,[21] *Kaliṅgattup-paraṇi*, which describes the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Coḷa king Kulottuṅga I (*c.*A.D. 1070-1120).

The theme of clandestine love has been depicted in Iraiyanār's *Ahapporuḷ* or *Kaḷaviyal* (*c.* eleventh century), which is a grammatical work consisting of sixty *sūttirams*. Kallāḍanār's *Kallāḍam* relates the divine sports of Śiva and the glories of Madurai. Aiyanār Itanār's *Purapporuḷ-veṇbā-mālai* (*c.* eleventh century) is a compilation of Tamil verses of the Saṅgam period in *veṇbā* metre dealing with war and other connected subjects. Narkavi Nambi, a Jaina scholar, in his *Ahapporuḷ-viḷakkam* treats of various aspects of love. *Yāpparuṅkalam* and *Yāpparuṅkalak-kārigai* are works on Tamil prosody written respectively by two contemporary Jaina ascetics, Guṇasāgarar and Amutasāgarar. Guṇavīra Paṇḍitar's *Neminādam* is a work on orthography and morphology. The same author has to his credit another grammatical work called *Veṇbāppāṭṭiyal*. Other notable works of the period include *Vīracozhiyam* by Puttamittiranār, *Nannūl* by Pavaṇanti, and *Divākaram* by Divākarar and *Piṅgalandai* by his son Piṅgalar. The first two of these relate to grammar, while the last two are lexicons.

PERIOD OF EXEGETICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, PURĀṆIC, DIDACTIC, AND MINOR LITERATURE

The late Middle period of Tamil literature, from *c.* A.D. 1200 to 1750, is characterized by the production of exegetical, philosophical, Purāṇic, didactic, and minor works. But for the efforts of the commentators, many of the earlier

[20] Kamil Zvelebil, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Regarding the narrative quality of *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*, M. Arunachalam has observed thus: 'On every page in the narrative there is a short story. Characters appear to speak or act; the story works up to a pitch; and suddenly there is a curtainfall; the curtainfall is objectively perceivable as on the stage.'—*An Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature* (Gandhi Vidyalayam, Tirucitrambalam), p. 118.

[21] *Paraṇi* is a type of poetic composition which eulogizes a warrior who has killed a thousand male elephants in the battlefield.

Tamil works would not have survived to us. Commentaries (*kaṇḍikai*, short; and *virutti*, elaborate) played a prominent role in the clarification of the obscure parts of the early Tamil classics. The pioneers among the commentators were Nakkīrar and Iḷampūraṇar. Nakkīrar (*c.* twelfth century), bearing the same name as that of the Saṅgam poet, has written a very scholarly and critical commentary on *Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ*. Iḷampūraṇar's commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* is also a remarkable work. Among other commentators mention may be made of Perāśiriyar (dealing with Saint Māṇikkavācakar's *Tirukkovaiyār*), Śenāvaraiyar (dealing with *Tolkāppiyam*), Naccinārkkiniyar (dealing with *Tolkāppiyam, Pattuppāṭṭu, Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi*, part of *Kuruntogai*, etc.), Aḍiyārkku Nallār (dealing with *Śilappadikāram*), and Parimelazhagar (dealing with *Tirukkuraḷ*). In a sense, these commentaries paved the way for later prose writing in Tamil.

The period also witnessed the revival of literature concerning Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. As early as the thirteenth century itself, Meykaṇḍār (d. A.D. 1223) and other Śaiva apostles started developing Śaiva Siddhānta thought. Meykaṇḍār's *Śivajñāna-bodham* is the most noted of the Śaiva scriptures, wherein Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy is codified. Śivajñāna Svāmigaḷ's *Dirāviḍa-mahābhāṣyam* is an elaborate commentary on it. Similarly, Vaiṣṇava apostles wrote commentaries on *Divya Prabandham* in the *maṇipravāḷam* style (a mixed language of Tamil and Sanskrit). During this period, there appeared a class of mystic poets called *siddhars*, eighteen in number. Their poems contain great philosophical ideas couched in simple language. Of them, Śivavākkiyar, Paṭṭinattār, and Bhadragiriyār were the forerunners of later poets in the adoption of a moving, direct, and easy style of poetry. Some of the *siddhars* were social reformers as well in that they carried on a tirade against the caste system and bigotry of the religious zealots.

The influence of Sanskrit was very much pronounced in some of the great works of this period. Saint Aruṇagirināthar's (*c.* fifteenth century) *Tiruppukazh* was one such composition, where the language and the metre are of a mixed variety. A master of *śleṣa* (pun), Kāḷameghappulavar wrote *Tiruvānaikkā-ulā*. During this period, many Purāṇas and other notable works were either translated or adapted into Tamil from Sanskrit. An early adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*, Perundevanār's *Bhāratam*, composed during the régime of the Pallava king Nandivarman III (*c.* 826-49), has not come down to us in its entirety. Villipputtūrar, a contemporary of Aruṇagirināthar, wrote *Bhāratam* which is an adaptation of the *Mahābhārata* and is reckoned as a great epic in Tamil. Two translations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Cevvaiccūḍuvār and Varadarāja Aiyaṅkār (both of the sixteenth century), *Piramottira-kāṇḍam* (*Kūrma Purāṇa*) and *Naiṭatam* (*Naiṣadha-carita* by Śrīharṣa) by Adivīrarāman, *Kāśik-kāṇḍam* (*Kūrma Purāṇa*) by Varatuṅkan, *Macca Purāṇam* (1647; *Matsya Purāṇa*) by Vaḍamalaiyappa Piḷḷai, and *Kanda Purāṇam* (*c.* 1625; *Skanda Purāṇa*) by Kacci-

yappa Śivācāryar are some of the notable works of this *genre*. The popular story of Nala and Damayantī has been retold in *Naḷa-veṇbā* by Pugazhendi (thirteenth century) and that of Hariścandra by Vīrarāghavakkavi (*c.* sixteenth century) in *Ariccandira Purāṇam*. Aruṇācala Kavirāyar's (*c.* 1712-79) *Rāma-nāṭakam*, a narration of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is in the form of an opera. Special mention may be made in this connexion of the translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, along with the commentary of Śaṅkara, by Paṭṭar. Many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Purāṇic works in Tamil were composed in honour of the deities of the different shrines of Tamil Nadu. Though some of them are of considerable literary merit, there is nothing in them showing that grasp of life which the Saṅgam poets had; nor did they evince the emotional and spiritual quality of the post-Saṅgam works. Parañcoti's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* (adaptation of *Halāsya-māhātmya*), Śivajñāna Svāmigaḷ's *Kāñcip Purāṇam*, and Kacciyappa Śivācāryar's *Taṇikaip Purāṇam* are, however, a few works of this category noted for their literary merit.

The Śaiva monasteries (*maṭams* as they are called) took active part in spreading religion through literature. Kumaraguruparar and Śivapprakāśar are two of the eminent poets of the seventeenth century who wrote on devotional and didactic themes. The former's works include *Kandar-kaliveṇbā*, *Mīnāṭcip-piḷḷaittamizh*, *Maduraik-kalambakam*, and *Nītineri-viḷakkam*. The latter's *Nālvar-nānmaṇimālai* and *Nanneri* are well known throughout Tamil Nadu. The songs of the philosopher-poet Tāyumānavar (*c.* seventeenth/eighteenth century) are marked by devotional fervour as well as by catholicity of outlook. His most well-known couplet serves to show how non-sectarian he, a devout Śaivite, was at a time when religious intolerance was the order of the day. His prayer to the Almighty, 'Let all be in blissful state is my only wish, O Lord, the Supreme! I know not anything else',[22] is reminiscent of Kaṇiyan Pūṅkunranār of the Saṅgam period.[23] Interspersed with Sanskrit words, Tāyumānavar's philosophical poems contain many charming imageries.

Mention may be made here also of a few other works of the late Middle period which do not belong to any specific category, but are important as specimens of Tamil literature. A new type of literature called *cīṭṭuk-kavi* (epistles in verse), for instance, made its appearance during the period. *Virali-viḍu-dūtu*, *Kūḷappa Nāyakkan-kādal*, and *Varuṇa Kulātittan-maṭal* are examples of this kind of poetry which, according to Dr Meenakshisundaran, 'in spite of the command over the language, the charm of its style and striking similes . . . , shows more of

[22] The Tamil original runs as follows:
Ellārum inburru irukka ninaippatuve
Allāmal veronrum ariyen parāparame.—Tāyumānavar's *Parāparakkaṇṇi*, v. 221.

[23] *Yādum ūre yāvarum keḷir*: All towns are one, all men our kin.—Kaṇiyan Pūṅkunranār (*Puranānūru*, v. 192).

the weakness of the decadent age than the vigour and life of a new age'.[24] Ballads and folk-songs based on earlier classics but dwelling on themes of the contemporary Tamil country appeared in this period. Some of these are noted for their rich content.

MODERN PERIOD : PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The advent of Muslims and Christian missionaries in Tamil Nadu had considerable impact on the growth of its literature. Among the early Muslim Tamil poets, the most prominent is Umaruppulavar (*c.* 1605-1703), author of *Śīrāppurāṇam* which is a verse narrative on the life of Prophet Mohammed composed in 12,000 stanzas. This work is entirely in the tradition of Tamil poetry, though words of Arabic origin were freely used to heighten the effectiveness of the *milieu* and the incidents inherent in them. Next to him in importance is Mastan Sahib of Tiruchirappally whose devotional lyrics and philosophical verses resembled those of Tāyumānavar. Mention may also be made of Mohammed Ibrahim alias Vaṇṇakkaḷañciyappulavar who wrote *Muhaidin Purāṇam* (1845) dealing with the Islamic faith.

Christian missionaries helped in introducing printing which facilitated the growth of literature during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Robert di Nobili, an Italian Jesuit missionary, was perhaps the first to initiate biblical studies in Tamil prose early in the seventeenth century. Though meant for proselytizing purposes, it helped the evolution of Tamil prose into an easier means of communication. Constanzio Beschi (1680-1747), another Italian missionary, reformed the Tamil characters for printing. Further, under the assumed name of 'Vīramāmunivar', he compiled a Latin-Tamil dictionary and wrote a classic, *Tembāvaṇi*, on the life of Jesus in chaste Tamil poetic convention. He was also the author of some prose and fictional works. In the nineteenth century, Bishop Robert Caldwell (1815-91) produced his monumental linguistic work on comparative Dravidian philology. Another British missionary, G. U. Pope (1820-1907), rendered great service for the study of Tamil through his grammatical works and English translations of the Tamil classics like *Tirukkuraḷ* and *Tiruvācakam.* Two notable native Christian writers were Vedanayagam Pillai (*c.* 1824-89) and H. A. Krishna Pillai (1827-1900). Besides writing poetical works like *Nītinūl* and *Sarvaśamayak-kīrttanaikaḷ*, the former produced the first novel in Tamil, *Piratāba Mudaliyār-carittiram* (1875). The latter was the author of *Iraṭcaṇya-yāttirīgam,* which is an adaptation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

The poems of 'Vaḷḷalār' Ramalinga Swamigal (1823-74), spiritual leader of Tamil Nadu, are melodious and yet full of devotional fervour. His soul-

[24] T. P. Meenakshisundaran, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

stirring hymns, compiled in a book called *Tiru Arutpā*, are remarkable 'for their inner glow, perfectness, and musical language'.[25] His *Jīvakārunya Ozhukkam* and *Manumurai-kaṇḍa-vācakam* are among the best prose works written during the last century. Gopalakrishna Bharati's *Nandanār-carittirak-kīrttanaikaḷ* is a popular verse-drama which narrates the life story of Nandanār, a Nāyanmār. A giant among the Tamil scholars of the nineteenth century, Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai wrote many Purāṇas and other works belonging to the *cirrilakkiyam*[26] in highly chaste classical Tamil. It is he who inspired the great Tamil scholar Dr U. V. Swaminathayyar in the latter's literary pursuits. Arumuga Navalar (1822-76), C. W. Damodaram Pillai, and Murugesa Panditar are some of the scholars of Jaffna (Sri Lanka) who have enriched Tamil literature.

Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no significant work in prose excepting the diary kept in the current colloquial Tamil prose by Anandarangam Pillai who was Dewan to Duplex, French Governor of Pondicherry. Rudiments of Tamil prose can be traced to *Śilappadikāram* wherein occur a few lines in prose. In Perundevanār's metrical work, *Bhāratam*, some prose passages are found. The first prose writing as such is, however, Nakkīrar's commentary on *Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ*. The prose employed here is very ornate and incomprehensible for an ordinary reader. The commentators of classics, as has already been pointed out, used a kind of prose.

PERIOD OF RENAISSANCE AND GROWTH

The period after 1850 synchronized with the unearthing of Saṅgam and other ancient works from private possessions and their printing. The credit for this goes to Dr U. V. Swaminathayyar, whose masterly editions with copious notes deserve special mention. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of this pioneer in editing classics on modern lines, the Tamils came to have the Saṅgam literature in print with elaborate commentaries. The twentieth century saw the germination of Swadeshi spirit. Swami Vivekananda's clarion call to the nation to think of its ancient heritage, the partition of Bengal and its aftermath, the rise of the national poet Subrahmanya Bharati in Tamil Nadu—all these were contributory factors for the growth of patriotic feeling among Tamils. The advent of Bharati ushered in an era of literary renaissance in Tamil Nadu.

POETRY

Subrahmanya Bharati (*c.* 1882-1921) blazed a new trail which was followed by many other poets of the next generation. His chief contribution lies in his

[25] Kamil Zvelebil, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[26] Ninety-six types of poetical compositions in Tamil literature are grouped under the general title *cirrilakkiyam* (minor literature). A few notable types of this group are: *antādi, mālai, ulā, śatakam, parani, paḷḷu, kuravañci, kovai, piḷḷaittamizh,* and *kalambakam.*

patriotic and devotional songs, an epic poem of small dimension but of great charm, and prose writings on contemporary affairs. His egalitarian outlook, concern for women, intense patriotism, and solicitude for children and the downtrodden are well known. An attempt to integrate the twentieth century with the past was made by him in his *Pāñcāli Śabadam* which is an epic poem based on a single episode of the *Mahābhārata*. His deep concern for the political and social freedom of the people, including the pariah, inspired him to create a new literature easily comprehensible by the common folk. This can be seen from his songs such as 'Freedom, freedom, freedom to the pariahs ...'. Love for humanity, nay, for the entire creation, and indignation against all kinds of oppression and injustice have made the poet sing many a thought-provoking song in new rhythm and symbolic language. The mystical tradition of Āḻvārs and Nāyanmārs is found in Bharati's religious songs. His hymns to Goddess Śakti in *Kāḷippāṭṭu* and to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in *Kaṇṇan-pāṭṭu* are sweet and soul-stirring. His *Kuyil-pāṭṭu* has various levels of appeal—mythological, romantic, allegorical, and mystic. The poetry of Bharati is remarkably rich and suggestive, passionate and sensuous, simple yet satirical.

The patriot-scholar V. O. Chidambaram (1872-1936) composed, besides his autobiography, a few poetical works on ethical and philosophical themes (*Meyyarivu*; *Pāḍal Tiraṭṭu*, 1935). 'Kavimaṇi' Desikavinayagam (1875-1954) wrote *Malarum-mālaiyum*, *Umarkkayyām-pāḍalkaḷ* (translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*), *Āśiyajoti* (adaptation of Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*), etc. Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram ('Tiru. Vi. Ka.'; 1883-1954) wrote *Podumai Veṭṭal* (1942) in simple *ahaval* metre dealing with the harmony of all religious and sectarian thoughts. Besides his two poetical works *Tamizhan Idayam* and *Śaṅkoli* (1953), 'Nāmakkal Kaviñar' Ramalingam (1888-1972) has versified a love story, *Avaḷum Avanum* (*c.* 1953), in a lucid language. His patriotic poem composed on the occasion of the Salt Satyagraha in 1931 is a marching song full of vitality and vigour. These poets including Kothamangalam Subbu (1910-74), author of *Gāndhi Mahān Kathaigaḷ* (1947), belong to the Gandhian school of thought in one way or other. Yogi Suddhananda Bharati is the author of *Bhārata-mahāśakti* and a number of poems of topical interest.

Belonging to the Bharati school, Kanakasubburatnam ('Bhāratidāsan'; 1891-1964) is a poet of revolt and individualism. He is famous for his poems on love, the status of women, and welfare of the masses. The poet's identification with the downtrodden is complete, his attitude being socialistic. With an apt description based on close observation, he has expressed his love for Nature in a unique way in his *Azhakin Śirippu*. His *Pāṇḍiyan Pariśu*, a poem of epical dimension, is embellished with thought-provoking ideas and sentiments. His *Tamizh-iyakkam* is an appeal to Tamils who have forgotten the glory and antiquity of their mother-tongue. His conception of an ideal home is contained in *Kuḍumba-*

viḷakku and the opposite picture is depicted with remarkable clarity in *Iruṇḍa Vīḍu.* His *Iśaiyamutu* and *Iḷaiñar Ilakkiyam* have beautiful maxims for the young. Other works of 'Bhāratidāsan' include *Puraṭcik-kavi*, *Kuriñcittiṭṭu*, and *Śañcīvī Parvatattin Cāral*. His fame, however, in later years suffered on account of his espousal of the Dravidian movement. Durai Manickam ('Pāvalar Peruñcitti-ranār'; b. 1933) is one of the worthy successors of 'Bhāratidāsan'. He has written many songs in the Saṅgam tradition, and made new experiments dealing with modern philosophical ideas. *Aiyai*, *Nūrāśiriyam*, *Koyyākkani*, *Eṇśuvai Eṇbatu* (1969), and *Pāviyakkottu* (1969) are a few of his outstanding works. Pulavar Kulandai's *Rāvaṇa-kāviyam* (1946) is an epic written only to glorify Rāvaṇa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Many poets like M. L. Thangappa (*Āndaip-pāṭṭu*), 'Muḍiyaraśan' (*Pūṅkoḍi*), and 'Ezhilmutalvan' (b. 1940; *Inikkum Ninaivukaḷ*, 1976) have written on new themes in a charming style following 'Bhāratidāsan'.

There were also poets who adhered to the old pattern, metre, and ideas. N. Kanakaraja Iyer in his *Marainta-mānagar* and R. Raghava Iyengar in his *Pāri-kātai* (1937) employed fully the traditional style. 'Vāṇidāsan' (b. 1915; *Tīrtta Yāttirai*), 'Muḍiyaraśan' (*Vīrakāviyam*), 'Śuradā' (*Śakti Pirakkutu*, 1948), and similar other poets drew upon the old classics. Their treatment is, however, modern. Some academicians like A. Srinivasaraghavan (1905-75), 'Śālai Iḷantiraiyan' (b. 1930), and 'Tamizhaṇṇal' have contributed to the development of modern Tamil poetry. *Veḷḷaipparavai* (1967), a collection of poems written by A. Srinivasaraghavan, is marked by freshness, verve, and depth. It won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1968. Among the modern poets, mention may be made of Trilokasitaram (*Gandarva-gānam*, 1967), Periyasamy Thuran (*Enrum Padināru*), 'Sadhu. Su. Yogi' (*Manitanaip-pāḍuven*), 'Śurabi' (*Sattiya Śodanai*), Al. Valliyappa (an eminent children's poet; *Malurum Uḷḷam*, 1954), 'Kaṇṇadāsan' (b. 1926; *Māṅkani*, 1970), and 'Tamizhazhagan'. 'Kaṇṇa-dāsan' is a household name in Tamil Nadu because of his lyrics written in simple and chaste style. There are quite a large number of lesser poets, among whom are writers of free verse, who have created a stir in the Tamil literary world by their unconventional use of the language. Many of their works are of little merit. There are others who strive hard to create poetry in this new line; they include N. Pichumurthi, Dharumu Sivaraman, Vaideeswaran, and C. Mani.[27] Promising young poets like 'Abi' (*Maunattin Nāvukaḷ*, 1974), 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍān' (*Kūṭṭuppuzhukkaḷ*, 1974), M. Rajendran ('Mī. Rā.'; *Kanavugaḷ+Karpanaigaḷ=Kāgitaṅgaḷ*), and N. Mehta (*Kaṇṇīrppūkkaḷ*, 1974) have also made some new experiments in writing verse.

[27] For an account of new efforts in Tamil poetry, reference may be made to Kamil Zvelebil, 'New Voices in Tamil Poetry', *Indian Literature*, Vol. XXVI (January & June, 1973), pp. 153-63.

FICTIONAL LITERATURE

The first work of fiction in Tamil is the highly symbolic *Paramārtta Gurukathai* written by 'Vīramāmunivar' in the eighteenth century. *Piratāba Mudaliyār-carittiram* by Vedanayagam Pillai (nineteenth century) marked the next stage in the growth of the novel. This was followed by *Kamalāmbāḷ-carittiram* (1896) by Rajam Ayyar. A further development took place in the early twentieth century with Madhaviah's (*c*. 1870-1925) *Padmāvati-carittiram*. After him came Vaduvur Duraiswamy (*Menakā, Bālāmaṇi*), Arani Kuppuswamy (*Ratnāpuri-rahasyam*), Shankara Ram (*Maṇṇāśai, Kāriyadarisi*), 'Nāraṇa Duraikkaṇṇan' (*Śīmāṭṭi Kārttiyāyini, Uyiroviyam*), and other authors. 'Nāraṇa Duraikkaṇṇan' is an eminent novelist of the post-Independence period also. R. Krishnamurthi ('Kalki'; 1899-1954) wrote *Pārttipan Kanavu* (1942), *Śivakāmiyin Śabadam* (1944), and *Ponniyin Śelvan*—all historical novels depicting the glorious past of Tamil Nadu. These set a pattern which was followed by such post-Independence writers as 'Śāṇḍilyan' (b. 1910; *Yavana-rāṇi; Kaḍal-purā*, 1967), 'Jagaccirpiyan' (b. 1925; *Tiruccirrambalam*; *Nandivarman Kādali*, 1958) 'Govi. Maṇiśekharan' (b. 1927; *Śembiyan Śelvi*, 1959; *Nilamallikai*), and 'Akilan' (b. 1925; *Veṅgaiyin Maindan*, 1961). Their novels are based on the anecdotes of ancient Tamil kings. *Pālmarakkāṭṭile* (1977) is the latest novel of 'Akilan', which delineates the sufferings of Tamil workers of rubber estates in Malaysia.

The style of M. Varadarajan ('Mu. Va.'; 1912-74), who started writing in the pre-Independence period, is simple and lucid. He made experiments with new techniques in his novels. *Perra Manam* (1953), *Karittuṇḍu* (1953), *Śentāmarai*, and *Maṇkuḍiśai* are some of his popular works. He was a recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award (1961) for his *Ahal-viḷakku* (1958). Distinguished politician C. N. Annadurai (*c*. 1908-69) was a novelist of distinction. Two of his important works are *Nallatambi* and *Rangoon Rādhā* (1952). He also wrote a number of short stories advocating Dravidian movements. *Pāvai-viḷakku* and *Cittirappāvai* (1968) by 'Akilan' are two outstanding novels of the post-Independence period. A psychological novel, the former is autobiographical in a sense. It revolves round a novelist and his various women fans. The latter, which won the Jñanpith Award in 1976, is his *magnum opus* wherein the conflict between the precept and practice of 'art for art's sake' is the theme. 'Anuttamā' (b. 1922; *Keṭṭavaram*, 1951), 'Lakṣmī' (*Peṇmanam*), Jayalakshmi Srinivasan (*Puṣparāham*, 1944), and Kodainayaki Ammal (*Tūya-uḷḷam*, 1951) are some of the women writers who became famous in the forties and fifties. *Samudāya Vīdi* (1968), *Kuriñci-malar* (1961), *Pon-vilaṅku* (1964), and *Kapāṭa-puram* (1967) are a few important novels of N. Parthasarathy ('Maṇivaṇṇan'; b. 1932), who belongs to the 'Kalki' school. The first won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1971. Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement provided the theme for such novels as *Alaiyośai, Makuṭapati*, and *Tiyāgabhūmi* by 'Kalki'; *Murugan*

Or Uzhavan by K. Venkataramani; *Maṇṇil Teriyutu Vānam* (1969) by Chidambara Subramanyam; and *Kallukkuḷ Īram* (1969) by R. S. Nallaperumal. *Alaiyośai* of 'Kalki' received the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1956 posthumously.

New experiments in novel-writing were tried by Jayakantan (b. 1934) in his *Oru Naṭikai Nāṭakam Pārkkirāḷ* (1971) and *Śila Nerankaḷil Śila Manitarkaḷ* (1970). The latter won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1972. Attempts on the 'stream of consciousness' line were also made. A notable writer of this *genre* is L. S. Ramamritam (*Putra,* 1965). Indira Parthasarathy's (b. 1930) novels, such as *Tantirabhūmi* (1969), *Kurutippunal* (1974), and *Tīvukaḷ* (1976), are based on Freudism. Sundaram Ramaswamy's *Oru Puḷiyamarattin Kathai* (1966) is a distinguished work of fiction so far as its technique is concerned. T. Janakiraman's (b. 1921) *Mohamuḷ* (1961) interprets the complications in social and family life from the psychological standpoint. P. M. Kannan's (b. 1910) *Peṇ Deivam* (1943) and other novels provide realistic pictures of family life. *Oru Nāḷ* (1950) and *Poyttevu* of Ka. Naa. Subrahmanyam are two remarkable productions of the post-Independence period from the stylistic point of view. Raghunathan's *Pañcum Paśiyum* (1953) is a novel with a socialistic slant. Among the new fiction writers who have become prominent are 'Nakulan,' 'Aśokamitran' (b. 1935), 'Śujātā (b. 1935), R. S. Nallaperumal (b. 1931), U. Subbayya (b. 1930), 'Puṣpā Taṅkatturai', Jothirlatha Girija (b. 1936), Sivasankari (b. 1942), 'Kiruttikā' (b. 1915), and Rajam Krishnan. Of these, the last four are women. Translations have been added to creative literature, though very few of them have retained the flavour of the original. Of the recent translations, the Tamil renderings of V. S. Khandekar's Marathi novels by K. S. Srinivasacharya ('Kā. Śrī. Śrī.') deserve special notice. T. N. Kumaraswami, a student of Santiniketan, is mainly responsible for popularizing Tamil translations of Bengali novels. In spite of a plethora of novels that have been published during the recent years, there is hardly any novel of outstanding merit. Novels written in a humorous vein are rather few in Tamil. However, S. V. Vijayaraghavachari (1879-1950; *Vasantan,* 1941), 'Tumilan', (b. 1904, *Anurādhā,* 1961), 'Nāṭoṭi' (*Maunap-Piḷḷaiyār*), 'Devan', 'Cāvi', and other writers have contributed to the Tamil literature of this particular *genre*. From Rajam Ayyar's *Kamalāmbāḷ-carittiram* (1896) to T. Janakiraman's *Mohamuḷ* (1961) and Neela Padmanabhan's (b. 1938) *Talaimuraigaḷ* (1968) there has been a continuous flow of writings with a regional flavour.

In the domain of the short story, pioneering efforts were made by V. V. S. Aiyar (1881-1935; *Maṅgaiyarkkaraśiyin Kādal*). He was followed by a group of powerful writers like 'Kalki', 'Pudumaippittan' (1916-48), 'Ku. Pa. Rā.', 'Mauni' (b. 1907), B. S. Ramayya (b. 1905), 'Va. Rā.' (1889-1951), and A. S. P. Ayyar. Popular collections of short stories by 'Pudumaippittan', who was a great experimentalist, include *Kāñcanai* (1943), *Śirrannai* (1950), and

Śāba-vimocanam. 'Vindan' (*Pālum Pāvaiyum,* 1951), Chidambara Raghunathan (b. 1923; *Idaya Oḷi*), G. Alagirisamy (b. 1925; *Tavappayan,* 1956), T. Janakiraman (*Veyil*), R. Chudamani (b. 1931; *Manattukku Iniyavaḷ* 1960), 'Mu. Va.' (*Viḍutalaiyā*), 'Ārvī' (b. 1920; *Aṇaiyā-viḷakku,* 1956), 'Cāvi' (*Tirukkuraḷ-kathaikaḷ*), and 'Maṇiyan' (*Ātticcūḍık-kathaikaḷ*) have contributed much to this branch of literature. Jayakantan's short stories (*Inippum Karippum,* 1960; *Uṇmai Śuḍum,* 1964) are true reflections of life with interactions of men and women in varied situations. The short stories of 'Akilan' are more than 150 in number (*Śakotarar Anro,* 1963; *Sattiya Āveśam,* 1974). There are also short stories as well as novels which have been written from a propagandist point of view. Besides, there are 'progressive' writers who have tried to use literature as a means of transforming society. It is in this field that works in Tamil have been produced in bulk, though the quality is sometimes indifferent.

PLAYS

Works like *Śılappadikāram* contain references to plays being enacted. Theatrical techniques are also found mentioned in them. Tamil dramas, *kūttu* as they were called, must have been a popular resort of the public during the period of Imperial Coḷas. It had lost its hold gradually until in the nineteenth century there was a revival of the theatre and dramatic literature. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Aruṇācala Kavirāyar wrote a drama, *Aśomuki-nāṭakam,* besides an opera type piece, *Rāma-nāṭakam.* Sundaram Pillai's (1855-97) *Manonmaṇīyam* (1891), a poetic drama, gave a new dimension to the dramatic literature in Tamil. V. V. Suryanarayana Sastri alias 'Paritimāl Kalaiñar' (1870-1903; *Rupāvati, Kalāvati*) wrote dramas on the Shakespearean model. Sankaradas Swami's plays are based on old stories of mythology. Among the plays written by 'Pammal' Sambanda Mudaliar (1873-1964) *Sabhāpati* (1931), *Manoharā,* and *Ratnāvali* became very popular. *Śākuntala-nāṭakam* (1907; translation of Kālidāsa's *Abhıjñāna-Śakuntala*) by 'Maraimalai Aḍikaḷ', *Kuzhandai Rāmu* (1929) by R. S. Desikan, *Appar-nāṭakam* (1934) by M. Balasubramanyam, and *Paṭitta Peṇkaḷ* (1948) by 'Bhāratidāsan' are some of the notable works of the first half of this century. T. K. Shanmukham and his brothers infused a new life into the stage by presenting many historical and social dramas like *Auvaiyār* and *Rāja Rāja Coḷan.* Dramatists like T. K. Pavalar wrote plays (*Katarin Verri, Deśīyak-koti*) with the freedom movement as their background during the pre-Independence period. 'Bhāratidāsan' has presented a Saṅgam theme in his *Ceratāṇḍavam* (1949). His *Piśırāndaiyār,* which won posthumously the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1969, has for its theme the life-story of a Saṅgam poet, Piśirāndaiyār. K. Appadurai's *Āṇḍi-maṭam* (1952), Periyasamy Thuran's *Manakkukai* (1955), B. S. Ramayya's *Ter Oṭṭiyin Makan* (1957), T. Janakiraman's *Nāluveli Nılam* (1959), R. Chudamani's *Iruvar*

Kaṇḍanar, K. A. P. Viswanatham's *Tamizhccuvai*, M. Varadarajan's *Kādal-eṅke*, and *Vāzhvil Inbam* by 'Akilan' are some of the recent plays which deserve special notice. Latterly, there has been a definite swing of popular taste towards hilarious social plays with political overtones, but plays of real literary merit are rare.

OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

Tamil prose, as has already been seen, originated in the commentaries of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. It started flourishing with the advent of the Westerners into South India. Ramalinga Swamigal, Arumuga Navalar, Vedanayagam Pillai, and many others have contributed much for the development of Tamil prose. Thanks to the Tamil journals, prose-writing became quite common, and patriots like V. O. Chidambaram and Subrahmanya Bharati and scholars like Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram and T. K. Chidambaranathan distinguished themselves as eminent writers of prose. 'Maraimalai Aḍikaḷ' (1879-1950), who led the puritan movement in Modern Tamil, wrote in a chaste and charming style using pure Tamil words only. *Cintanaik-katturaikaḷ* (1908), *Tolaiviluṇartal* (1935), and *Tamizhar Matam* (1941) are some of his important prose works. The writings of Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram (*Peṇṇin Perumai*; *Manita Vāzhkkaiyum Gāndhi Aḍikaḷum*; *Uḷḷoḷi*, 1942; *Tamizhccolai*, 1935; *Murugan Allatu Azhagu*, 1925) are remarkable as much for the wide range of subjects covered as for their high idealism and spiritual content. They set a new pattern for modern Tamil prose. An illustrious journalist, 'Kalki' was also a novelist, short story writer, humorist, and music critic of note. The great statesman C. Rajagopalachari ('Rājāji'; 1879-1972) was a prose writer of distinction. He summarized the *Mahābhārata* (*Viyāsar Virundu*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Cakkaravarttit-Tirumakan*). His *Śrī Rāmakṛṣnarin Upaniṣadam* (1950) was declared by the Tamil Academy of Madras as the best book in Tamil for the year 1952-53. The tales and parables of Sri Ramakrishna have been retold in an impressive and fascinating way in this book which has been translated in various languages of India including English. The Ramakrishna Math at Madras has brought out a sizable volume of literature in Tamil to spread the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement. Mention may be made of *Mozhiyamutam* by Swami Paramatmananda, *Svāmi Vivekānandar* by R. Ganapathi, and *Tiruvaruṇmozhi* in this connexion. The Tinnevelly Śaiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society has made significant contributions to the development of religious literature in Modern Tamil. The writings of Swami Chidbhavananda expound the immortal philosophy of life in a simple, rational, and soul-elevating manner. He gives a critical analysis of the life of Sri Ramakrishna in *Paramahamsar Perumai* (1959), which is a unique exposition of practical Vedānta. Besides lucid commentaries on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Tiruvācakam*, and

Tāyumānava Śvāmigaḷ Pāḍalkaḷ, Swami Chidbhavananda has produced many other literary works that are companions to spiritual aspirants—*Etirkāla Indiyā* (1953), *Dinaśari Dhiyānam* (1960), and *Gāyatri* (1973) being a few among them.

Apart from some earlier critical works like *Bhagavad-viṣayam* (on *Divya Prabandham*), literary criticism in the modern sense of the term did not emerge in Tamil literature till the middle of the nineteenth century. Scholars who contributed in this field during the first four decades of the present century include 'Maraimalai Aḍikaḷ' (*Tiruvaḷḷuvar Kālam, Paṭṭinappālai Ārāycci*), 'Nāvalar' Somasundara Bharati (1879-1950; *Tirukkuraḷ, Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*), M. Raghava Iyengar (1878-1950; *Ārāycci Tokuti*), S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (*Ilakkiyac-cintanaikaḷ*), 'Paṇḍitamaṇi' M. Kathiresan Chettiar (*Tiruvācakam*), and R. P. Sethu Pillai (*Tamizham—Ūrum Perum*). The next three decades and a half saw the productions of some more notable works in this *genre*. Among the writers of this period are: Auvai Duraisamy (expositions of the Saṅgam and Śaiva Siddhānta literature), K. V. Jagannathan (b. 1906; *Vīrar Ulagam*, 1966), M. Varadarajan (*Ovacceyti*, 1952), K. Appadurai (b. 1907; *Kumarik-kaṇḍam Allatu Kaḍal Kaṇḍa Tennāḍu*, 1951), M. Rajamanickanar (*Pallavar Varalāru*, 1952), C. Ilakkuvanar (*Pazhantamizh*, 1962), K. A. P. Viswanatham (*Tirukkuraṭ-śuraṅgam*), 'Tirukkuraḷ' Munusamy (*Tirukkuraṭ-payaṇam*), V. S. P. Manickam (*Tamizhk-kādal*), 'Tamizhaṇṇal' (*Oppiyal Oru Arimugam*), 'Śālai Iḷantiraiyan', A. M. Paramasivanandam, 'Iḷavazhaganār', and Sp. Annamalai. Most of their works are on great classics of the past. G. Devaneya Pavanar (b. 1902) has pioneered in the field of literary and linguistic researches. His *Mutal-tāy-mozhi* (1955), *Śollārāyccik-kaṭṭuraikaḷ* (1949), and *Diraviḍattāy* (1964) are significant philological works. But for his researches in philology, the purity and antiquity of Tamil might have remained a myth. His *Paṇḍait Tamizhar Paṇpāḍum Nāgarikamum* (1966), *Tamizh Nāṭṭu Viḷaiyāṭṭukkaḷ* (1954), and *Tamizhar Matam* (1972) reveal the glory of Tamil culture. Swami Vipulananda (1892-1947) has written a research work, *Yāzh-nūl*, on the ancient Tamil *iśai* (music), besides his critical essays and devotional poems. *Yāzh-nūl* is a prodigious work of great dimension and no work produced later on Tamil music has surpassed it.

Biographical literature in Tamil prose developed rather late in this century. A notable work is *Śrī Rāmānujar* by 'Pi. Śrī.', which received the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1965. *Pudumaippittan Varalāru* (1951; biography of 'Pudumaippittan') by Chidambara Raghunathan, *Puraṭcippāvalar* (biography of 'Bhāratidāsan') by Durai Manickam, *Śivakāmiyin Śelvan* (biography of Kamaraj) by 'Cāvi', and *Maraimalai Aḍikaḷ Varalāru* (1959; biography of 'Maraimalai Aḍikaḷ') by M. Thirunavukkarasu are a few other important works of this *genre*. U. V. Swaminathayyar (*En Caritam*), 'Tiru. Vi. Ka.' (*Vāzhkkaik-kurippukkaḷ*), 'Nāmakkal Kaviñar' Ramalingam (*En Kathai*), T. S. S. Rajan, and

T. K. Shanmukham are some of the writers of good autobiographies. Travelogues forming an interesting feature of modern Tamil literature are getting popular. The works of 'Tiru. Vi. Ka.', 'Mu. Va.' (*Yān Kaṇḍa Ilaṅkai*), 'Somale' (*Māvaṭṭa Variśai*), Mi. Pa. Somasundaram (b. 1921; *Akkaraic-cīmaiyil*, 1961), and 'Maṇiyan' (*Idayam Peśukiratu*) deserve special mention. Science and technology are being popularized by P. N. Appuswami, Subbu Reddiar, E. T. Rajeswari, Manickam, G. R. Damodaran, Samuel Abraham, and others. Juvenile literature, however, has not yet attained a high standard, though there are many periodicals such as *Tamizhc-ciṭṭu*, *Kaṇṇan*, *Pūñcolai*, *Karumbu*, and *Gokulam*. While journals like *Ānanda Vikaṭan*, *Dīpam*, *Kalaimagaḷ*, and *Kalki* are popularizing fictional literature in colloquial Tamil, *Centamizhc-śelvi*, *Tenmozhi*, *Tamizham*, *Tamizhp-pozhil* are enriching modern Tamil literature through their pure, classic, and chaste style.[28]

Modern Tamil literature does not match favourably with the ancient works in the language. Compared even with some of the Indian languages, its development in recent years has not been adequate. However, the international recognition of Tamil has found its expression in three World Tamil Conferences resulting in a spate of scholarly papers. With the adoption of Tamil as the medium of instruction in Tamil Nadu, there has been a spurt of literary activity which augurs well for Tamil, a language with a great cultural heritage and rich literary tradition.

[28] The credit for starting the first journal in Tamil (*Tamizh Itazh* in 1831) goes to the Christian missionaries. Gradually, others also appeared in the field and published both monthlies and weeklies—religious as well as literary. But the style of those journals was artificial and laboured and marked by an abundance of Sanskrit words. This continued till the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century. Journalism took a new turn when Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram became the editor of *Deśabhaktan* in 1917, which played a very commendable role in facilitating the growth of the Tamil language.

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TELUGU

THE LAND AND THE LANGUAGE

TELUGU is one of the most important languages of India belonging to the Dravidian family. Its speakers are chiefly concentrated in Andhra Pradesh and the neighbouring States of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karṇāṭaka, and Tamil Nadu. Next to Hindi, it is the mother-tongue of the largest number of people in India. The Census of 1971 gives the number of Telugu-speaking people as 44,707,697. Bounded by Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east, Tamil Nadu and Karṇāṭaka in the south, and Karṇāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra in the west, Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest State of India. Telugu is the official language of Andhra Pradesh.

Telugu is also known as Āndhra-bhāṣā or the language of the Āndhras. To derive the word *telugu*, or the older forms *teluṅgu* and *tenugu*, some scholars unconvincingly relate them to Sanskrit words like *triliṅga* (country of the three *liṅgas*), *trikaliṅga* (country of the three Kaliṅgas), or *trinaga* (land of three mountains). Telugu is perhaps connected with 'Teliṅga', the name of a tribe that must originally have lived in the region. This assumption is supported by the existence of Telagas, a major agricultural community in Andhra, and Telagāṇyas, a sub-sect among the Andhra Brahmins, and also by the name Telaṅgāṇa, denoting a part of the Andhra region. It is, therefore, possible that Telugu was originally an ethnic name. The word *tenugu* is the result of the phonetic change of *l* to *n* which is attested elsewhere in the language. Both *telugu* and *tenugu* were found to be in use from the eleventh century A.D.

The earliest reference to the Āndhras as a name denoting a tribe of people who migrated to the south of the Vindhyas is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. They are also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Megasthanes refers to them as a political power in the south-eastern Deccan. It is, therefore, possible to suppose that the Āndhras were migrants from the North, and that their political and cultural domination over the people in the Telugu region would have given their name to the country, the people, and later to the language. The two terms *telugu* and *āndhra* have been synonymously used from the early times and they signify one and the same people, region, and language.

The political and social history of the Āndhras can be sketched from the times of the Sātavāhana rule (263 B. C. to A.D. 163). The geographical position of the Andhra region as a meeting place of the North and the South has been

a dominant factor in the political, social, cultural, and literary development of the Āndhras. In the process of Aryanization of the South, the Telugu people seem to have been the first to lose much of their identity as a Dravidian race. They became Aryanized soon in their ways of life. From the earliest times of their history, the Telugu people struck a note of synthesis between the two cultures, Aryan and Dravidian, and played a significant role in the evolution of a pan-Indian culture in the Sub-continent.

The Telugu language, as already stated, belongs to the Dravidian family. We do not know when it branched out as an independent language from the proto-Dravidian, but a reasonable guess would be that it was not earlier than the sixth century B.C. The literary history of Telugu begins with poet Nannaya (eleventh century A.D.) whose *Mahābhāratamu* is the earliest extant literary work in Telugu. But we have inscriptional evidence for Telugu from the third century B.C. with the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan. A few Telugu words, mostly names of persons or of some gifted villages, or descriptions of their boundaries, are found in the Prakrit inscriptions of the Sātavāhana kings and their successors. They occur in greater number in the Sanskrit inscriptions from about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The language thus came under the dominating influence of Prakrit and Sanskrit which were the upper languages during the first five centuries of the Christian era. Telugu inscriptions are available from the middle of the sixth century A.D., and until the beginning of the eleventh century we have about one hundred such inscriptions written in prose or verse. Nannaya's *Mahābhāratamu* (A.D. 1030) marks a definite stage in the history and development of the Telugu language. The epigraphic sources of pre-Nannaya or pre-literary Telugu may be called Old Telugu, marking out the first 700 years (200 B.C.-A.D. 500) as the period of Prakrit-Sanskrit inscriptions and the next 500 years (A.D. 500-1000) as the age of Telugu inscriptions. From the point of view of linguistic development, the period A.D. 1000 to 1600 can be designated as Middle Telugu, and the period from A.D. 1600 onwards as Modern Telugu. The oldest inscriptions in the Andhra area were written in the southern variety of the Brāhmī script. It developed later into what is called Telugu-Kannada, parent to the modern Telugu and Kannada scripts.

Telugu is a borrowing language, and it seems to have started borrowing from Sanskrit since its infancy. Sanskrit always held a superior position in Andhra, and it was the language of education and scholarship among the Telugu people till the advent of the British. Telugu poets and grammarians were votaries of Sanskrit, and unrestricted borrowing of Sanskrit words and expressions was not only permitted, but also encouraged. Proficiency in Sanskrit was considered indispensable to a Telugu poet or scholar. The impact of Sanskrit on Telugu was so great that until recently Telugu poets

and grammarians eulogized Sanskrit as the mother of Telugu. Over the nine hundred years of development of Telugu literature, this has resulted in translation and adaptation of many Sanskrit works into Telugu.

AGE OF KAVITRAYA (NANNAYA, TIKKANNA, AND ERRANA): A.D. 1000-1400

Classical Telugu literature dates from the time of Nannaya, whose work, *Mahābhāratamu* (A.D. 1030), marks an epoch in the history of the Telugu language as well as literature. It is an adaptation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* in the form of *campū*, i.e. poetry mixed with prose. Though the later poets acclaimed Nannaya as the *ādikavi* (the first poet), it is difficult to assume that Nannaya's style—so chaste, sublime, and faultless, which set the norm for later poets—should have come into existence without any preceding stage of literary development in Telugu. Whether literary works in Telugu existed before the eleventh century A.D. is a debatable point. However, inscriptional evidence of the pre-Nannaya period shows the prevalence of metrical composition in Telugu from the seventh century A.D. Significantly, they are all in *deśī* (indigenous) metres like *taruvoja*, *akkara*, *sīsamu*, etc. References are also available to show that *deśī kavitā* or folk-literature, which was mostly in the form of *padas* or folk-songs, was flourishing in the pre-Nannaya times as an oral tradition among the people. As against *deśī*, Nannaya through his *Mahābhāratamu* pioneered the *mārga* (Sanskrit) tradition in Telugu. He borrowed freely Sanskrit words and expressions and also used liberally the different *mārga* metres along with *deśī* metres in his work.

During the pre-Nannaya times, the *vāmācāra*[1] practices and the Cārvāka[2] and Kāpālika[3] schools were gaining hold on the people. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (seventh century A.D.) and Śaṅkarācārya (A.D. 788-820) preached against these and made a nation-wide drive to revive the Vedic *dharma* among the people. Nannaya and his patron-king Rājarāja Narendra (1022-63) took upon themselves the great task of reviving the *varṇāśrama dharma* (scheme of duties according to castes and stages of life) in the Andhra region. The translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is known as the *Pañcama-Veda* (fifth Veda), was therefore an appropriate choice to serve as a means to propagate the Vedic

[1]The Śakti cult was prevalent in ancient South India along with Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The Śākta school had numerous ramifications in the course of time with various forms of worship or *ācāras*, such as *dakṣiṇācāra*, *vāmācāra*, *kulācāra*, and *vīrācāra*. For the philosophy of *vāmācāra*, see *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 228-29.

[2]The Cārvāka or the Lokāyata is a heterodox school of ancient Indian philosophy which did not accept the validity of the Śruti and regarded *pratyakṣa* or direct perception as the only means of knowledge. For details of the philosophy of this system, *CHI*, Vol. III (pp. 168-83) may be consulted.

[3]By the side of a pure stream of *Śiva-bhakti* (devotion to Śiva), there grew up in South India several Śaiva cults with somewhat gruesome practices. Chief among these were cults of the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Kāñcī, Tiruvorriyūr, Melpāḍi, and Koḍumbāḷūr were some of their strongest centres. Cf. *CHI*, Vol. IV, p. 71.

heritage among the Telugu people. The Telugu *Mahābhāratamu* is not a mere translation of the original. Nannaya has shown sufficient originality to make it a work of high literary merit. For reasons unknown to history, Nannaya left his work incomplete. He wrote two *parvans*, *Ādi* and *Sabhā*, and only a part of the *Vanaparvan*. The rest of the *Mahābhārata* remained unfinished for the two centuries that followed. *Gaṇita-sāra*, a mathematical treatise of Mahāvīrācārya in Sanskrit, was translated into Telugu by Pāvulūri Mallana in the second half of the eleventh century. This explains, as Dr S. K. Chatterji observes, 'the advance made by Telugu as a means of scientific expression'.[4]

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., Āndhra-deśa (land of the Āndhras) witnessed major political, social, and religious changes. The feudatories in Andhra asserted independence creating political unrest. The Vedic revivalism sponsored by Nannaya and his patron-king received a setback. The teachings of Basaveśvara, prophet of Vīraśaivism,[5] disturbed the social fabric of the people both in the Karṇāṭaka and the Andhra region. Vīraśaivism became partly a mass movement and its gospel was preached to the people through literary works by Śaiva poets. Nannecoḍu (*c.* A.D. 1150) is the first of the Śaiva poets in Telugu. His *Kumāra-sambhavamu* in twelve cantos is a great *kāvya* of high merit written in the *campū* form. Pālakuriki Somanātha (*c.* 1200-1240) was a prolific writer among the Śaiva poets. He wrote in Telugu, Kannada, and Sanskrit. He was not only a crusader for Vīraśaivism, but also a rebel in the literary field in the sense that he opposed the *mārga* tradition of Nannaya and advocated the *deśi* tradition. He did not favour translations from Sanskrit, or Sanskrit metre or Sanskritized Telugu. His major works are *Basava Purāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritra*, written in *dvipada* metre dealing with the biographies of the two Śaiva prophets, Basaveśvara and Paṇḍitārādhya, respectively. Somanātha was also the pioneer in creating new literary *genres* like *gadya*, *ragaḍa*, *śataka*, and *udāharaṇa* in Telugu. The *deśi* movement initiated by him aimed at freeing the language from its dependence on Sanskrit in every respect. His religious zeal, if not fanaticism, unfortunately proved an impediment to the success of his *deśi* movement in the literary field. Though the movement died with him, it did influence the writings of the later poets to some extent. The first translation or rather adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Telugu was by Gona Buddha Reḍḍi (thirteenth century); it is called *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam* (*c.* 1250). Though he was not a Śaiva poet, he was influenced by the writings of Somanātha in using *dvipada* metre for his work.

Tikkanna (*c.* 1220-1300) heralded a new era in Telugu literature by making

[4]Cf. S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 274.

[5]The school of Vīraśaivism or the Liṅgāyata school traces its origin to the Āgamas which are as old as the Brāhmaṇas. Basaveśvara infused new blood into the cult in the twelfth century. For details, see *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 98-107.

a fine synthesis between the *mārga* of Nannaya and the *deśi* of Pālakuriki Somanātha. As a minister to a feudal king, Tikkanna worked for the political unity of Āndhra-deśa with a view to averting a possible Muslim invasion of the South. As an Advaitin, he also worked for the religious unity of the Hindus by establishing the Hari-Hara cult. He brought together the Śaiva and non-Śaivaite schools of Telugu poets who were obsessed with religious dissensions. His first work was *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇamu* written in the *kāvya* style. Tikkanna took upon himself the great task of completing the translation of the *Mahābhārata* left unfinished by Nannaya. Commencing with the *Virātaparvan*, he completed the remaining fifteen *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* in the *campū* form and dedicated the book to Hari-Hara. He blended the *mārga* and *deśi* traditions in his works, particularly with regard to the language and metre. His *Mahābhāratamu* is more than a translation; it is a great piece of original literary art too. He exploits the semantic wealth of *deśi* words and makes his style highly suggestive to his reader. Although he did not translate the *Gītā* portion, its message is conveyed throughout the poem. Tikkanna was also a patron of poets. *Daśakumāra-caritra*, a free poetical rendering of Daṇḍin's famous prose romance in Sanskrit, by Mūlaghaṭika Ketana (1220-60) was dedicated to Tikkanna. Ketana has to his credit a grammatical treatise of Telugu, known as *Āndhra-bhāṣā-bhuṣaṇamu*. The author claims it as the first of its kind in the language. The Telugu version of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* by Māraṇa and *Keyūrabāhu-caritramu*, a poetical rendering of the Sanskrit *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*, by Mañcanna were notable works of this period. Kṛṣṇamācārya of this period wrote *Siṁhagiri Narahari Vacanamulu*, a collection of devotional prose compositions, lyrical in character and original in content.

After Tikkanna, the political and social conditions in Andhra became chaotic. The Muslim invasion at the beginning of the fourteenth century broke the Kākatīya empire (1081-1323). The feudatories became independent and established small kingdoms. The eastern part of Andhra was ruled by the Reḍḍi kings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (1323-1450), and they extended patronage to literature and other fine arts. Errāpreggaḍa or Errana (*c.* 1280-1350) was the first court poet of the Reḍḍi kings. He completed the translation of the latter part of the *Vanaparvan* left incomplete by Nannaya. The three poets, Nannaya, Tikkanna, and Errana, who completed the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, occupy a venerable place as the *kavitraya*, trinity of poets, in Telugu literature. If the story of the *Mahābhārata* won greater appreciation in Andhra than in other States, it was primarily due to the poetic genius of the *kavitraya*. Errana was the first poet to render the *Harivaṁśa* into Telugu. He was also the author of a Telugu *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is lost to us. His *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇamu* is considered a landmark, as it initiated a literary type called *prabandha* in Telugu literature. A contemporary of Errana was Nācana Soma

(1355-77), a great admirer of Tikkanna and follower of the Hari-Hara cult. He was the author of *Uttara-Harivaṁśamu* which is highly appreciated for its embellished style. *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇamu*, a joint work by four authors, is another noteworthy contribution to the Telugu literature of this period.

AGE OF ŚRĪNĀTHA (A.D. 1400-1500)

Śrīnātha (1365-1440) was a great scholar in Sanskrit and a literary prodigy in Telugu. As a court poet of the Reḍḍi kings, he occupied a position of great honour and distinction. He was the *kavi-sārvabhauma* (king of poets) of his time having had the royal honour of *kanakābhiṣeka*. Śrīnātha was the pioneer of an epoch, as he gave a new lead to set the shape and tone for the later *kāvya-prabandha*, a unique form of literature in Telugu. Some of his works are lost. *Śṛṅgāra-naiṣadhamu*, *Hara-vilāsamu*, *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇamu*, *Kāśī-khaṇḍamu*, and *Palanāṭi-vīra-caritramu*—a popular ballad cycle in *deśī* metre, the first of its kind in Telugu—are the major works of Śrīnātha now extant. They rank as high class poetical compositions, comparable with the *kāvyas* in Sanskrit literature in their rhythm and cadence and stylistic majesty and stateliness. In fact, Śrīnātha linked the age of Purāṇas of the *kavitraya* with the age of *prabandhas* of the later period. A contemporary of Śrīnātha, Potana (*c.* 1400-1475) was the author of *Mahābhāgavatamu*, a free and enlarged rendering of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in Telugu, which is still very popular in the land.[6] A great *bhakta* poet, Potana had a musical soul, and mellifluous lyricism runs in each of the verses in his *Mahābhāgavatamu*. The *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* of Kālidāsa was adapted with some changes into a *kāvya* form by Pinavīrabhadruḍu (*c.* 1450-80), a disciple of Śrīnātha, in his *Śakuntalā-pariṇayamu*. He had to his credit several renderings of the Purāṇic stories also, of which *Jaimini Bhāratamu* is only available today. Telugu works of translation, such as *Padma Purāṇamu*, *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇamu*, and *Nāciketopākhyānamu*, appeared during this century. The *Pañcatantra* was adapted into Telugu verse by Dūbaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa (1450-1500). Annamācārya (1408-1503), a *bhakta* poet of Tirupati, composed thousands of *saṅkīrtanas* (devotional songs) of high literary and musical value. His wife Timmāmba, believed to be the first Telugu poetess, wrote *Subhadrā-kalyāṇamu* in the *dvipada* metre. The *Varāha Purāṇa* and *Prabodha-candrodaya* were rendered in the *campū* form jointly (*c.* 1480) by Nandi Mallaya and Ghaṇṭā Siṅgaya. The *Prabodha-candrodaya* is an allegorical play in Sanskrit by Kṛṣṇa Miśra; the Telugu version of the work is a beautiful poem in five cantos.

The noteworthy feature of the age of Śrīnātha was the multiplicity of poets and the variety and quantity of literary output representing various new

[6]Potana is not, however, the sole author of the extant *Mahābhāgavatamu*. He wrote the bulk of the poem undoubtedly, but there are portions which had been written by his disciples, Veligandala Nāraya, Gangaṇārya, and Ercūri Singanna.

tendencies in the evolution of the *kāvya* literature which culminated in the form of *prabandha* during the following century. Sanskrit poets were also extended equal patronage by the Reḍḍi kings, some of whom were themselves writers in Sanskrit.

AGE OF PRABANDHAS (A.D. 1500-1700)

The rule of Vijayanagara kings in Āndhra-deśa during three quarters of the sixteenth century is considered as the golden age in both Andhra history and literature. Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the Vijayanagara king who ruled from 1509 to 1530, was a great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, and Kannada and composed poems in all the three languages. Poets were greatly honoured in his court. According to tradition, Kṛṣṇadevarāya had *aṣṭa-diggajas* (eight learned poets) in his court, namely, Allasāni Peddana, Nandī Timmanna, Rāmabhadra Kavi, Mādayagāri Mallana, Piṅgaḷi Sūranna, Bhaṭṭumūrti, Dhūrjaṭi, and Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa.[7] Royal patronage made these poets vie with each other to excel in narration and originality in their works. The result was the emergence of a new literary form called *prabandha* during this period. The *prabandha* in Telugu literature was no imitation or adaptation of the Sanskrit *kāvya*. It is a remarkable literary type original to Telugu literature. Though it apparently resembles the Sanskrit *kāvya*, it embodies in itself the excellence of *śravya* (poetic), *dṛśya* (dramatic), and *madhura* (lyric) elements. The development of plot, characterization, poetic imagery, figurative style, the treatment of *rasa* (sentiment)—each of these aspects presents a uniqueness of its own in a Telugu *prabandha*. Allasāni Peddana (*c.* 1510-75) was the originator of *prabandha* with his work *Manu-caritramu*. *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* of Nandī Timmanna ranks with Peddana's poem in excellence with its mellifluous style. It can be described as a drama in the form of a *prabandha*. Rāmabhadra Kavi made an admirable epitomization of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in his *Rāmābhyudayamu* (*c.* 1550). *Rājaśekhara-caritramu* (1515) of Mādayagāri Mallana deserves particular notice for its poetical merit. Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself was the author of a Telugu *prabandha*, *Amuktamālyada*. As a Nature poet, he excelled in his description of the cycle of the seasons. Piṅgaḷi Sūranna (*c.* 1520-80) wrote three poems of remarkable merit: *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu* (1545), *Kalāpūrṇodayamu* (1550), and *Prabhāvatī-Pradyumnamu* (1555). *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu* is a *tour de force* with each verse containing two meanings, one pertaining to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other to the *Mahābhārata*; *Kalāpūrṇodayamu* is an original poetic romance with characters from the Purāṇas; and *Prabhāvatī-Pradyumnamu* is a *prabandha* with a Purāṇic story. *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu* is the first *dvyarthī kāvya* (poem with double meaning) in Telugu. Sūranna's gift of inventiveness and poetic genius is greatly reflected

[7]Modern researches, however, indicate that Piṅgaḷi Sūranna and Bhaṭṭumūrti did not actually belong to the court of Kṛṣṇadevarāya.

in *Kalāpūrṇodayamu*, a work conceived far ahead of his time. Critics have acclaimed it as a *mahākāvya* and a novel in verse. Bhaṭṭumūrti, also known as Rāmarāja Bhūṣaṇa, was a contemporary of Sūranna. He was the author of *Vasu-caritra* and *Hariścandra-Nalopākhyānamu*. In *Vasu-caritra*, *magnum opus* of Bhaṭṭumūrti, the Telugu *prabandha* reached its high watermark. That *Vasu-caritra* was translated into Sanskrit is a great testimony to its poetic merit. *Hariścandra-Nalopākhyānamu* is a *dvyarthī kāvya* like Sūranna's *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu*. Though *Kāḷahastīśvara-māhātmyamu* of Dhūrjaṭi and *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamu* of Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa are not *prabandhas* in the real sense, they bear a few of the *prabandha* characteristics. Cintalapūḍi Ellanārya (1510-60), who was patronized by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, is the author of two noteworthy poems, *Rādhā-Mādhavamu* and *Tārakabrahmarājīyamu*, the former being his masterpiece. Nṛsiṁha Kavi, who probably flourished during the last years of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's reign, was a powerful poet of his time. He has depicted *śṛṅgāra* (erotic sentiment) and *vairāgya* (dispassion) with equal grace and force with apt words chosen for expressing different sentiments in his *prabandha* of six cantos, *Kavikarṇa-rasāyanamu*. *Rāmāyaṇamu* of Kummari Molla, a poetess of this period belonging to the potter caste, deserves special notice for its beautiful descriptions and lucid style. It retains its popularity even to this day. Mention should be made here of Vemana, an outstanding poet and the 'prince' of *śataka* writers, who probably belonged to the sixteenth century. He composed hundreds of verses of ethical and didactic import in a *deśī* metre known as *āṭaveladi*, which are still very popular in the land. Vemana's poetry marks a complete departure from the artificial poems of his contemporaries.

LITERATURE UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE SULTANS OF GOLKONDA

Telugu literature flourished also under the patronage of the Sultans of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golkonda (1518-1687). Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah (1550-80), his son Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah (1580-1611), and their successors were all great patrons of Telugu literature. *Tapatī-saṁvaraṇamu* (1565) and *Yayāti-caritramu* (1578) are two celebrated *prabandhas* written by two court poets of Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah, Addaṅki Gaṅgādhara Kavi and Ponnikaṇṭi Telaganārya. Both the works were composed in what is called *acca tenugu* or pure Telugu devoid of Sanskrit words. This was something unique as most of the writers of the day preferred the highly Sanskritized *miśra-bhāṣā* (mixed language). Kandukūru Rudra Kavi, who earned appreciation from Ibrahim Qutub Shah, has to his credit a fine poem, *Niraṅkuśopākhyānamu* written in mixed verse and prose. *Ṣaṭcakravarti-caritramu* of Mallā Reḍḍi (*c.*1550-1600), who is said to have been patronized by Ibrahim Qutub Shah, also deserves mention. *Vaijayantī-vilāsamu* of Sāruṅgu Timmanna, court poet of Quli Qutub Shah, is an excellent poem of love. Elakūci Bālasarasvatī's

(*c.* 1600-1640) *Rāghava-Yādava-Pāṇḍavīyamu* is a noted *tryarthī kāvya* of the first half of the seventeenth century narrating the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Mahābhārata* in the same set of verses.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL (*c.* A.D. 1500-1800)

With the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565, Muslim rule was established in the major part of the Andhra area. The Telugu *litterateurs* had therefore to seek patronage in the courts of the Telugu Nāyaka kings at Tanjore and Madurai situated in the Tamil country. Telugu writers received patronage also from the local rulers at Pudukkottai and Mysore. Emulating the example of the Vijayanagara kings, the rulers of these southern kingdoms showered their patronage upon poets and writers in Telugu and this was continued for over a couple of centuries. The Telugu works of the Southern school produced during this period beyond the borders of the Andhra area are varied in their form and tone. Though works of real literary merit and originality were few, the output was considerable. Some of these kings and sometimes their chieftains also were talented poets in Telugu. King Raghunātha Nāyaka (1600-1631) of Tanjore wrote both in Telugu and Sanskrit. Written in the *dvipada* metre, his *Acyutābhyudayamu* gives the life-story of his father. It furnished the pattern of writing verse biographies in Telugu. The author's poetic talent is marvellously reflected in his *Nala-caritramu* and *Vālmīki-caritramu*. His son, King Vijayarāghava Nāyaka (1633-73), was a prolific writer of the *yakṣagānas*, over twenty in number, in Telugu. The *yakṣagāna* is a kind of popular play—an opera type of work, combining the elements of music, dance, and poetry in its form and presentation. The first *yakṣagāna* in Telugu was *Sugrīva-vijayamu* written by Kandukuri Rudra Kavi around 1568. Vijayarāghava Nāyaka with his love for music, dance, and drama popularized the *yakṣagānas* by having them staged in his presence. Given to a life of merry-making, he seemed to have converted his court into a centre for fine arts. Koneṭi Dīkṣita Candra's *yakṣagāna Vijayarāghava-kalyāṇamu* (*c.* 1680) has for its theme Vijayarāghava's marriage with Kāntimatī. Cemakūra Veṅkaṭa Kavi, court poet of Raghunātha Nāyaka, ranks high as an original poet. *Sāraṅgadhara-caritramu* and *Vijaya-vilāsamu* (1630) are two of his famous works, the latter being his masterpiece. *Vijaya-vilāsamu* is a unique *prabandha* in which the poet exploits the sound and sense of native Telugu words in each of the verses to create wonderful poetic imagery. Kṛṣṇādhvari, a voluminous writer in Sanskrit as well as Telugu, wrote a remarkable *dvyarthī kāvya* in Telugu, *Naiṣadha-pārijātīyamu*. From the stylistic point of view, this poem is considered as a much better work than its earlier counterparts composed by Sūranna and Bhaṭṭumūrti. Ceṅgalvakāḷa Kavi, court poet of Vijayarāghava, composed *Rājagopāla-vilāsamu*, a love romance on Kṛṣṇa and his eight wives representing eight types of *nāyikās* (heroines). Poetesses

also adorned the courts of the Tanjore kings. Pasupuleti Raṅgajāmmā, the first poetess to have the patronage of King Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, wrote two *prabandhas*—*Mannarudāsa-vilāsamu* and *Usā-pariṇayamu*. Madhuravāṇī, Rāmabhadrāmba, Muddu Paḷani are some of the poetesses who dedicated their works to their patron-kings.

For the first time prose works in Telugu appeared under the patronage of the Nāyaka kings of Madurai. A prose biography of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, *Rāya-vācakamu* was written by Sthānapati during the time of Viśvanātha Nāyaka (1529-64). It gives an idea of the early prose literature in Telugu. *Dhenu-māhātmyamu*, a well-known prose work by Kāmeśvara Kavi (1623-70), is devoted to the glorification of the cow. His *Satyabhāmā-sāntvanamu* marks the beginning of the erotic *sāntvanam kāvyas* in Telugu literature. *Jaimini Bhāratamu* and *Sāraṅgadhara-caritramu* of Samukham Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇappa are two works in prose written under the patronage of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha (1706-32) who was himself a writer in Telugu. *Rādhikā-sāntvanamu* and *Ahalyā-saṁkrandanamu* of Samukham Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇappa are two more representative poems of this period in which the poet indulged in the description of love *ad nauseam*. *Mitra-vindā-pariṇayamu* of Venkaṭācalapati, another court poet of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha, is a remarkable *prabandha* in six cantos composed in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Under the patronage of King Vijayaraghunātha Toṇḍamān (1730-69) of Pudukkottai, a Telugu lexicon in verse known as *Āndhra-bhāṣārṇavamu* was written by Mudurupāṭi Veṅkanāryuḍu. The Pudukkottai king Rāyaraghunātha Toṇḍamān (1769-89) was himself a talented poet and his *Pārvatī-pariṇayamu* is regarded as 'a poem of high poetic conceits'.[8] King Vijayaraghunātha, successor of Rāyaraghunātha, also patronized Telugu poets. His court poet Gonasuru Nārāyaṇaguru translated Bhānu Miśra's Sanskrit work *Rasa-mañjarī* into Telugu verse. Telugu literature also found favour with the local rulers of Mysore, particularly during the time of Cikkadevarāya (1672-1704) and his successors. *Mahābhāratamu* (*c.* 1730) of Vīrarāju and *Halāsya-māhātmyamu* of his son Nañjarāju are two important works in prose that came from Mysore.

No survey of the Southern school of Telugu literature will be complete without a mention of Kṣetraya, Kavi Coḍappa, and Tyāgarāja. Kṣetraya and Kavi Coḍappa, contemporaries of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore, made themselves distinguished by composing *padas* and *śatakas* respectively. The saint-poet Tyāgarāja (1759-1847) of Tanjore composed his inimitable devotional songs in Telugu in praise of his favourite deity Rāma. His songs, which are sung all over southern India with great devotional fervour, gave an additional prestige to Telugu as a mellifluous speech and a sweet language

[8] Cf. G. V. Sitapati, *History of Telugu Literature*, p. 46.

for music. Besides his songs, about 750 now available, Tyāgarāja has to his credit two opera-type works, namely, *Prahlāda-bhakti-vijayamu* and *Naukā-caritra*.

AGE OF DECADENCE (A.D. 1750-1850)

Broadly speaking, decadence in Telugu literature started following the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire in the second half of the sixteenth century. The poets, rather versifiers, had a huge literary output to their credit, but most of them exhibited their lack of creativeness by imitating earlier works like *Vasu-caritra* or by writing *dvipada* or prose versions of earlier Telugu classics like *Mahābhāratamu*, *Mahābhāgavatamu*, and *Rāmāyanamu*. A few poets, however, attempted to show their originality by writing in *acca tenugu*. But, with the exception of a few, most of these writings are just 'laborious products' which 'owe their origin to a frantic effort, on the part of the poet, to hold the flickering attention of his audience by doing something out of the way'.[9] Poetry in general became artificial and the vices of the *kāvya* style were too glaring to be missed. From the last quarter of the sixteenth century down to the first half of the nineteenth, Telugu literature had to pass through a long period of creeping paralysis. It was an age of literary stagnation and gradual degeneration. There was 'a thick growth of rank vegetation, but hardly a noble tree showing itself'.[10] The only redeeming exceptions were, however, the literary productions of the Southern school. But the Southern school had its defects too. The erotic poetry which developed under its auspices made a formidable impact on the later poets of the period of decadence.

Although the signs of decadence in Telugu literature can be traced to about 150 years earlier, they were particularly conspicuous during the second half of the eighteenth century. By and large, one finds decadence not only in the content and quality of the works produced, but also in the literary taste and values of the people. The poets of importance of this age were Kūcimañci Timma Kavi (1690-1757), Āḍidamu Sūra Kavi (1720-85), Kūcimañci Jagga Kavi (younger brother of Timma Kavi), Kankaṇṭi Pāparāju (eighteenth century), Sishtu Krishnamurti (1790-1870), Pindiprolu Lakshmana Kavi (a senior contemporary of Krishnamurti), Madina Subhadramma (1780-1840), and Tarigonda Venkamamba (a contemporary of Subhadramma). The erotic sentiment looms large in the poems of this period. The narration of the adventures of love and depiction of the amours of the lovers become almost a craze with most of the poets. This was, however, in response to the demands of the contemporary reading public in general.

[9] Cf. P. Chenchiah & M. Bhujanga Rao, *A History of Telugu Literature*, p. 89.
[10] *Ibid*, p. 86.

A RÉSUMÉ

To sum up the salient features of Telugu literature till 1850: (i) The literature in general consists more of translations and adaptations from Sanskrit than original writings. However, Telugu poets did not fail to leave a stamp of originality in their translations or adaptations. (ii) The poets usually acknowledged the authority of Sanskrit treatises on poetics. (iii) Kings extended their patronage not only to Telugu but also to Sanskrit, and many Telugu poets wrote also in Sanskrit. (iv) The ancient Telugu grammars were written either in Sanskrit or in Telugu verse. (v) Telugu lexicons were composed in verse. (vi) Prose works of real merit were not found until the eighteenth century. (vii) Curiously enough, Sanskrit plays were not translated into Telugu until the late nineteenth century. (viii) The *purāṇa, kāvya, prabandha, śataka, yakṣa-gāna, udāharaṇa, saṁkīrtana, vacana, daṇḍaka* are the main literary *genres* found in the pre-Modern period of Telugu literature.

MODERN TELUGU LITERATURE (1850 ONWARDS)

The Modern period in Telugu literature commences with the establishment of British rule in the whole of Andhra. Although the whole of the Northern Circars came under the British in 1765 with the grant of the same by the Mogul emperor, it took a few decades more for the Telugu language and literature to be really 'modernized'. The process of modernization actually started with the spread of Western education since the 1850's. By 1850 almost the entire Telugu-speaking area, excluding Telaṅgāṇa in the Nizam's Dominions and Kolar District in the State of Mysore, had come under the East India Company. Madras under the British emerged as an important centre of Telugu studies and the foundation of the University of Madras in 1857 provided a further fillip to the process of modernization of the language. The literature under survey can be divided into three periods: (i) the period of transition, (ii) the period of renaissance, and (iii) the period of growth and proliferation. The transition period can be reckoned to have begun around the middle of the nineteenth century and continued almost up to the end of the century. Signs of renaissance were also discernible in a rudimentary form during this period. They became evident towards the end of the last century and developed during the first half of the present. The period of renaissance in Telugu literature was marked by nationalistic and socialistic trends in creative writing. Inspired by the national movement for freedom, writers of this period used their talent in producing significant literary works of patriotic fervour. While idealism continued to be the key-note of most of the creative writings of this period, writers were rational in their outlook, showing a sense of social awareness. Though scholars of Sanskrit and Telugu, unacquainted with English, followed traditional models, writers with Western education attempted to

experiment on fresh lines. The age of renaissance was followed in a natural way by a period of growth and proliferation which is still in progress. During these last two periods Telugu literature has made significant progress in all its important branches, viz. poetry, fiction, short story, drama, essay, and criticism.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Writers of the period of transition were subject to a kind of conflict in their aims and ideals. While they were bound to an extent by the tradition of the past, they could not ignore new ideas and discard changing attitudes to life, thanks to the influence of English education. Some Englishmen made notable contributions to Telugu during the early years of the nineteenth century. William Carey wrote as early as 1814 a grammar of Telugu in English. He also set the types for Telugu printing. A. D. Campbell prepared the first Telugu-English dictionary and also a grammar of Telugu (1816). But the service rendered by Sir C. P. Brown (1798-1884) is the most significant. He compiled Telugu-English and English-Telugu dictionaries and collected hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts of old Telugu works. But for his collection, many of the old Telugu classics would have been lost to us. He trained the local pundits in lexicography and textual criticism, and under his guidance they prepared commentaries on many old Telugu classics. His Telugu grammar (1840) was a very standard work and far surpassed all other earlier works in the field. His publication of Vemana's *Śatakam* (1829) with his own translation of it into English was a most valued contribution to Telugu literature.

The prose that started at Madurai was generally followed, and hundreds of books were written—almost all in popular Telugu that had little to do with the rules of old grammars. But Chinnaya Suri (1806-62) arrested the progress of this fairly developed prose tradition in popular Telugu with his *Nīti-candrikā* (1853) written in the artificial rhythmic and ornate language of the old *prabandhas*. Korada Ramachandra Sastri (1816-1900) also exhibited his fascination for the style of rhythmic prose heavily loaded with Sanskrit compounds in his *Rathāṅga-dūtam*. Gurujada Sri Ramamurti (1851-1900) in his *Citra-ratnākaram*, *Timmarusu-caritra*, and *Kavi Jīvitamulu* followed the style of Chinnaya Suri.

In the field of poetry too, the *prabandha* style continued to be the model with many writers during the transition period. Mantripragada Suryaprakasa Kavi (1808-73) composed two *prabandhas*, *Sītā-Rāma-caritra* and *Kṛṣṇārjuna-caritra*. The latter is a *dvyarthī kāvya*. Matsa Venkata Kavi (1856-1903) wrote *Śuddhāndhra Nirvacana-niroṣṭya Kuśa-Lava-caritra* (1893) in pure Telugu. Composed in a very artificial style, it narrates the story of Lava and Kuśa from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Two more *kāvyas* of the period, *Bhadrā-pariṇayam* and *Bhāratābhyudayam*,

were composed by Allamaraju Subrahmanyam (1831-92) and Madabhushi Venkatacharya respectively. A new form of poetry known as *avadhānam* (a feat in extempore poetry and memory) was originated by Madabhushi Venkatacharya; this found enthusiastic practitioners in Subbaraya Sastri (1853-1909), Krishna Sastri (1856-1912), Allamaraju Rangasayi (1860-1936), Oleti Venkatarama Sastri (1883-1939), Vedula Ramakrishna Sastri (1889-1918), Kopparapu Venkata Subba Rao (1885-1932), Kopparapu Venkata Ramana Rao (1887-1942), Divakarla Tirupati Sastri (1871-1919), and Chellapilla Venkata Sastri (1870-1950). *Śravaṇānandam* and *Buddha-caritram*, two major works of the twin poets Divakarla Tirupati Sastri and Chellapilla Venkata Sastri, attracted large audience. A lucid style with a classical touch marks their poems in general.

Among other poets and writers of prose who clung to the old literary tradition the following may be mentioned: Dasu Sriramulu (1846-1908), Tumu Ramadasa Kavi (1856-1904), Vavilikolanu Subba Rao (1863-1936), Kasibhatta Brahmayya Sastri (1863-1940), Akondi Vyasamurti (1860-1916), Vavilala Vasudeva Sastri (1851-1897), Pundla Ramakrishnayya (1860-1904), Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842-1915), Janamanchi Seshadri Sarma (1882-1953), and Tripurana Venkata Suryaprasada Rao (1889-1945). Some of them, however, historically belong to the period of renaissance.

PERIOD OF RENAISSANCE

With the spread of English education in the Andhra area as elsewhere in India, new forces were released in the social fabric of the people. Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu (1847-1919) was the best product of the influence of the Western thought and culture in Andhra. Standing between the old and new ages in Telugu literature, he heralded the renaissance in Andhra. He was greatly influenced by the writings of Raja Rammohun Roy and was a Brāhmo Samājist himself. He was the pioneer in the field of journalism in Telugu and through his journal *Viveka-vardhinī* (1874) he propagated modern ideas, fostered fresh creative art in literature, and printed the unpublished works of earlier poets. He started two other journals also, viz. *Hāsya-sañjīvinī* (1876) and *Satīhita-bodhinī* (1885), and primarily through his writings in these journals he launched attacks against social evils and superstitions and advocated social reforms, particularly widow-marriages and better education and status for women. He is generally acknowledged as the pioneer of modern trends in Telugu literature. In the early part of his career he, however, wrote in a pedantic style, but very soon realized the futility of taking resort to it. He started making experiments and gradually his language became simple and uniform. By introducing colloquial speech in his farces he paved the way for the use of actual spoken Telugu for literary purposes. His translation of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*

(1883) is still the best. It is one of the earliest translations of Sanskrit plays into Telugu. He gave in his *Rājaśekhara-caritram* (1878, based on Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*) one of the earliest novels in Telugu. His *Hariścandra* is also one of the earliest original dramas in the modern Telugu literature. His other writings, which include poems, essays, farces, criticisms, and biographies, run into several volumes. In fact, there is hardly any branch of Telugu literature to which he had not contributed in a unique way. Directly or indirectly, he exerted a great influence on his contemporaries as well as the writers of the later period.

At the beginning of this century, a controversy raged among Telugu writers over the use of the *grānthika-bhāṣā* (old literary language) as against *vyavahārika-bhāṣā* (modern spoken language), similar to that between the *sādhu-bhāṣā* and *calita-bhāṣā* in Bengali. Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti (1863-1940) spearheaded the movement in favour of the modern spoken language, and Gurujada Venkata Appa Rao (1861-1916) was his ardent supporter. Ramamurti wrote his essays advocating the standard spoken Telugu. Although in the beginning the movement was not successful, it found favour with all later modern writers and journalists. Gurujada Venkata Appa Rao, a social reformer like Viresalingam, was the first to make experiments in new poetry in his *Mutyālasaramulu* (1910). His *Kanyā-śulkam* (first published in 1897, second revised and enlarged edition in 1909), the first social play in Telugu, is distinguished for its originality in theme, expression, humour, and characterization. Telugu poets in the twenties and thirties wrote mostly under the influence of the English Romantic poets, giving expression to their subjective feelings and thoughts and love of Nature. This movement in Telugu poetry was styled as *bhāva-kavitvam*—the poetry of imagination. Rayaprolu Subba Rao (b. 1892; *Tṛṇakaṅkaṇam*, 1913) is the precursor of this new movement in Telugu poetry. Devulapalli Krishna Sastri (b. 1897; *Kṛṣṇapakṣam*, 1924), Duvvuri Rami Reddi (1895-1949; *Palita-keśam*), Adivi Bapiraju (1895-1952; *Śaśikalā*), Tallavajjhala Sivasankara Sastri (1893-1977; *Hṛdayeśvarī*), Vedula Satyanarayana Sastri (1900-1976; *Dīpāvaḷi*), and Viswanatha Satyanarayana (1895-1976; *Kinnerasāni-pāṭalu*, 1933)—to mention only a few—made noteworthy contribution to modern Telugu poetry. The freedom movement inspired many Telugu poets who sang the glory of the motherland in a new voice. Balijepalli Lakshmikantam, Garimella Satyanarayana, Madhavapeddi Buchchi Sundararama Sastri, Somaraju Ramanuja Rao, Abburi Ramakrishna Rao, Marepalli Ramachandra Sastri, and others composed poems full of patriotic fervour and sentiment.

Marxist ideas also had their impact on modern Telugu poetry. Some 'progressive' poets started writing the poetry of revolution in the late thirties. The 'progressives', however, could make an impact only on the post-Independence period. These writers have a new attitude to poetry which is noticeable

both in the form and the content of their works. Srirangam Srinivasa Rao ('Śrī Śrī'; b. 1910) ranks high among these poets. His *Mahāprasthānam*, although written in the thirties, is still widely read and appreciated. A number of poetesses who flourished during the period of renaissance wrote on themes borrowed from the epics and other religious subjects. Among them the most prominent were: Kotikalapudi Sitamma (1872-1934; *Sādhurakṣaṇa Śatakam*), Silam Subhadramma (1876-1947; *Rāmāyaṇa*), Kanchanpalli Kanakamma (b. 1893; *Jīvayātrā*), Gudipudi Indumati Devi (b. 1892; *Ambarīṣavijayam*), and Kolluri Visalakshamma (b. 1901; *Bhārata-kathāmṛtam*). Tallapragada Vishwasundaramma (b. 1900), Basavaraju Rajalakshmamma (b. 1904), and Chavali Bangaramma (b. 1900) made themselves distinguished in the field of *bhāva-kavitā*.

Fiction in Telugu had its origin in the seventeenth century, but it was then in the form of narration of a Purāṇic story or a fairy tale with little artistic merit. It was not until the seventies of the nineteenth century that novels in the modern sense came to be written in Telugu. Though the credit for writing the first novel in Telugu goes to Narahari Gopala Krishnamma Chetti (*Śrī Raṅgarāja-caritra*, 1872), it is Viresalingam who gave in his *Rājaśekhara-caritram* (1878) the first mature novel in Telugu. Early Telugu novels were mostly based on, or adaptations or translations of, celebrated English novels. Bengali novels, particularly those of Bankim Chandra, Sarat Chandra, and Rabindranath, find also more than one translation in Telugu during the first half of the twentieth century. Among the notable novels written in the first few decades of the century are: *Bhuvana-mohinī* (1901) by Dharanipragada Venkata Siva Rao, *Rāṇi Saṁyuktā* (1908) by Vellala Subba Rao, *Mālapalli* (1921) by Unnava Lakshminarayana, *Nārāyaṇa Rāv* by Adivi Bapiraju, *Veyi Paḍagalu* (1934) by Viswanatha Satyanarayana, *Asamarthuni Jīvayātrā* (1945) by Tripuraneni Gopichand, and *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭu* by Nori Narasimha Sastri. The period of renaissance saw the emergence of the short story of the modern type in Telugu in Gurujada Venkata Appa Rao's *Māṭā-manti*. Other prominent figures who specialized themselves in the field are Gudipati Venkatachalam (b. 1894), Chinta Sankara Dikshitulu (b. 1891), Mokkapati Narasimha Sastri (b. 1892), Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao (b. 1898), Malladi Ramakrishna Sastri (1905-65), Tripuraneni Gopichand (1910-65), Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao (b. 1909), Palagummi Padmaraju (b. 1915), and Ande Narayana Swami (b. 1907).

Drama made its appearance in the language in the shape of translations or adaptations of well-known Sanskrit plays during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Kokkonda Venkataratnam's *Narakāsura-vijaya-vyāyogam* (1872) and Viresalingam's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* (1883) are known to be the earliest translations of Sanskrit plays. *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Comedy of Errors* of Shakespeare were also done into Telugu by Viresalingam. Viresalingam's

Hariścandra, written in the eighties of the nineteenth century, is the first important original drama in Telugu. Two other dramas written before *Hariścandra* are Korada Ramachandra Kavi's *Mañjarī Madhukarīyam* (1860) and Vavilala Vasudeva Sastri's *Nandakarājyam* (1880). Although original in treatment, the last two were not successful on the stage. Most of the plays produced during the last few decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth were based on mythological and historical themes. Written mostly for various dramatic associations, the plays of this period, with one or two exceptions, do not have much literary value. Quite a number of these plays, however, earned popularity with their audiences. Vedam Venkataraya Sastri's *Pratāparudrīyam* (1897), Balijepalli Lakshmikantam's *Hariścandra* (1912), Kopparapu Subba Rao's *Roshanara* (1921), Muttaraju Subba Rao's *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-tulābhāram* (1922), and Gundimeda Venkata Subba Rao's *Khilji-rājya-patanam* (1931) are some of the popular plays of this period. Popular Bengali dramas like *Candragupta*, *Shahjahan*, and *Durgādāsa* by D. L. Roy were also translated into Telugu and found successful on the stage. Social plays came into vogue with *Kanyā-śulkam* of Gurajada Appa Rao. *Kaṇṭhābharaṇam* (1917) of Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao and *Tappevaridi* (1929) of Pakala Venkata Rajamannar (b. 1901) became popular on the stage. Rajamannar wrote a number of one-act plays also, of which *Deyyālu Lankā* (1930) and *Emi-magavāḷḷu* (1947) deserve special notice.

The period under review showed remarkable progress in essays, particularly in works of literary criticism. Although the honour of being the first essayist in Telugu goes to Samineni Muddu Narasimha Naidu for his *Hitasūcī* (1862), a collection of eight essays, the essay in the modern sense started with Viresalingam. Essays on Telugu language and literature also began to appear in the late nineteenth century, but stalwarts in the field are mostly found during the period of renaissance. Among the most distinguished are: Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma, C. R. Reddi, Bhupati Lakshmi Narayana Rao, Nidadavolu Venkata Rao, Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Murti, and G. V. Sitapati.

The period of renaissance also witnessed the publication of some commendable biographies and autobiographies. Biographical works were, however, written in the transition period, but most of them had little literary merit. Among the writers of biography the following deserve special mention: Viresalingam, Vavilala Venkata Sivavadhani, K. V. Lakshmana Rao, Gorrepati Venkata Subbayya, and Swami Chirantanananda. The autobiography is entirely a new thing in Telugu literature, first attempted by Viresalingam in his *Svīya Caritra* (1910). In other domains of literature like history of literature and works on technical and scientific subjects, Telugu literature also made some progress during the period.

PERIOD OF GROWTH AND PROLIFERATION

The literature produced in the post-Independence period is as prolific as it is diverse. The 'progressive' poets under the banner of 'Abhyudaya Racayitalu' have provided speed and verve to the 'progressive movement' led by 'Śrī Śrī'. Anisetti Subba Rao, Bhagavatula Sankara Sastri ('Ārudra'), A. Somasundara, Gangineni, Rentala, and K. V. Ramana Reddi are the most distinguished representatives of the 'progressive' poetry in Telugu during the post-Independence era. A group of young writers known as 'digambara' poets emerged in the mid-sixties. They seem to echo the writings of the angry young men of the USA, England, and Calcutta. They entered the field with a bang, but the noise did not last long. With the beginning of the present decade, they are found to have identified themselves with the revolutionary group headed by 'Śrī Śrī', K. V. Ramana Reddi, and other veterans. Poets like Umamaheshwar, Srirangam Narayana Babu, and Pattabhi have made a mark by their revolt against Classical as well as Romantic poetry. C. Narayana Reddi and Dasarathi from Telaṅgāṇa have attempted in their poems to effect a reconciliation of the best aspects of the old and the new. Kundurti Anjaneyulu, D. B. Tilak, Aripirala Viswam, and Madiraju Ranga Rao have made successful experiments in *vacana-kavitā* or free verse. Boyi Bhimanna's poems show him as a vigorous romantic poet. The poems of 'Bairāgī' strike a note of despair and pessimism peculiar to the post-War generations. Some of the stalwarts of the earlier generation like Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Rayaprolu Subba Rao, and Devulapalli Krishna Sastri have been found sufficiently active in the post-Independence period also. Viswanatha Satyanarayana, former Poet-laureate of Andhra Pradesh and a winner of the Jnanpith Award (1970) for his *magnum opus*, *Rāmāyaṇa-kalpavṛkṣam*, is undoubtedly one of the greatest poets of the Telugu country. A great scholar and a prolific writer of high order, Viswanatha has enriched Telugu literature since 1916. During the six decades of his literary activity he wielded his pen in an admirable and amazing way. The literary output of Viswanatha, in variety and quality, is immense and unsurpassed by any modern writer. Author of thirty poems, twenty dramas, sixty novels, thirty-five short stories, ten works in Sanskrit, besides a good number of playlets, essays, translations, and critical introductions to literary works, Viswanatha will ever remain a source of inspiration to posterity. His inimitable style—vigorous and grand, sharp and robust—reflects his great personality. His writings project the glory of Indian heritage and culture in its manifold aspects.

The traditional, descriptive, sentimental, and historical novel of the earlier generation gradually went out of fashion and new experiments were made which were based on realism and on theories of psycho-analysis and the 'stream of consciousness'. *Civaraku Migiledi* (1952) of 'Butci Bābu', *Paṇḍita Parameśvara*

Śāstrī Vīlunāma (1961) of T. Gopichand, *Alpajīvi* of Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastri, *Asura-sandhyā* of R. S. Sudharshanam, *Ampasayya* (1969) of 'Navīna', and *Kīlu Bommalu* (1960) of G. V. Krishna Rao are some of the striking specimens of the new novel in Telugu. A number of women novelists have made their presence felt in the recent years. Of them P. Sri Devi, 'Latā', M. Ranganayakamma, K. Kausalya Devi, V. Sita Devi, and D. Visalakshi deserve mention. The trends that characterize the new novel in Telugu mark the development of the short story also.

The post-Independence Telugu literature has shown a remarkable progress in literary criticism. A. Ramapati Rao, N. Venkata Rao, K. V. N. Sastri, K. Kutumba Rao, P. Lakshmikantam, and Tirumala Ramachandra are some of the important scholars contributing to this field. *Samagra Āndhra-sāhityam* in twelve volumes (1965-68) by 'Ārudra' is an authentic history of Telugu literature. D. V. Avadhani and K. Lakshmiranjanam have written shorter works on the subject. Essays, biographies, autobiographies, etc. in Telugu are not wanting either. The progress, however, is less striking than that in the fields of the novel and literary criticism.

New plays with an ideological motivation made their appearance in the late forties and early fifties. Writers started using the medium of drama to propagate 'progressive' and constructive ideas. The divide-and-rule diplomacy of the British comes in for criticism in *Ī Nāḍu* (1948) of Acharya Atreya and *Eka Deśam* (1947) of K. Gopalaraya Sarma. The plays of Sunkara Satyanarayana (*Bhūmi-kosam*, 1954) and Vasireddi Bhaskara Rao (*Pothu Gaḍḍa*, 1953) are motivated by the principles of class conflict. The problems of the middle class are reflected in Atreya's *Kappalu* (1954), K. Gopalaraya Sarma's *Nyāyam* (1947), and Pinisetti Srirama Murti's *Ātmīyulu* (1956). There is an element of Ibsenesque satire in *Kīrtiśeṣulu* (1960) of B. Radhakrishna. *Maro Mohenjo-Dāro* (1970) of N. R. Nandi is one of the most significant plays published in the present decade. It ruthlessly criticizes the corruption rampant in high levels of the contemporary society. From the point of view of thematic presentation as well as artistic merit, the sophisticated one-act plays of V. R. Narla deserve special notice. The author's approach to his themes is marked by what can be called social realism.

In view of the substantially rich literary tradition since the early eleventh century and a fairly healthy literary output of the last three decades after Independence, one can easily visualize a glorious future for Telugu literature. From the age of Nannya till today there has not been any significant break in the literary tradition of Telugu. Important writers of the post-Independence period have a link with this tradition. At the same time they are dynamic and have a new awareness. That ensures a bright prospect for Telugu literature. The future may add new chapters of spectacular activity to it.

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URDU

THE BEGINNINGS

URDU, one of the major modern Indian languages, had its beginnings during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. It developed a noteworthy literature fiist in the Deccan (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) and then became established as a very important language of northern India with its centre in Delhi in the eighteenth century. A Persianized Turkish word, *urdu* originally meant 'the camp of a Turkish army'. In India, the word means 'court' or 'camp'. Urdu was known in its initial stages as Hindi or the language of Hind or India, i.e. North India, and also as Hindawi or Hindwi, the language of Indians. It also acquired the name of Hindustani, first among the people of the Deccan, as a language different from Dakhni or its sister dialect in the Deccan. Its home districts are really in the present-day eastern Punjab and western U.P., and quite early it came under the influence of Punjabi and Braja-bhāṣā. This language, as it was current in and around Delhi, mainly adopted the grammatical base of the East Punjab-Delhi speech, but came under the cultural influences of Persian in its vocabulary as well as its poetic nuances. Written in a script of Perso-Arabic pattern, which has been extended by adding new letters for its special Indian sounds, it is now spoken as their home language by a large number of people all over the country, particularly in the towns of North India; but a much larger number use it as a language of religion and culture. According to the 1971 Census, the number of the Urdu-speaking people of the country (i.e. those who have declared it as their mother tongue) is 28,600,428. Besides, there are some more million people in Pakistan and in the land of the Pakhtoons, who use it for literature as also in public life.

Controversial as the nature and form of its early beginnings are, it is now usually accepted that trade and cultural relations between India and West Asia go back to several centuries before Islam and many Arabic and Persian words were in vogue in India. India's early contacts with Islam were not the result of political invasion as is usually thought; these came about in the course of trade and exchange of ideas between Indian and foreign mystics. Even before the Arab conquest of Sind, Muslim (Arab) traders and mystics had settled in large numbers in Malabar and other places. These early contacts also resulted in exchanges of ideas and vocabulary. There was, of course, the discovery of the conceptual identity between Islamic and Hindu mysticism. It may be

that the Hindu idea of Advaita, or the Reality as being One without a second, and the Islamic idea of Tawhid, or essential Unity of the Godhead, were very much similar. There was an 'Aryanization' of Islamic mysticism, on the other hand, by bringing to bear upon it the Vedāntic concept of the identity of the human soul with the supreme Spirit.

This intermixture of Islamic and Indian cultures possibly helped in the spread of Sufi ideology among the people of Sind, both Hindu and Muslim. But the emergence of Urdu as the most important vehicle of Islamic culture on the Indian scene was a later phenomenon. Muslim saints, mostly Iranian by birth and hence Aryan by stock, crossed over to India to spread a humanitarian mysticism, and as this involved free and frank dialogue with the masses, they had to develop a mixed vehicle of intercourse. As a matter of fact, all early specimens of Urdu go back to the writings and sayings of Muslim Sufi mystics. The Ghaznavid attacks (tenth-eleventh centuries) poured into India a large number of soldiers of Turkish, Persian, and Afghan origin. They settled down in the Punjab, around Delhi, and possibly in some areas of Gujarat. With the political stabilization of the Ghori and Slave dynasties, these strangers left their homelands for ever and began to look on India as their own country. Thus a slow but steady process of cultural and linguistic admixture started, heralding a new era of synthesis of Arab vigour and spirit of inquiry with Iranian graces of life, art, and luxury, and Indian love for subjective idealism and genius for achieving unity in diversity. In this process of Indianization, a cross fertilization took place in the field of fine arts, philosophy, and other cultural subjects, which is symbolized by the music and poetic compositions of Amir Khusro (1254-1325) and the architecture of the Qutub Minar in Delhi and the Arhai-Din-ka Jhonpra at Ajmer. Some early Muslim writers in Apabhraṁśa like Abdur Rahman (Addahamana), author of *Sandeśa-rāso*, and Fariduddin Shakarganj (1173-1266) of Pakputtan may be mentioned in this context. Khusro is the first poet to claim to have compiled a *diwan* or 'book of verses' in Hindawi (as Urdu was then called). Most of the literary pieces attributed to him including the popular *pahelis* (riddles in verse) are, however, considered by some scholars as spurious. But Khusro is known to be the first India-born Persian poet to have gained reputation even in Persia. A genius in music, he was the originator of *khayal* and *qawwali* and many other forms of vocal and instrumental music in India. It is no wonder, therefore, that he wrote freely in Urdu.

With the spread of the Sufis or Muslim mystics to far off places like Gujarat and the Deccan, this new Indian language also travelled to different corners of the country and accepted freely various regional and local influences, so much so that the incipient Urdu language with its literature was called Gujari, Dakhni, or Dehlavi according to the region concerned. This impact was further

stabilized by the conquest of Gujarat and the Deccan by Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316), and specially by the forcible mass exodus of the Delhi population to the Deccan at Mohammed Tughlaq's (1325-51) abortive bid to transfer his capital with most of its inhabitants to Devagiri (Daulatabad). The trend extended still further with the setting up of independent sultanates in the Deccan by various Muslim chiefs, with local support, on the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom established in the fourteenth century. Hence the first centres of Urdu literature grew up in Gujarat and the Deccan—a fact not so much indicative of political influences as of the popularization of the language by immigrants from the north and its subsequent adoption by large masses of the local population as an indigenous link language. The literary speech that developed in the south came to be known as Dakhni or Dakhni Urdu.

EARLY URDU: LITERARY DEVELOPMENT IN GUJARAT AND THE DECCAN

Almost the entire Urdu literature available in Gujarat is mystic in content and strongly resembles the devotional literature of Muslim mystics—Sheikh Bahauddin Bajan, Shah Ali Jiv Gamdhani, Qazi Mahmud Daryai, and Khub Mohammed Chishti being the pioneers. The same is true of the Dakhni literature flourishing in the Bahmani kingdom where the first available Urdu treatise, *Merajul Ashiqin*[1] (compiled in A.D. 1398), was written by the *émigré* Sufi saint from Delhi, Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz (d. 1442). This work is exclusively devoted to mystic interpretation of life and ethics. Contemporaneously was written Nizami Bidari's *masnavi*,[2] *Kadam Rao Padam Rao*, a love tale of a prince with an allegorical undercurrent. Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz is credited with the compilation of a large number of mystic treatises reaching, according to some, the imposing figure of 101. These deal with various aspects of esoteric experience and rituals almost always connected with folk-culture and tradition. Two noteworthy specimens are his *Chakkinama* and *Shikarnama*. The former is a poetic rendering of mystic thought into tunes popular with the rural womenfolk at the time of grinding corn, while the latter consists of prose riddles in the form of stories which call for mystic interpretation. The authenticity of these works has often been disputed, but that the author wrote in Dakhni Urdu, which was in vogue in those times, is beyond doubt. Judged by his treatises, Gesu Daraz may well be called the father of Urdu prose. The language shows even in its early stage remarkable directness, precision, and considerable fluency. Other early writers included Shah Miranji Shamsul

[1]The extant version of *Merajul Ashiqin* is now considered as spurious.

[2]The *masnavi* may be broadly defined as a long narrative poem. Besides giving allegorical and ethical tales, *masnavis* have romance, war, mysticism, and religion as their major themes. Most of the *masnavi* romances bear the names of the lover and the beloved in their titles. These narrate contemporary events, tales taken from Indian and Persian folklore, and stories borrowed from classical epics in Persian.

Ushshaq (d. 1496) and his son Shah Burhanuddhin Janam (d. 1582). Gujarat had in the sixteenth century two great poets in this line, namely, Shah Ali Mohammed Jan Gamdhani (d. 1575) and Sheikh Khub Mohammed. The former was the author of a number of poems compiled as *Jawahirul Asrar*, while the latter composed *Khub Tarang* (1578).

The point of royal patronage to Urdu literature has often been over-emphasized. But the fact remains that Urdu was not the court language of either the Bahmani rulers or of the kingdoms which emerged following the fall of the Bahmani dynasty. Nor was it the language of the court of Delhi except for a very short period towards the end of Mogul rule in India. In fact, Urdu everywhere asserted itself on the strength of popularity with the masses, which helped it get recognition later from the aristocracy and the royalty. With the downfall of the Bahmanis, their kingdom broke up into five independent sultanates which were often at war with each other. These were known as the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golkonda, the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, and the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar. The first three developed into major seats of the early Urdu literary tradition known as Dakhni. The literary pattern in Bijapur and Golkonda followed the lines with which we are familiar in modern Urdu. Bidar earned the distinction of being the homeland of Nizami, pioneer among the writers of *masnavis* which remained the dominant form of poetic expression.

Practically all forms of Urdu poetry date back to the early flowering of literature in the Deccan. The most significant among them are *masnavis*, the best specimens being Ibn Nishati's *Phul-ban* (1655), Nusrati's *Alinama*, Wajhi's *Qutub Mushtari* (*c*. 1609), Ghawwasi's *Tutinama* (1639) and *Saiful Muluk-wa-Badiul-Jamal* (*c*. 1616), and Muqumi's *Chandrabadan-wa-Mahiyar*. We also have *marsiyas* or elegies (specimens of writings of Mirza, Seva, and Momin are extant); prose tales and allegories represented by Mulla Wajhi's masterpiece, *Sab-ras* (1634); and *qasidas*[3] in praise of religious leaders, kings, and Amirs of the period. And, of course, there is *ghazal* or song, which found its main champions in Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah (1580-1611), Wali (? 1668-1741), and Sirajuddhin Siraj (1714-66). Quli Qutub Shah gave *ghazal* and other forms of his poetry a distinct local colour and a deep romantic flavour, while Wali and Siraj blazed a new trail by lending to the Urdu *ghazal* the grace and poetic elegance of the Persian masters.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626) of Bijapur was a cultured man and a patron of arts like Sultan Quli Qutub Shah of Golkonda. The former's work in Dakhni on music was known as *Navrasnama*. During the rule of Mohammed

[3]*Qasida* is a kind of ballad written in praise of some emperor or a great personality. The characters of *qasida* are fictitious.

Adil Shah (1626-56), a number of poetical works were produced which included *Fathnama Nizam Shah* by Hasan Shawqi, *Khawarnama* (1649) by Rustumi, and *Bahram* and *Yusuf-u-Zulaikha* (two romances of Persian origin) by Malik Khushnud. Nusrati, whose *Alinama* has already been referred to, belonged to the court of Ali Adil Shah II (1656-73). He composed a number of works including *Gulshan-i-Ishq*. Aurangzeb conquered the whole of Muslim Deccan towards the end of the seventeenth century, but verse-writing in Dakhni continued for some time more. There were several notable poets of Dakhni during his rule. The following among them deserve special mention: Shah Husain Zawqi (*Mabapnama*), Qazi Mohammed Bahri (*Man-lagan*), and Wali Vellori (*Ratan-padam*, a Deccani version of Malik Mohammed Jayasi's *Padmāvat*).

MIDDLE PERIOD: LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH INDIAN URDU

The Middle period of Urdu literature as a whole coincided with the early period of literary development of Rekhta or what is called North Indian Urdu. This period started around 1700 and extended up to 1875. Even after the annexation of Golkonda and Bijapur to the Mogul empire by Aurangzeb in 1687, not only did the literary development in Dakhni continue in southern areas but its impact was deeply felt in Delhi too, where a new literary idiom for this language gradually took shape. Special mention may be made of the role of Wali and Siraj in popularizing this idiom in Delhi. Employing this, Siraj wrote a large number of short poems and a romance known as *Bustan-i-Khiyal*. A new literary style thus made its influence felt on the North Indian scene. Earlier, some of the Mogul emperors are known to have composed poems in Braja-bhāṣā; but from the end of the eighteenth century, the scions of the Mogul house turned to Urdu for their literary pursuits. In the meantime, the Indian poets who used to write Persian poetry had already begun to write in Urdu from about the middle of this century, first with some degree of frivolity and then as a fashion.

The first important poet of this category is Jafar Zatal, whose biting satires (written in a language full of deliberately distorted Arabic and Persian words, with a generous sprinkling of words from various Indian dialects) cost him his life when he wrote a sarcastic couplet on the enthronement of King Farrukhsiyar. He was followed by a number of other poets who wrote mainly in Persian, but took to Urdu poetry. The literary situation was stabilized in the age of King Mohammed Shah when a group of poets mainly writing in Urdu emerged, headed by Abru, Naji, Mazmun, Hatim, and others. This period was associated with the name of a *genre* of poetry known as *eiham* (poetry based on words of double meaning). Abru and others excelled in this form, which imparted to their poetry an added charm.

These pioneers were followed by literary giants: Mirza Mazhar of Delhi (1699-1781), Mir Taqi Mir of Agra (1720-1808), Mohammed Rafi Sauda (1730-80), and Mir Dard (1719-85). Against the backdrop of the tottering Delhi empire under the telling blows of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, these poets wrote their lyrics of love with its ecstasy and agony, and sang of humanism. Mir Taqi, the greatest *ghazal* writer in Urdu, set a new pattern of *ghazal* by giving it the simplicity of everyday speech and charging it with the depth of human emotions. Sauda, the greatest *qasida* and *hajv*[4] writer, holds a mirror to his age, and in his tears and smiles one realizes the turmoil undergone by the common man living in a period of great change. Mir Dard sought refuge in mysticism, but how sweet, refreshing, and tender is the poetry his mysticism evoked ! This period, in fact, set the entire tone of Urdu poetry, for it preferred pathos to joy, scepticism and free thinking to all kinds of dogmatism. Urdu poetry now preached sincerity and tolerance as the key-note of all understanding. Along with *ghazal* which dominated the scene, *hajv*, *qasida*, *marsiya*, *masnavi*, *wasokht*,[5] and *shahr ashob*[6] also gained currency side by side with prose writings as represented by Fazli's *Karbal-katha* (1732). Almost contemporaneous with Mir Taqi, Nazir Akbarabadi (1740-1830) wrote his poems on themes of everyday life in a simple, lucid, and thought-provoking manner, thus giving Urdu poetry a real democratic look. His poems portray the life of the common man with an *abandon* and mundane mysticism all his own, which remain unexcelled to this day. He wrote on some Hindu themes also, remarkable specimens of such works being on the festival of *holi*. His *Banjaranama* and *Adminama* are great poems by any standard.

This golden period of Urdu poetry in Delhi was shortlived, for unsettled conditions prevailed forcing even Mir Taqi and Rafi Sauda to seek refuge in Oudh. This new centre of literary patronage, was relatively safe from the ravages of foreign conquerors and local marauders. With the transfer of the capital of Oudh from Faizabad to Lucknow in the age of Nawab Asafuddaula (1775-97), a new era of literary patronage dawned, thus attracting a host of important poets, artists, and specialists from every field to Lucknow. In the early stages, Lucknow merely tried to maintain and copy the cultural and literary traditions set in Delhi. The first generation of Lucknow poets had come from Delhi and they were proud of this association. But even in their poetry, the affluence, grandeur, and sensuousness of Lucknow expressed

[4]A kind of poem, *hajv* has satire as its predominant element.

[5]A popular form of Urdu poetry composed in praise of historical emperors and other characters of real life.

[6]*Shahr ashobs* are poems of short length. Mir Taqi Mir and Rafi Sauda wrote some of their famous poems in this form.

themselves in a new vein, and this poetry thus departed from the pattern of Mir Taqi, Sauda, and Dard. Pathos and mysticism gave place to a quest for sensuous delight and romantic *abandon* as manifested in the poetry of Insha (d. 1817) and Jurat (d. 1810). Mushafi (1750-1824), however, was an exception. Master of many languages and dialects, Insha wrote in Persian a grammatical treatise on Urdu, and composed a work named *Rani Ketaki-ki Kahani*, using pure Hindi words. Besides writing lyrics and romances, Mushafi compiled several *tazkiras* containing biographical notices of 300 poets. Later on, when under the British influence Nawab Ghaziuddin Hydar assumed the title of king, thus breaking the ties of political subordination to Delhi, a new wave of literary autonomy led Nasikh (d. 1838) and others to emphasize artistic craftsmanship and linguistic purity as the criterion and tone of poetry. Thus *ghazal* entered a path of artistic jugglery where graces of style held predominance over the niceties of emotion, experience, and thought. Atish (d. 1847) and a few others, however, were not totally submerged in this artifice-ridden style.

Despite the damage done to *ghazal* by revelry and *abandon*, Lucknow expanded the scope and variety of Urdu literature to a great extent and standardized the norm of the language. *Marsiya* touched a new high, and Anis (1802-74) and Dabir (1830-75) excelled in writing elegies. These poems combine the lyricism of *ghazal*, the vibrant power of the epic, and the pathos of the elegy. They are also marked by delightful characterization and powerful description of human relationships as well as scenes of the battlefield, homes, and deserts round about the plain of Karbala. These elegies narrate the story of the martyrdom of Husain, grandson of Prophet Mohammed, but the cultural atmosphere and details are of feudal Lucknow.

The same is true of Urdu drama which also owes its early beginnings to Lucknow. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah's (deposed 1856) *Radha-Kanhaiya-ka Qissa*, Amanat's (1815-58) *Indar-sabha*, and Madari Lal's *Indar-sabha*, all were set against the background of Indo-Iranian culture. As regards *masnavis*, all the three outstanding specimens were written in Oudh. These are: Mir Hasan's (1736-86) *Sahrul Bayan*, Daya Shankar Nasim's *Gulzar-i-Nasim*, and Mirza Shauq's *Zahr-i-Ishq*. They narrate romantic episodes. The locale is always different, and mostly imaginery; but the characters along with their cultural bearings, thought-patterns, and values unmistakably bear the imprint of the eighteenth-nineteenth century Indo-Muslim civilization that took shape in Lucknow. Again, *wasokht*, *rekhta*[7] (a form of poetry written by men expressing the emotions of women in their own colloquial speech), and prose tales, in particular, flowered during the period. During the reign of Nasiruddin Hydar

[7]Originally, the name of this form of Urdu poetry was *rekhti*.

(d. 1837), the printing press came to Lucknow. It helped the publication of books on social and physical sciences of the period.

In 1800 the East India Company set up the Fort William College in Calcutta with a view to acquainting the British employees with the history, languages, and cultural traditions of India. To meet their educational needs, the college authorities under the direction of John Gilchrist supervised and encouraged the writing of Urdu books of historical tales and anecdotes in a simple, unornamental language. Mir Amman's *Bagh-o-Bahar* was a pioneering effort in this direction which was followed by similar works by other writers of the college such as Hydar Bakhsh Hydari, Sher Ali Afsos, Bhadur Ali Husaini, and Mirza Ali Lutf. Written as it was in colloquial unornamental prose, *Bagh-o-Bahar* set a new style in Urdu prose and also evoked strong reaction in Lucknow where Rajab Ali Beg Surur (d. 1868) wrote his *Fasana-i-Ajaib* in ornamental style and ridiculed Amman's claims of writing chaste and standard Urdu. But the wind of change had already set in. The British administration under the aegis of the East India Company had started a process of social transformation with the introduction of the postal system, press facilities, railways, and other transport arrangements backed up by a network of schools, colleges, and missionary centres. Delhi College, founded in 1825, accelerated the process by awakening a spirit of inquiry in educated young men and women. The Delhi of the last Mogul emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar (deposed 1857), was influenced by the novel concepts introduced by the teachers of Delhi College which combined the old educational pattern and syllabi with new modes of thought in such subjects as history, geography, and the elements of the physical sciences. Master Ramchandra began translating books on mathematics, geometry, and various other sciences, and edited journals carrying articles on social and literary reform written in lucid and popular Urdu prose. Pyare Lal Ashob and other teachers brought about a new awareness in their pupils included among whom were promising young men like Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912), first Urdu novelist, Zakaullah (d. 1910), first Urdu historian, and Mohammed Husain Azad (1829-1910), first literary historian and critic in the language.

GHALIB, MUMIN, AND ZAUQ

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) whose shadow along with that of his two contemporary poets, Mumin Khan Mumin (1800-1851) and Ibrahim Zauq (1789-1854), loomed large on the literary horizon. Ghalib wove the profound philosophical truth of his age into the rich tapestry of poetic tradition, drawing profusely from his deep awareness of Persian poetic craftsmanship. His broad humanism, radiant scepticism, faith in the spirit of free inquiry,

and attempt to substitute thought as the main plank of poetic art in place of artifice or sensuous delight—all these along with his freshness of diction, wit, imagery, and iconoclasm go to make him the most popular and powerful Urdu poet of all times. Author of *ghazals*, *qasidas*, and *masnavis*, Mumin was also a great scholar. Zauq, court poet of Bahadur Shah,[8] wrote fluent and lucid poetry and made a mark as the best *qasida* writer after Sauda. But his contribution was mainly in the realm of simplicity of diction and lucidity of expression, while Mumin excelled in the use of suggestion through oblique modes of expression.

MODERN PERIOD

The Aligarh movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) for social, cultural, and literary reform laid the foundations of the Modern period of Urdu literature which commenced around 1875. This reformist movement had a sustained influence on the character of Urdu literature after 1875, which continued in a positive manner for more than three decades. Through the journals *Tahzibul Akhlaq* (The Social Reformer) and *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, Sir Syed Ahmad preached the gospel of rationalism and social change. To him literature was the vehicle of such reform and his efforts to fashion Urdu literary norms on Western (particulary Victorian) patterns bore fruit. In the first instance, it immensely widened the scope of, and gave variety to, literary forms. Urdu prose, which was mainly confined to some mystical allegories, tales, letters, and informative literature, blossomed into essay, criticism, biography, travelogue, novel, and many other forms. In poetry, the current desire for social change brought into being in 1874 a new form called *nazm*—a compact poem with a central idea worked out in various stages. As against *ghazal*, this form laid stress on ideas of definite social significance, and the zest for reforms substituted both sensuous romance and poetic artistry. The range of *marsiya* was widened to include all sorts of personal elegies which could easily be turned into poetic essays on heroes and their exemplary qualities. A product of this wave was Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) whose elegies on Ghalib and long poem entitled *Maddo-Jazr-i-Islam* set a tradition without which the great poetry of Iqbal would have been inconceivable. Hali's works include *Barkharut*, *Ummeed*, and *Insaf*, which represent a novel trend in Urdu poetry.

Urdu prose is associated with many a mastermind. Although Ghalib had to his credit letters written in simple lucid prose, Sir Syed Ahmad was undoubtedly the pioneer of modern Urdu prose. Besides being lucid, his prose was remarkable for its compactness. Hali, though primarily a poet, also wrote three important biographies in his inimitable style and dilated on important

[8]Patron of Urdu literature, Emperor Bahadur Shah was himself a poet of considerable merit.

problems of literary criticism, thus becoming the first significant Urdu critic. A Muslim rationalist by conviction, he wrote with a broad vision and sympathy. Of the notable prose writers after 1875, Shibli Numani (1857-1914), historian and essayist, wrote extensively. His biographies of many kings and caliphs, poets, and scholars set a new pattern of writing, *Sirat-un-Nabi* (Life of the Prophet) being his most significant contribution. He excelled as a literary historian in his *Shir-ul-Ajam* (History of Persian Literature) and as a literary critic in his *Mwazina-i-Anis-o-Dabir.* Nazir Ahmad wrote novels portraying the tension caused by the changed conditions of life and the consequent need for adaptation and compromise felt specially by the Muslim middle classes. He pleaded for education and trade as the main instruments of social emancipation and reform. His *Taubat-un-Nasuh, Mirat-ul-Urus, Banat-un-Nash, Fasana-i-Mubtala,* and *Ibn-ul-Waqt* are mirrors of social conditions of the period. A host of other important writers—Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk, Chiragh Ali, and Syed Ali Bilgrami—enriched the prose style and also made significant contributions to various fields of knowledge.

In poetry, however, the old pattern prevailed for some time. Rampur and Hyderabad soon developed as important centres of traditional poetry. Mirza Dagh (1831-1905), Amir Minai (1828-1900), Zamin Ali Jalal (d. 1910), and Amirullah Taslim imparted to *ghazal* lucidity, sensuousness, and craftsmanship, though not greatness or sublimity. The situation created by the Western impact and symbolized by the emergence of new forms and growing emphasis on social reform and rationalism continued till 1914. There were attempts at writing blank verse by Mohammed Husain Azad (d 1910), Sharar, and Ismail Muruthi (d. 1917). The main poetic achievement of the first few decades of the present century was embodied in the writings of Akbar (1846-1921), poet-philosopher Iqbal (1875-1937), and Brij Narain Chakbast (1882-1926). With a remarkable flair for extempore composition of piquant, satiric, and humorous verses, Akbar ridiculed in his own inimitable way the intellectual and cultural slavery to the West and pleaded for the re-discovery of our noble heritage. Chakbast, who wrote patriotic poetry, died young. His main contributions were the poems based on certain episodes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as also the elegies written on the death of national leaders, which gave a new dimension to the *genre.*

IQBAL, PREM CHAND, AND OTHERS

The appearance of Iqbal on the Urdu literary scene was an event of outstanding importance. Iqbal's poetry reflected the spirit of the age and shaped the course of Urdu literature till about the middle of the present century. He began with poems of patriotic overtones. Mention may, in this connexion, be made of his famous patriotic song *Sarejahanse accha Hindustan hamara* (The finest

country in the world is our India). He, however, soon outgrew the narrow allegiance to nationalism and preached a new gospel of internationalism and universal brotherhood. *Insan-al-Kamil* (Quest for the Perfect Man) contains the sum of Iqbal's life and philosophy recorded in exquisite poetry. Contrary to the mystic overtones of Urdu and Persian poets, he opposed the annihilation of 'Self' and pleaded for its development and sublimation in communion with the 'Social Ego'. His poetic genius transformed the niceties of his philosophy of Self into radiant, living poetry through which he aimed at harmonizing the vigour, ambition, and devotion to work as manifested in the materialistic culture of the West and the spiritualism and morality-oriented culture of the East. And yet he is no moralist or demagogue. His poetry aims at a synthesis of *ishq* (emotion) and *aql* (reason), and dreams of emergence of the 'Superman' who could combine in him the virtues of the East and the West. His greatest achievement was to lend a completely novel thought-structure to Urdu poetry and widen the significance of the various familiar symbols and allusions.

During the years between the two World Wars, India was ablaze with the political struggle for freedom. Urdu literature was one of the torch-bearers of this awakening. From the grand old days of the famous journal, the *Awadh Punch* of Lucknow, which was a great champion of nationalism, a host of writers including poets, novelists, dramatists, and journalists had been writing about this urge and had suffered for it. Among them were such prominent Urdu writers as Hasrat Mohani, Mohammed Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Lajpat Rai, and Prem Chand (1880-1936).

Urdu fiction after Nazir Ahmad took great strides towards maturity. Ratan Nath Sarshar's (d. 1902) *Fasana-i-Azad* in four bulky volumes portrayed the life and characters of Lucknow against the background of a fading culture on a canvas compelling comparison with Balzac and Cervantes. His satirical characterization of Khoji remains to this day a masterpiece. Mirza Mohammed Hadi Ruswa's *Umrao Jan Ada*, apparently the story of a fallen woman, introduces psychological conflict for the first time in Urdu fiction and through her split personality unfolds the ecstasy and agony of feudal Lucknow. Inspired by Scott, Abdul Halim Sharar (d. 1926) wrote dozen of popular historical novels, thus recreating the glorious past of the early Arab, Turkish, and West Asian Muslim rulers. *Malik Aziz Varjina* and *Mansur-Mohana* are two of his well-known Scott-inspired novels. The former is a tale of the Crusades, while the latter is written against the background of Sultan Mahmud's conquests. His best work of this *genre* is *Firdaus-i-Barin*, which narrates a romantic episode against the backdrop of the medieval conspiracies of the Alqaramita and the Assassins in Iraq and Syria.

Prem Chand, who wrote first in Urdu and later in Hindi, introduced the theme of rural life and the exploited classes in the Urdu novel. Fired by the

idealism of Gandhi and later on inspired by Marxist thought, his ardent humanism and revolutionary zeal found expression in his novels which give a vivid portrayal of the anguish of the have-nots. The life of the rural people of his time has been depicted with sympathy and ardour in his masterpiece, *Gaudan*. His *Maidan-e-Amal* and *Gosha-i-Afiyat* are two remarkable novels. Prem Chand also introduced the short story in Urdu literature, mainly on the pattern of Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. In this respect, Prem Chand was particularly inspired by Tagore's literary style. His short stories proved gems of creative art and made a great impact on modern Urdu literature. The short story became very popular as a literary form in Urdu—so much so that it soon overshadowed the novel and drama, and has remained in that position of pre-eminence till recent times. A remarkable blend of art with life, Prem Chand's *Kafan*, one of his finest pieces, proved a turning point in the history of the Urdu short story.

The beginnings of Urdu drama can be traced to 1846, and by 1930 it had struck roots at the box office. It had, however, yet to get literary recognition. The *Indar-sabha* type of drama gained currency and soon after, Parsi Theatre Companies of Bombay staged *Indar-sabha* and a number of other Urdu plays specially written for them with high-sounding poetic diction and a generous sprinkling of dance sequences and songs. Shakespeare was translated and adapted to Indian conditions. Mythological tales were also remodelled, *masnavis* dramatized, and original plays written with conventional morality always in the background. Agha Hashr transformed the entire technique of scriptwriting, which necessitated a new style of acting and delivery of dialogue. With the advent of the cinema, the stage drama declined, but the published plays now manifested more freedom and variety. Realism with psychological conflict and political and social tensions found its way into Urdu drama, as reflected in the plays of Abid Husain and Mohammed Mujib. The best specimen of this type is Imtaz Ali Taj's *Anarkali*.

Urdu literature since the thirties of the century gained both in variety and richness. The influence of the Romantics, the Freudians, and the Marxists was particularly marked. Thanks to the influence of the Romantics, prose tended to be tender, ornate, and even sentimental. Women came to be the new goddess, and love the main theme. The 'progressive' writers' movement, started in 1936, brought about a change and shifted the emphasis to social realism. While the authors' approach to the problems of life generally became objective, many of them began writing with a purpose. This 'progressive' or modern attitude is reflected in poems, novels, short stories, and essays written till the early fifties. In the early stages of the 'progressive' writers' movement, iconoclasts as well as nihilists joined it. They experimented with new literary forms and techniques, wrote openly about sex in social life and revolution in the

political sphere, and introduced free and blank verse as media of poetic expression. Alongside this, the traditional *ghazal* developed in a novel way in the hands of Hasrat, Asghar, Fani, Jigar, Yagana, Firaq, and Faiz, each one of whom gave to the form a deeper significance and a wider orientation. There were some novelists of note who included Ismat Chugtai, Krishen Chander (d. 1977), Rajinder Singh Bedi, Hayatullah Ansari, Aziz Ahmad, Qurratul Ain Haidar, and Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. The first four also excelled in short stories. Among other short story writers of the period Saadat Hasan Manto and Balwant Singh deserve special mention. Their stories cover a wide field and represent variety in style and mode of depiction. In the sphere of critical writing stand out such names as Abdul Haq, Hamid Hasan Qadri, Niaz Fatehpuri, Firaq, Sajjad Zaheer, and Masud Husain Rizvi.

POST-INDEPENDENCE URDU LITERATURE

Urdu literature since Independence reflected nostalgia, protest, and disillusionment in quick succession. The first was a hangover of Partition and discernible during the period from 1947 to 1953. Haunted by the memories of the communal riots that came in the wake of Partition, yet unable to forget the past, Urdu writers were preoccupied with the theme of senseless killings and a passion for nostalgia portraying the days that were no more. Some of the writers captured in their stories and poems the diversity of Indian culture and the sad decline of its old values, while another group was sceptical about the genuineness of the independence. Protest and a yearning for revolution marked the writings of the authors of this group which was active for a decade. Their social commitments were obvious. Among them were the poets like Sardar Ali Jafari, Kaifi Azmi, Majaz, Jazbi, Parvez Sahidi, and Makhdum Mohiuddin, and the short story writers like Krishen Chander, Ismat Chugtai, Rajinder Singh Bedi, and Mahinder Nath. The important story writers chiefly dealt with communal riots, revolutionary movements, and nostalgic themes in their works during the first two literary phases after Independence. Krishen Chander's *Hum Wahshi Hain* and *Mahalaksmi-ka Phul*, Ismat Chugtai's *Jaren*, and Rajinder Singh Bedi's *Lajwanti* may be mentioned in this connexion. Theirs was a literature directly addressed to the people and easily intelligible to the masses. A significant change in poetic technique was noticed in the use of ornamental blank verse for socially significant themes by Sardar Ali Jafari.

Around the sixties, it was clear to the committed writers that the revolution they had been looking forward to was no more on the horizon. Humanism now became their main theme. In his *ghazals*, Majrooh attempted to depict the plight of the people and the political conditions of the country, and at times succeeded in giving new dimensions to the age-old symbolism of this conventional form. Jigar's *ghazals* of this period bore testimony to his broad sensibility and

deep humanism. Later, Parvez Shahidi, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Khurshid Ahmad Jami, Khalilur Rahman Azmi, Shahab, and others tried to weave philosophical thought into the subtle and tender tones of *ghazal*. When the hopes of revolution had been shattered, most writers took to romantic themes. Qurratul Ain Haidar's *Sita-haran* and Hayatullah Ansari's *Shikasta Kangure* are two examples of this kind of story-writing. The technique of the short story gradually underwent a change. The 'stream of consciousness' technique became popular and indirect description of events gained supremacy over other forms. Haidar employed the 'stream of consciousness' technique with some success in the two novels, *Mere Bhi Sanam Khaney* and *Safina-e-Ghame Dil*. *Aag-ka Darya* is a remarkable novel in which the writer treats 'Time' as the central character. Hayatullah Ansari's *Lahoo-ke Phul* concerns itself chiefly with the historical perspective of the Indian Sub-continent. Qazi Abdus Sattar's *Shab Gudeeda* is another significant novel in which the decline and fall of the feudal order have been depicted against the background of the changing rural life of Uttar Pradesh. His characters speak their own dialects.

In the field of drama some new attempts were made, noteworthy among them being Mohammed Mujib's *Azamaish* and Habib Tanvir's *Agra Bazar*. A number of full-length plays were published during the post-Independence period including *Dude Charag-e-Mafil* by Rafia Sultana, *Ghalib* by Manju Qamar Yadullahi, and *Kohre-ka Chand* by Mohammed Hasan. R. S. Sharma is a noted writer of one-act plays, whose *Dushman* appeared in book form during the period.

Satire and humour have been a forte of Urdu writers for quite a long time. During the last three decades some authors including Kanhaiyalal Kapur and Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi wrote a number of humorous articles and sketches. Among the other humorists Fikr Tonsvi, Yusuf Nazim, and Mujtuba Husain deserve mention. Some notable works of literary criticism belong to this period. Ehetesham Husain's discourse on Ghalib, Mumtaz Husain's analysis of classical literature, Firaq Gorakhpuri's *Andaze*, and the works of Majnoon Gorakhpuri and Kaleemuddin Ahmad bear witness to the significant critical activity of the period. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi's critical essays also deserve notice.

The development in Urdu literature produced in Pakistan has been left out in the present survey. Urdu has not secured statutory recognition as a regional language in India. Nevertheless, its literature during the last thirty years has considerably enriched itself and kept pace to a certain extent with the realities of modern times. The Urdu literature of today presents a picture of hope. It also faces a challenge. The future of Urdu literature lies in the balance, for much depends upon whether it can succeed in fulfilling the requirements of the new age.

PART IV

ĀDIVĀSĪ AND FOLK LITERATURES OF INDIA

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ĀDIVĀSĪ LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF INDIA

FOUR racio-linguistic groups have met and flourished in India from time immemorial. These are known as the Sino-Tibetan (or Mongoloid), the Austric, the Dravidian, and the Aryan.[1] Compared with the Aryan and Dravidian languages, those of the Sino-Tibetan (excepting Manipuri) and Austric groups prevalent in India were in a backward state for a long time, as the speakers of these were in a sort of primitive condition in their way of life. They had, however, a kind of village or folk culture. A slight modicum of folk-literature—of songs, tales, legends, and traditions—developed in these languages. But these were never written down as the languages lacked any system of writing, which the Aryan and Dravidian possessed from very early times.

A serious study of the backward Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages began only during the middle of the nineteenth century when European scholars took up the job in right earnest. European Christian missionaries of various denominations also began to study these languages and take in hand the preparation of a Christian literature (both of translations from the *Bible* and other sacred Christian literature, and of original compositions to a small extent) for the purpose of proselytization. These non-developed languages without any old literature, however, are now fast growing as the languages of groups of people who are becoming self-conscious. As a result, we have during the twentieth century the beginnings of a kind of literature in some of the more important Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages which so long had no literature to boast of. The purpose of this article is to present a brief survey of the literatures in the Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages of India as well as a short account of the Dravidian *ādivāsī* languages of this country.[2]

SINO-TIBETAN FAMILY

The Sino-Tibetan or Mongoloid speech-family extends over a very wide field in Central, Southern, and Eastern Asia. The area of the spread of Sino-Tibetan speeches in India is also considerably vast. Covering the Himalayan slopes, it stretches all over the sub-Himalayan tracts (particularly including

[1]It has been suggested by some that over and above these four groups, there might have been one or two more—there seems to be some evidence from linguistics for this idea. But nothing definitely has yet been established, and we are quite content to look upon these four groups as the basic ones in the Indian scene.

[2]The literatures in the major Indian languages which developed through Aryan and Dravidian speeches have been dealt with in the three preceding parts of this volume.

North Bihar, North Bengal, parts of East Bengal, and Assam reaching up to its southernmost portions) and the north-eastern frontiers of the country. Speakers of the Sino-Tibetan languages of Mongoloid origin are considered to have penetrated the Indian frontiers before the advent of the Aryans into India. They have been referred to in the oldest Sanskrit literature as Kirātas. The original Sino-Tibetan speech had as its *nidus*, or area of characterization, the head-waters of the Hwang-Ho or Yellow River to the north-east of China. Here the original Sino-Tibetan speech, the ultimate source of Chinese (Ancient Chinese and its various modern forms), Tibetan, and Burmese, and possibly also Siamese, had taken its form at least 3,000 years before Christ.[3] The languages, namely, Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, and Tibetan have advanced literatures. The first three definitely do not belong to India. Nor does Tibetan, strictly speaking. But a number of important numerically strong dialects of Tibetan like Den-jong-ke or Sikkimese, Lho-ke or Bhutanese (also Bhutani or Bhotia), Balti, Sherpa, Lahuli, and Ladakhi are current within the boundaries of India. Although these dialects are recent arrivals in India, they are none the less counted as languages of the country. There is, however, not much original literature in them (including even Den-jong-ke and Lho-ke, the most important of the group). The people speaking these dialects generally study Tibetan, particularly the classical form of it. The large number of Tibetan refugees who have come over to India after the Chinese take-over of Tibet also speak and study Tibetan. Although the influence of Buddhism in the evolution of Tibetan literature is quite properly within the purview of Indian studies, Tibetan literature as such cannot be considered as part of Indian literature.

The Sino-Tibetan family of languages is broadly divided into two main branches, Siamese-Chinese and Tibeto-Burman. With the exception of Ahom (now entirely extinct) and Khamti (represented by a very meagre number of speakers) of the Tai (or Thai) group of speeches belonging to the Siamese-Chinese sub-family, all the languages spoken by Sino-Tibetans in India belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch. Ahom was current in Assam in the past. It used to be spoken by the Ahom conquerors of Assam. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had died out. The Ahoms have finally become Hindus, but some of the priests of their old religion have kept up some traces of the old pre-Hindu Ahom religion. The Ahoms brought their own system of writing from North Burma. This writing was ultimately of Indian origin, and

[3]At present there is some diversity of opinion regarding the place of Siamese within this family. Some modern scholars think that Siamese is not really a member of this family, but a language of another family of speeches known as the Kadai (this now includes a few insignificant dialects of South China and Hainan Island as well as Indo-China, and it appears to be connected with the Malayo-Polynesian speeches of the Austric family) which has been most profoundly influenced by the Sino-Tibetan.

there are manuscripts in the Ahom language in this alphabet. Old Ahom coins of Assam have legends in the Ahom language in this script. The Ahom people had a great historical sense. The Modern Assamese word for 'history' is *burañjī* which is an Ahom word—the Sanskrit word *itihāsa* is not so current. Some of the Ahom *burañjīs* have been published by the British Government, and one may particularly mention an important Ahom history of Assam printed in the Ahom character with an English translation by Rai Bahadur Golap Chandra Barua, published in 1903. Since the Ahom speech is now extinct, only some old men here and there keeping up a smattering knowledge of a few Ahom words and phrases, it has ceased to have any literary development.

Tibeto-Burman languages of India have been broadly divided into the following four groups, viz. Tibetan, Himalayan, North-East Frontier, and Assam-Burmese. The Tibetan group has already been discussed. In the 1961 Census, however, 'Bhotia' was preferred as a more acceptable nomenclature for the group of these speeches within Indian borders, as Tibetan refers more pointedly to the territory outside India. Speeches of the Himalayan group are spoken along the tracts to the south of the Himalayas from Himachal Pradesh in the west to the western borders of Bhutan in the east. They are further divided into two sub-groups, Pronominalized and non-Pronominalized. The speeches of the Pronominalized sub-group have shown evidence of Austric contact and influence in their present structure. Most of the speeches of the Himalayan group are represented by a very small number of speakers within the Indian borders. Kanauri and Limbu belonging to the Pronominalized sub-group are numerically the more dominant languages of the Himalayan group. The North-East Frontier group (known also as the North Assam group) includes a number of languages prevalent in the north-eastern frontiers of the country. Some important languages of the group are Abor (Adi), Miri, Aka, Dafla, and Mishmi. The Assam-Burmese group is the most important of the four Tibeto-Burman groups of speeches of India, numerically as well as culturally. It has four main sub-groups, viz. Kuki-Chin, Mikir, Bodo, and Naga. Besides these, there are a few more found within the Indian borders, the speakers of which are, however, very small in number. They are, for instance, Singhpho of Assam and Mogh of Tripura. The former belongs to the Kachin group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, a greater spread of which is found in Burma, and the latter is grouped under Arakanese included in the Burma group of Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Except Manipuri, which belongs to the Kuki-Chin sub-group, none out of the quite large number of dialects of the Tibeto-Burman group has important literature. The other languages, until recently, possessed no written literature. They had only some songs and poems, religious and otherwise, and some folk-tales, stories, and legends in prose, all current orally. The modern literature which had started under European and Christian inspiration

is not as yet of any value. Beyond the boundaries of India, Newari of Nepal, however, presents an important Himalayan (Pure or non-Pronominalized) form of the Tibeto-Burman family of speeches. It shows a fairly old tradition of high literary development. Although primarily a spoken language of Nepal, a very meagre number of its speakers are also found in India—in Sikkim, West Bengal, Mahārāṣṭra, and Bihar. Let us now discuss a few important languages of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family current in India.

KUKI-CHIN GROUP : MANIPURI (MEITHEI)

Manipuri or Meithei is the official language of the State of Manipur. It is, according to the 1971 Census, spoken by more than seven lakh people. Manipuri is the most important of the Tibeto-Burman languages, and in literature certainly of much greater importance than Newari of Nepal. For quite a long time it has been recognized by the University of Calcutta and was given a place in the curriculum of the university from the Matriculation to the Degree level, Pass and Honours. The same recognition has been given to it by the University of Gauhati. This testifies to the important status of Manipuri as a language of study and culture. Manipuri is now written in the Bengali-Assamese script. It is virtually the Bengali script, with one letter recently taken over from Assamese—the letter for *w*. Manipuri had quite a separate alphabet of its own, which is found in old manuscripts, and it has also been put in type. But books are no longer printed in this old Manipuri script, the study of which has become a specialized subject for scholars and experts. From the time of King Gharib Newaz Siṅgh (1709-48) of Manipur, the Manipuri people, through the influence of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas of the Caitanya school from Navadvīpa and Sylhet, accepted for their language (*c.* 1740) the Bengali script which has now become fully established. This has enabled Manipuri to come in intimate touch with Bengali as well as Sanskrit literatures. There is an attempt on the part of a small number of Manipuri patriots to revive the use of the old Manipuri script. But as it is a rather complicated system of writing, it does not seem to receive much support from the people.

EARLY MANIPURI LITERATURE

The Manipuris, a Meithei people, became Hindus at least 2,000 years ago; and in Manipur chronicles, which are mostly preserved in the Old Manipuri language and in the older script, we have a fairly detailed history of the Manipuri kings and their Hindu background. But early Manipuri literature prior to the middle of the eighteenth century is more or less a sealed book to the Manipuri public. Only Manipuri scholars who specialize in the language know about this speech, the vocabulary of which is now quite archaic and different from Modern Manipuri. There are books like *Numit-kāppā*, narrating

some old Manipuri legends, and there is a rich literature of chronicles as well as works on the movements of the tribes in Manipur which are all preserved in the Old Manipuri language.[4] The beginnings of this Old Manipuri literature may go back to 1,500 years or even 2,000 years from now. The late Yumajao Singh thought that *Poireiton Khunthok*, a prose work describing the settlement of some Meithei tribes, is the oldest work in Manipuri going back to the third century A.D. It is said that there is a copper-plate inscription of King Khoṅg-ṭekcā, invoking Śrī Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī), Śiva, and Devī, dating from *c.* A.D. 790. But that is problematical, as the king is said to have ruled the Meitheis from A.D. 763 to 773. A rich literary tradition is said to have existed during the closing centuries of the first millennium of the Christian era. *Ceithārol Kumbābā* is one of the oldest Manipuri court chronicles (*Kumbābā—kum* means 'year', now obsolete, and *bābā* or *pābā* means 'accounts'). This gives a traditional history of Manipur from the second century A.D. onwards.

This early Manipuri literature, although fairly extensive, has not yet been scientifically studied, and we are not sure about the dates when the individual works, as available now, were first written or compiled.[5] But we know that the sixteenth century was a great period for the development of Manipuri prose literature of histories and chronicles. *Nugbān Pombī Luvāobā* narrates the legendary history of the hero, after whom the book is named, and of his beloved wife Koubru Namīno. This legend relates the story of the restoration to life of Koubru, the gods being moved by the love of the husband for his departed wife. *Leithak Leikhāron* gives an account of the Manipuri story of Creation. This book deals with the history of the Meithei gods and goddesses, and the songs and dances connected with them. Certain portions of this distinctive work contain lists of the Pathan kings of Bengal, which show that it is rather late in origin. *Kāinarol* gives us a collection of some romantic and heroic stories of ancient Manipur. The 'National Romantic Legend of Manipur', the great love story of Prince Khambā and Princess Thoibī, which, after a happy union of the two lovers, ended in a tragedy, began to be treated in Old Meithei ballads from the middle of the twelfth century. The lovers lived about A.D. 1130 during the rule of King Loyāmba. These ballads used to be sung by wandering minstrels to the accompaniment of the one-stringed fiddle called the *penā*, and this old body of romantic ballads was later treated into the great epic romance, *Khambā-Thoibī Śeireṅg*, of 34,000 lines by a modern Meithei poet, Hijom Anganghal Singh, about 1940. *Niṅg-*

[4] The Manipuri Sahitya Parishad and some individual scholars are doing very valuable work in bringing out editions of these books in the current Bengali-Assamese script with translations or notes in Modern Manipuri.

[5] As a preliminary step, however, full lists of these books of early Manipuri are being prepared and published by Manipuri scholars.

thauron Lambubā is a historical work giving an account of the military expansions of the kings of Manipur. It is in a way a book which supplements *Ceithārol Kumbābā*. A most interesting work is the romantic tale of Prince Noṁpokniṅgthau and Princess Pānthoibī, daughter of King Ciṅg Niṅgthau. They fell violently in love with each other, and although Pānthoibī was later on married to a chief named Khābā, her husband was frightened of her, and never dared approach her. The lovers met, but their career was cut short. This story has been sublimated as a religious myth. The hero was considered to be an incarnation of Śiva, and Pānthoibī was Pārvatī incarnate, and it was a case of *parakīyā* love as between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā which is a very vital mystico-philosophical doctrine with the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism of Navadvīpa, which again is the accepted form of Vaiṣṇavism in Manipur. This work in Old Manipuri, of unknown date, has been published with translation in Modern Manipuri. There are similar other books in Manipuri which mostly go back to the times before the beginning of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava influence from Bengal and the influence from North India through the Rāmānandī *sādhu* missionaries, from the early eighteenth century.

A new period began in the history of Manipur as well as of Manipuri literature from the reign of Gharib Newaz when the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the most popular and in a way the most important texts of Hinduism, began to be rendered into Manipuri. Manipuri adopted a version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the Bengali work of Kṛttivāsa. Portions of the *Mahābhārata—Ādi, Virāṭa*, and *Āśvamedhika parvans*—were also rendered into Manipuri. The older literary tradition suffered a set-back owing to an ill-conceived action of a Rāmānandī missionary, Śāntadāsa Gośāiñ, whose vandalism in getting together and burning a number of Old Manipuri manuscripts appears to have received the support of Gharib Newaz; and this continued during the eighteenth century. But a few books in the old style were still written. One of these is a book known as *Lāṅgan*. It is of the nature of Nīti literature in Sanskrit and has been recently published.

King Bhāgyacandra Siṅgh of Manipur (*c.* A.D. 1780) brought in a great Vaiṣṇava revival. One might say that the confluence of the Early and Modern periods of Manipuri literature took place during the second half of the eighteenth century. There were books in a new *genre* or style like travel books (e.g. the work describing the pilgrimage of King Bhāgyacandra), and genealogical works also came into being. King Bhāgyacandra with the help of his daughter Śija Lāioibī, who was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa (she has been called the 'Mīrābāī' of Manipur), raised the Manipuri folk-dance *lāihārāobā*, a dance of Creation, to an emotional and religious level and added to it an aspect of high artistic and spiritual beauty and merit. Treatises on Manipuri dance and music were compiled in both Sanskrit and Manipuri. There are also Old Manipuri

texts on medicine and medicinal herbs of Manipur as well as Tāntric works on the cure of diseases, besides works on astrology. These all show Brāhmaṇical inspiration and influence. There is a sort of a national archive for the most exalted families of Manipur, which is preserved in the court of the Maharaja of Manipur, Śaṅgāi Phamāṅg. This is regularly brought up to date. It is of great historical value for Manipur.

MODERN MANIPURI LITERATURE

The Modern period of Manipuri really came into existence with the beginning of the nineteenth century after English education had found a place among the Manipuri people. European officials and missionaries, who came to Manipur, and Bengali teachers helped the Manipuris to build a new literature in their language. Rev. W. Pettigrew, Wince, Babu Ramsundar Roy, and educated Manipuris like Makar Singh, Munal Singh, Jatiswar Singh, and Haodijam Chaitanya Singh came forward. Maharaja Churachand Singh (1891-1941) patronized this movement for facilitating the development of Manipuri literature. The first Manipuri book to be printed was a history of Manipur, entitled *Maṇipurer Itihāsa,* which came out in 1890 in the Bengali script, and at first the new literature in Manipur consisted only of textbooks in different subjects. Then, with the growth of a school-educated class, other types of literature came in. A special aspect of modern Manipuri literature is its wealth of translations, particularly from Sanskrit, Bengali, and English. The Manipuri Sahitya Parishad has published a list of Manipuri books printed from 1891 to 1969; the total number of titles comes to 1,078. It has been claimed that the list is yet incomplete and the actual number can easily come to 2,000. Apart from translations, there are numerous works in modern Manipuri literature on various important subjects which include history, geography, Hindu religion and philosophy, social sciences, grammar and linguistics, history of literature, and the art of dance and music. The creative branches of literature like poetry, fiction, biography, and literary criticism are also well represented in Manipuri. In discussing modern Manipuri literature one should first take into account the contributions of the great translators. It was they who transformed the mind and spirit of the Manipuris by extending the horizon of their literary experience, and made them familiar with some of the greatest things in Indian literature, ancient and modern. They brought the Manipuris in line with the rest of advanced India in their thought, ideas, and aspirations. The greatest name in the history of modern Manipuri literature, particularly in this line, is that of Panditaraja Phurailatpam Atombapu Sarma Sahityaratna (1878-1963). An outstanding scholar, he made translations into Manipuri of such religious texts in Sanskrit as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the *Bhagavad-Gītā,* the *Gītagovinda,* the *Gopāla-sahasranāma,* and the *Caṇḍī.* He translated portions of the *Ṛg-Veda*

and the entire *Sārasvata* grammar of Sanskrit (with a Meithei commentary), besides rendering into Manipuri other religious and ritualistic texts. He also brought out interpretative editions of Old Manipuri texts on history, literature, and Manipuri culture. A religious teacher, educationist, and political leader, he led his people to the path of freedom from both British interference and Manipuri medievalism. His illustrious example was followed by other scholars like Chingangbam Kalachand Singh who brought out a Manipuri translation of the entire Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* (together with the Sanskrit text) in twenty-one volumes. His other works, included *Vāsudeva-carita*, a long poem of 12,000 lines on the life of Kṛṣṇa. Haobam Iboyaima Singh translated all the writings of the Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt, besides some of the works of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, and a good many Sanskrit works. Apart from these three names, there are dozens of other scholars who made the most important Sanskrit and Bengali literary works available in Manipuri. One can read in Manipuri the Bengali philosophical classic of Vaiṣṇavism, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, as well as most of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and a good many of those by Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and other famous writers of Bengali. Shakespeare and Ibsen, Tolstoy and Prem Chand, Vivekananda and Gandhi, Rabindranath and Kālidāsa can, at least in some of their important works, be read in Manipuri. It may be mentioned in this connexion that a fine translation, by a number of scholars and poets, of a representative selection of poems, songs, dramas, and stories from Rabindranath Tagore, *Ravīndra Nācom*, has recently been published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

An important figure in the field of creative literature of the Modern period is Lamabam Kamal Singh whose romantic-realistic social novel *Mādhavī* is a pioneering effort in this direction. It was published in the thirties of the present century. Hijom Anganghal Singh (1894-1940) wrote some fine novels, one of which, *Jāherā*, depicts a story of love between a Manipuri Hindu young man and a Muslim girl. He has also written a number of dramas of which *Ibemmā* deserves special mention. But he was particularly famous as a poet. Besides *Khambā-Thoibī Śeireṅg* (already referred to), he has several other volumes of poetry to his credit. R. K. Shitaljit Singh wrote some novels with a moral and religious purpose. His works include *Thādokpā*, *Imā*, and *Rohiṇī*. Khwairakpam Chaoba Singh is the author of the popular historical novel, *Lavaṅgalatā*, which deals with the period 1597-1652. Among other fiction writers, the most notable are: Hijom Guno Singh (author of four popular novels), Takhellabam Thoibi Devi (*Rādhā*), K. Elengbam Rajanikanta Singh (*Marup Ani*), Sansenbam Nadiyachand Singh, and Khumantham Ibohal Singh.

The drama is a literary form particularly dear to the heart of the Manipuris. In Imphal city there are half a dozen regular playhouses where plays in Mani-

puri (original dramas, or translations or adaptations from Bengali and English) are regularly staged. The first plays were adapted from Bengali; and it was only in 1905 that the first original Manipuri drama, *Pāgālinī*, by a Bengali school teacher was staged. Afterwards Manipur has witnessed a host of eminent playwrights by whose efforts Manipuri drama has been established on a solid ground. Chief among them are: Sorokhaibam Lalit Singh, Mayanglambam Birmangal Singh (author of over a dozen plays including *Pidonnu*), Tongbram Gitchandra Singh (author of over two dozen plays including some translations from Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw, and Ibsen), Maibam Ramcharan Singh (author of about twenty plays), Haobam Tomba Singh, Lairenmayum Ibungohal Singh, and Rajkumari Binodini Devi. The Manipuri drama is quite a convincing example of the high quality and attractiveness of the culture of Manipur.

In pure poetry, in literary and other essays, in historical studies, and in all other domains of literature, Manipuri has quite a rich harvest of books to show. Recently, Rajkumar Sri Surendrajit Singh brought out a very comprehensive work in Manipuri on prosody and metre (1969). It is only unfortunate that so far no English translations (or translations in other Indian languages) of at least some of the outstanding classics in Manipuri are available, although Manipuri scholars are not lagging behind in writing helpful books in English on the history and literature of their State and also on certain aspects of their local culture.

Manipuri literature is undoubtedly quite an advanced modern Indian literature, and cannot be described as a backward literature of the so-called *ādivāsī* or primitive people. The Manipuri writers are already in the front line of modern Indian writing and translation. The Kuki-Chin group, to which Manipuri belongs, consists of a number of other speeches also. Of them, Lushai (Mizo), Thado, Hmar, Paite, Lakher, Pawi, Halam, Kom, and Vaiphei are the more numerically strong languages. Lushai (Mizo) is recorded to possess a strength of more than two lakh speakers.

BODO GROUP

At one time Bodo or Boro group of speeches were current throughout the entire valley of the Brahmaputra, in North Bengal up to northern Bihar, and in East and South-East Bengal. This very extensive Bodo bloc is, however, broken up due to the intrusion of the Aryan Assamese and Bengali. The Assam-Bengal Bodo speeches are the Bodo, the Rajbangsi, the Koch, the Mech, the Rabha, the Dimasa, the Kachari, the Chutiya, the Garo, the Haijong, and the Tipra (or Tripuri) dialects. These are very close to each other, and are largely mutually intelligible. But, barring some folk-tales and songs, the native literature in these Bodo dialects has been very meagre so far.

The Bodo speakers of Assam are now falling in line with the Assamese- speaking Hindus of the Brahmaputra Valley, but are nevertheless trying to rehabilitate their language and create a literature in it. A half-yearly journal called the *Alari* or 'Divine Light', printed in the Assamese alphabet, is coming out from 1959 from the Bodo Literary and Cultural Society, Gauhati, with serious articles of the type found in Assamese and Bengali journals of repute. Scholar and ethnologist, musician and folklorist, poet and writer, the late Bishnu Rabha was a great exponent of Bodo culture. Assamese scholars of Bodo are also helping, and Bodo writers are coming up. But not much advance has so far been made, although Bodo (Kachari) is being taught in the primary schools in Assam.

The State of Tripura is seeking to create a literature in the Tipra form of Bodo, and broadcasts in Tipra are on the air several times a week. The ruling house of Tripura, Bodo (Tipra)-speaking to start with, became oriented towards Bengali and Sanskrit from the end of the fifteenth century, and eventually Bengali was made the official language of the State. Tipra is now spoken by a small minority, and it is split up into several dialects. Garo, another Bodo speech, has acquired some status as the language of a part of the new Meghalaya State, and has some interesting folk-tales as well as a Christian literature (though not very extensive) to boast of. Mikir, on grounds of strong Bodo affinities, is considered closer to the Bodo group. Current in the Mikir Hills in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts of Assam, it is represented by about two lakh speakers. Mikir has no literature as such, but has some folk-tales. The tale of a young man who had a god's daughter as his bride is beautiful.

NAGA GROUP

Unlike the languages of the Bodo group, those of the Naga group are well known for their mutual unintelligibility. Chief among the languages included in the group are: Angami, Sema, Ao, Lotha, Mao, Konyak, Kabui, and Lepcha. 'Lately', writes R. C. Nigam, formerly Assistant Registrar General of India (Languages), '. . . since larger tracts of Nagaland were brought under administration, more information of Naga languages has been reported; but pending actual investigations and studies, these reports can be considered only tentative'.[6]

Among the languages of the Naga group, Lepcha deserves some special reference. The Lepcha dialect is current in the State of Sikkim and Darjeeling District of West Bengal. Till recently, the immediate affinities of Lepcha were not definitely known, and it was believed to be a speech belonging to the Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. But now it has been connected

[6] *Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census* (Office of the Registrar General of India, New Delhi, 1972), p. xxxix.

by Robert Shafer, a great American authority on the Sino-Tibetan languages, with the Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Lepcha had developed an alphabet of its own which is now falling into disuse. It is evidently inspired by the Tibetan script, but it is rather different from it. King Chakdor Namgye of Sikkim, born in 1686, is said to have created this alphabet out of a patriotic Lepcha feeling. The Lepchas were mainly Buddhists, although many of them have now become Christians. The Lepcha monks, in the Tibetan tradition, have a small but distinctive literature of Buddhist religious texts and law books. The Christian missionaries have also translated portions of the *Bible*, and they have sought to create a literature of Christian hymns, side by side with Buddhist hymns. In spite of the strong surrounding influences of either the Indo-Aryan Nepali or the Sino-Tibetan Sikkimese, the Lepchas preserved their speech surprisingly intact. But the language is now dying out as its speakers are on the decline. They are merging with the Hindu Nepalis as well as other neighbouring peoples, and their literary life is at a standstill.

AUSTRIC FAMILY

Like the Sino-Tibetan, the Austric speech family also occupies quite a vast terrain spreading over substantial portions of South and South-Eastern Asia and extending right up to the eastern, northern, and southern extremities of the Pacific. It is also found in Madagascar on the African coast. The Austric family of languages falls into two main branches: Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian. The Austric languages of India are included in the Austro-Asiatic sub-family, which are represented by the languages of the Munda or Kol (Kolian) group confined to the central, eastern, and north-eastern India and Khasi and Nicobarese of the Mon-Khmer group, spoken in Meghalaya and the Nicobar Islands respectively. The Austric speakers of India, erstwhile backward, are now very rapidly being integrated with the general mass of the Indian people and attaining to the same or similar cultural status with the rest of the people. The Austric languages were spoken in India in very ancient times, much earlier than the arrival of the Aryans. There are references to them in the oldest Sanskrit literature. The Austric people were spread all over the riverain plains of India, particularly the Gangetic and possibly also the Indus basins, and they built up the basic agricultural civilization of India. Many of their religious ideas, rituals, and ceremonies have continued down to our times, having been absorbed in a composite Aryan-non-Aryan culture which is the basis of Hinduism. They were known in ancient Sanskrit as Niṣādas. Some of their tribes were also called Bhillas and Kollas (modern Indian Bhils and Kols), besides Pulindas, Mātaṅgas (modern Indian Mangs), Sāmanapalas (modern Indian Saontals or Santals), Muṇḍās (modern Indian Mundaris) and Puṇḍras (modern Indian Punds), etc. Their languages did not evolve any high literature, but remained

in a rather primitive state, although a good many words from the Niṣāda or Austric languages have found a place in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, Sanskrit and the various Prakrits, as well as in Dravidian and the present-day New Indo-Aryan speeches. Apart from these words, which are sometimes very difficult to identify because of their mutilation in form through the ages, we do not have any records of these Niṣāda languages. When the Aryans came, the Niṣāda-speakers living in the riverain plains of North India appear to have gradually merged into the general mass of the Aryan-speaking people and given up their ancient dialects, allied both to the present-day Kol (or Munda) and the Mon-Khmer speeches, in favour of the speech of a new and energetic *Herrenvolk*, the Aryans. In some areas they have become Dravidian-speakers also, and in the Himalayan regions as they came within the orbit of the Mongoloids, they took up Mongoloid dialects to a limited extent. But the more primitive groups among the Austrics, who lived mostly in out-of-the-way areas in the hills and jungles of central and eastern India, or who retired to these places before the Dravidians and the Aryans, have so far preserved their traditional languages. Present-day Austric languages in India are represented by them.

Ādivāsī languages, both Austric and Mongoloid, began to be studied, as already mentioned, only during the nineteenth century when European scholars and Christian missionaries became interested in them. The objective of the Christian missionaries was, however, to render their scriptures and literature in these languages with a view to converting the primitive *ādivāsīs* to the Christian faith. But they did a great service in introducing a proper scientific study of those languages. At first, it was thought that the Austric languages and the Dravidian speeches belonged to the same family. But by 1860, Max Müller and others established their separate identity. All the Austric tribes in India had just a little oral literature, handed down from generation to generation, consisting of their mythological and semi-historical legends and traditions, and some folk-poetry, partly relating to their religious ceremonies, but mainly with regard to the life they used to live. This poetry as well as their oral legends have a unique literary value. A good deal of their mythology and ritual has been transformed and passed into the mass of Hindu Purāṇa legends. But the matter requires deeper and more detailed investigation. The recording of all this oral literature started from the fourth quarter of the last century. Earlier, the various Christian missionary bodies had tried to give to the Austric tribes some Christian literature—translations of the Gospels and other portions of the *Bible*, and some Christian hymns and other works. Although the Austric speakers in India represent only a small fraction of the total Indian population, their languages are of great interest to the students of linguistics and human culture. We may now discuss some of the important

Austric (Austro-Asiatic) speeches of India, namely, Santali and Mundari of the Munda group and Khasi of the Mon-Khmer group.

SANTALI

Among the Austric languages of the present day, the most important is Santali. Spoken by about four million people, it represents the largest group in India speaking an *ādivāsī* language. The original home of Santali was in the Chota Nagpur plateau in the Santal Parganas area and the surrounding contiguous tracts in Bihar, West Bengal, and North Orissa. They have also been taken as indentured labourers to the tea-gardens of Assam and North Bengal, where they now form a settled population, very slowly getting merged with the local Assamese and Bengali speakers. In Bengal, there is a sizable Santal population following its own traditional religion, which is in a way akin to Purāṇic Hinduism. Being within the orbit of Brāhmaṇism, the Santals have been very largely influenced by Hindu notions. Although they have retained their language, culturally and intellectually (and even spiritually) they are becoming just like other Bengali-speaking Hindus, adopting Bengali Hindu personal names, but retaining their Santal surnames. The same can be said to a lesser extent of the Santals in Bihar and Orissa.

The Santals never had a script of their own, and Santali was first written in the Bengali script, and to a small extent in the Oriya and Nāgarī scripts also in Orissa and Bihar respectively. Then through Christian missionary initiative, the Roman alphabet was adopted for Santali, and a rich literature of mythological tales, traditions, folk-tales as well as folk-songs came to be collected and published in the Roman script through both missionary and non-missionary enterprises. Some Bengali scholars also have taken an active interest in this.

Santali literature may be classified into two main types: (i) the earlier primitive literature based on oral tradition and (ii) the modern literature which is being created by educated Santals on the model of the literature in the Aryan languages, particularly Bengali and Oriya, and to some extent Hindi. The second type of literature does not have any special Santali character about it. Nevertheless, it is in the field now and is making good progress.

There are two great works in Santali containing collections of old traditions and legends. The first is *Hor-ko-ren Mare Hapram-ko-reak' Kathā* or 'The Traditions of the Ancestors of the Hor or Santal People'. The traditions contained in this work were given out by a Santal *guru* or preacher named Kolean (Kalyan). Rev. A. S. Skrefrsud, a Scandinavian missionary belonging to the Santal Mission from the Northern Churches at Benagaria near Dumka in the Santal Parganas, collected this oral narration and published it in the Roman

script as a book in 1887. This book was never translated into English, although it was used by many scholars. Only recently, about 1965, it was translated into Bengali by Baidyanath Hansdak under the auspices of the Government of India Census Commission. It is a great compilation of Santali stories and legends in their earliest forms. The second work is *Kherwal-vaṁśa Dharam-puthi* or 'The Sacred Book of the Kherwal Race' (*kherwal* being an old name for the Santals and other allied Kol people). It is a compilation as well as composition, but much more extensive in its content, made by Ramdas Majhi Tudu of Ghatsila in Singhbhum District (Bihar), who was very well informed about the traditions of his people and its religious and social culture. This book was published by him in the Bengali script from Calcutta about A.D. 1902 with a number of woodcut illustrations designed by him relating to Santali myths and social life.[7] These two books are very important as they form a sort of source-material for Kol or Munda legends and antiquities as they have been preserved in Santali.

Next to these myths and religious traditions and usages, there is a long series of Santali folk-tales dealing mostly with Santali belief in the *bongas* or gods and godlings, and giving a very fine picture of the primitive life of the Santal people in their jungle villages. The best collections of such stories were made by the Scandinavian missionaries, particularly by P. O. Bodding, who was one of the greatest authorities on Santal folklore and tradition. The British missionary A. Campbell also made a collection. P. O. Bodding's collections of Santal folk-tales have been published in very convenient editions by the Institute for Comparative Folklore in Oslo (Norway), and also from Copenhagen, giving the Santali text in Roman script on one page and an English translation on the page opposite. C. O. Bompas made an English translation of some of these folk-tales in which we have quite a good nucleus of a native Santali prose literature of great value. The Christian missionaries made a translation of both the Old and the New Testament of the *Bible* and published also the translations of some Christian religious classics like *The Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan. Besides these folk-tales in prose, there is a rich mass of Santali lyrics generally in couplets and sometimes in more than four to six lines. In these lyrics, we find thumb-nail sketches of Santali life. They have a beauty of their own. Collections of these have been made also by Bengali lovers of Santali lore. Special mention may be made of a fine collection of Santali poems published from Patna by the Government of Bihar in the Roman script

[7]The original book has now become entirely out of print. However, a reprint was made under the auspices of the Manager of the Dhalbhum Raj State at Ghatsila, the late Bankim Chandra Chakrabarti, with a long introduction in Bengali by the present author. This book has now been brought out in a third reprint by Suhrid Kumar Bhaumik in 1971. A Bengali translation with the introduction has also been prepared.

under the editorship of W. G. Archer in 1935. Rabindranath Tagore also appreciated the poetic beauty of these Santali songs.

So long there was no literature of a modern type in Santali. Lately, however, genuine modern literature in Santali has been coming into existence through the creative efforts of educated Santals, particularly in Bengal. This is hardly forty years old. Already there are some Santal writers who have brought out volumes of short stories and general essays, published in the Bengali script or in the Roman. There are also poems on life and religion in the usual modern Indian style, which follow more or less the same pattern as Bengali literature. Some Santali translations from Tagore have appeared, and are regularly appearing. Versions of the Hindu Purāṇa tales also occasionally come out. A translation of the *Īśa Upaniṣad* has been published. Literary journals have also made their advent. Mention may be made of the *Ebhen* ('Light'), a quarterly literary journal, and *Hariyar Sakam* ('Green Leaf'), a weekly. These are printed in Bengali characters. Already some educated Santals, with whom Bengali is almost their second mother-tongue, are writing good poetry in Santali. Among Santali writers of recent times, the following outstanding names may be mentioned: Naeke Mangal Chandra Soren, Sarada Prasad Kisku, Balkishor Baske, Aditya Mitra Saontali, Babulal Murmu, Bhagavat Murmu, 'Tade Sutam', Raghunath Murmu, Rupnarayan Hembrom, Sridhar Kumar Murmu, Gomasta Prasad Soren, Chandranath Murmu, and Kaliram Soren[8]. Jugaldas Mandi, Ramchandra Murmu, Mandal Hembrom, Durgacharan Hembrom, Hopon Chandra Baske, Birlita Hembrom, Rabilal Mandi, and Stephen Murmu are mainly poets and essayists. Among the Santali writers of the previous generation, who are no more alive, mention may be made of Sadhu Ramchand Murmu Thakur (religious reformer and teacher of Santal philosophy of religion), Ramdas Majhi Tudu (author of *Kherwal-vaṁśa Dharam-puthi*, as already mentioned), and Charu Chandra Sinha Soren (prose writer). There is a very great interest among the educated Santals in the development of their language and literature. On the basis of old Santali religious notions, and inspired by Hindu philosophy, a Santal philosophy of religion and life is also developing, as conceived by Ramdas Majhi Tudu and Sadhu Ramchand Murmu Thakur. These are among the very hopeful signs of the development of Santali literature and thought during the present age.

The Santali language, as said before, started to be written in the Bengali script, and then the Roman was adopted and established for it. Santals are now, however, required to know more than one script. In West Bengal, they must know the Bengali script; in Orissa, the Oriya script; in Bihar, the

[8]Kaliram Soren's drama *Sidhu Kānu* on a Santal patriot has been staged, and is very popular. It is in its second edition.

Nāgarī script, and in Assam, the Assamese script (which is the same as Bengali). For inter-State purposes, the Roman alphabet is admirably suitable. By far the largest and most significant mass of Santali literature has already been published in the Roman script, thanks mainly to the Scandinavian missionaries. Recently, a Santali gentleman came forward with a newly-created alphabet of his own, called the Ol script. This is conceived in the same spirit as the Roman, each vowel and consonant sound having a separate letter. But the shapes of the letters are very complicated, compared with the Roman. Some Santals are, however, advocating the use of this script for their language.

MUNDARI

Next in importance to Santali is the Mundari language spoken by nearly a million of Mundas, who, like the Santals, are spread over the four States of Bihar (Chota Nagpur), Orissa, Assam, and to some extent West Bengal. The literary life of the Mundas runs parallel to that of the Santals. Through Christian (Roman Catholic) missionary efforts mainly, Mundari myths and legends as well as folk-tales have been collected and published in the Roman script. Mundas living in the Chota Nagpur have generally to learn the Nāgarī script which is used side by side with the Roman in writing Mundari. The late Sarat Chandra Roy made a very detailed study of Munda life and culture, and collected some beautiful Mundari songs or poems. W. G. Archer is also responsible for a very good collection of Mundari poems (*Munda Durang*), published by the Government of Bihar. The total output of literature in Mundari, both the native oral literature as well as modern writing, is not as extensive as in Santali. But Mundari songs, which are frequently longer than Santali songs, are quite distinctive, and here they have a better output than Santali. A Christian literature in the shape of translations of the *Bible* and some Christian texts has also grown up in Mundari.

The other Kol or Munda languages are not so very important, numerically or otherwise. They generally follow the pattern of Santali and Mundari. There is still more restricted literary endeavour in languages like Ho (or Larka-Kol), Bhumij, Asuri, Gadaba (or Patua), and Savara (or Sora) which is the southernmost Munda language spoken in Orissa and the Telugu country, besides Korku in the Berar tract in Madhya Pradesh. These languages do not have any literature worth mentioning, except for some songs and folk-tales which are current orally.

KHASI

Khasi is an important Austric language spoken in the Khasi and Jayantia Hills of the New Hill State of Meghalaya in north-eastern India. The Khasi people number about four lakh and have two main groups—the Khasis proper

in the west, and the Syntengs or Jaintias (or Jayantiyas) in the east. They are racially Mongoloids, but in very early times adopted—when and how nobody knows—the Austric Khasi language. They had their own religion and social life and customs, and their own distinctive socio-political organizations. They came under Hindu influence from Bengal through the Jayantiyas (ancestors of the present-day Syntengs) in the south and from the Assamese Hindus in the north and a good number of them became Hindus. But through the efforts of the Welsh Methodist missionaries, a very large percentage of the Khasis have now become Methodist Christians. Formerly, the Khasi language was written in the Bengali script. But now they have accepted the Roman script with Welsh values for some of the Roman letters. Barring a few traditional stories and folk-tales, and some songs, the Khasis did not have any literature worth mentioning. Through their contact with Christianity, a little literature of Christian inspiration has, however, grown up among them. Contact with Hinduism is, however, helping the Khasis to take a greater interest in their own traditional religion, culture, and institutions, and some cultured Khasis, who are not in all cases Christians, have written in Khasi as well as in English on various aspects of their culture and social usages. The work of the Khasi scholars like U Rabon Singh, Sib Charan Roy, U Jeebon Roy, B. K. Sarma Roy, Ondro Muney, and H. Lyngdoh has provided substantial material for building up a modern literature in the language. Two Salesian (Italian) missionaries, J. Bacchiarello and G. Costa, have also made some remarkable contributions in this line. There is a small series of illustrated books in Khasi published from Shillong by Theodore Cajee and others, giving short accounts of the present-day Khasi life and ways. Among the modern Khasi writers, Soso Tham, known as 'the Khasi Wordsworth', is an outstanding poet and prosateur who has been quite an innovator in the Khasi language. Essentially a writer on humanity as a whole, he is nevertheless a great admirer of the old life and ways of his people. P. Gatphoh, B. Thangkhien, and Victor Bareh are the most distinguished among the poets and song-writers in Khasi in recent times. Victor Bareh is also the author of a notable patriotic drama (1956) on the life of U Tirot Singh, a great Khasi freedom fighter who died in the English prison at Dacca. Mention may be made of F. M. Pugh's Khasi translation of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, which is really a noteworthy work. Khasi literature shows striking record of progress in essays as well as journalism. From 1895 onwards, Khasi magazines began to come out. J. J. M. Nichols Roy's political and socio-economic writings, B. M. Pugh's books on agriculture, S. Blah's pamphlets on the flora of the hills, and Hamlet Bareh's book on the Freedom movement in the Jaintia Hills are important additions to modern Khasi literature. The Khasis, as an intelligent and advanced people, have got a number of highly cultivated edu-

cationists and men in public life, and there is a great possibility of further development of Khasi literature.

DRAVIDIAN ĀDIVĀSĪ LANGUAGES

The *ādivāsī* or primitive languages of India belong mainly to the Sino-Tibetan and Austric families. But there are several uncultivated Dravidian dialects spoken by various groups of backward tribes in central and eastern India. They are, to mention a few, Gondi scattered in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and Mahārāṣṭra; Oraon or Kurukh in Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal; Mal-Pahariya in the Rajmahal Hills between Bihar and West Bengal; and Khond (or Kondh or Kandh) and Parji in Orissa.

At one time, the Gonds had a little kingdom of their own, with its centre in Chanda in Madhya Pradesh. They had Gond kings, and a sort of Gond art (sculpture in stone) of their own which was quite distinctive. But they are now scattered and broken up, and live among various Aryan-speaking people as well as among Telugus who have penetrated into, and settled within, the Gond territory. They do not cultivate their language (i.e. Gondi) to any appreciable extent. It looks as if they would merge with their Aryan or Telugu neighbours surrounding them. The Gondi language is now broken up into a number of dialects which are sometimes mutually unintelligible. The Oraon or Kurukh people mainly live in Chota Nagpur in the Santal Parganas. Their economic, social, and cultural life is just like that of their close Austric neighbours, the Santals and the Mundas. Thousands of them have settled in Assam as well as in Orissa and West Bengal, and are slowly merging with the local Assamese, Oriyas, and Bengalis. Their language, Oraon, is quite distinctive. It is an independent Dravidian language, and there is just a little oral literature in it. A good collection of Oraon poems and songs made by W. G. Archer has been published in the Nāgarī script by the Government of Bihar from Patna. *The Blue Grove*, a fine book giving an English version of a series of beautiful traditional poems in Oraon, with notes and commentaries, was published by W. G. Archer from London in 1940. The Malers or Mal-Pahariyas are a small tribe of Dravidians. Their language very much resembles Oraon. But they are a small insignificant group, and do not have any literature worth mentioning—barring, naturally, a few songs and folk-tales. The Khond people in Orissa, who are also known as Kui or Kuvi, are fast becoming assimilated with the Oriyas. Parji current among the Parjis in Orissa has its own place in the Dravidian family. But there is not much literature in it excepting, as usual, some folk-tales. There is neither any literary cultivation of this language. The same may be said of a few other tribes speaking Dravidian in Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, Mahārāṣṭra, and Madhya Pradesh.

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FOLK-LITERATURE OF INDIA

BY folk-literature is meant the traditional literature of the unlettered mass living in one integrated social group. It is orally transmitted and can be claimed to be 'of the people, by the people, for the people'. It is, therefore, popular literature in the real sense of the term. Before writing was invented, it was the only form of literature that existed in society. It grows and develops with the formation and development of society, and as such it is integrated into it, as it were. It declines when any particular social function with which it is linked ceases to operate.

The existence of folk-literature as such was recognized for the first time in India more than two thousand years ago in the oldest available Tamil grammar entitled *Tolkāppiyam* composed by Tolkāppiyar. The author defined and classified some of the elements of folk-literature more or less elaborately, giving examples from oral sources, and it seems that its tradition had already been well established. Literacy has not spread in India among the masses even today as widely as it should have. Therefore, folk-literature is the only vehicle of thought for the vast majority of Indian people even to this day. Life throughout rural India is more or less uniform. It still depends mainly on agricultural work which has also a uniform character. Therefore, the way of life throughout the Sub-continent is more or less identical and the social functions performed are also not very different in various regions in spite of the fact that there are different languages and apparently different cultures. When we analyse the elements of folk-literature, we find that they are basically the same throughout India. Because the creative faculty of each individual living at the folk level is fundamentally the same, and as the way of life is almost identical everywhere, the themes on which folk-literature is based are also mostly not very different from one another. Therefore, in every language spoken in India we come across oral literature of about the same character. They are in the form of doggerel verses, folk-songs, folk-tales, riddles, proverbs, myths, legends, ballads, folk-dramas, etc. Even tribal societies have their own literature but they are seldom developed as folk-literature. They have a somewhat different character. In almost every country, folk-literature has been the basis of higher literature. But in India, the natural way of development from folk-literature to modern literature was interrupted since the beginning of the nineteenth century owing to the introduction of English education and the adoption of Western ideas and thoughts. During the

period of the Renaissance in Europe, the folk-literature of almost all the countries, except Russia and a few smaller States, met about the same fate owing to the revival of Classical Roman and Greek ideas in art and literature.

NURSERY RHYMES AND DOGGEREL

Cradle songs, game songs, nursery rhymes, and other doggerel verses are common all over India. Cradle songs induce babies to sleep. They are sung or recited in a musical tune by mothers or nurses while putting children to sleep. Such songs serve a practical purpose and are composed orally by the elderly women of the family. Sometimes they have a touch of poetic excellence. A cradle song of Gujarat is as follows:

The swing is so dear to my son,
I give it toys to play with,
Sleep, my baby sleep !
My little son is so wise,
It bathes sitting in a tub.
Sleep, my baby sleep.[1]

An illustration from Madhya Pradesh can also be cited here:

Who would beat you baby ?
Swing swing in your cradle.
I am going for water
I'll give you scented oil.
Swing swing in your cradle.
What widow's eye has caught you
That you cry so much ?
Swing swing in your cradle.[2]

In this group also come the game songs of children. Little boys and girls recite game songs in the excitement of games. That is why they are more rythmic than lyrical. They are integrated into the games themselves, and as a matter of fact, they are inseparable parts of games. Songs vary according to the character of the games, indoor and outdoor. There are mixed games of little boys and girls which have characters of their own. When the boys grow older they form separate groups, and the characters of their games also change. The games of small girls are naturally indoor and less vigorous, but those of boys are otherwise. In game songs, the emphasis is laid only on rhythm and not on any formulated thought or idea. They are nonsense verses in the real sense of the term. A game song from Upper

[1]Madhubhai Patel, 'Folk-songs of South Gujarat', *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society*, Vol. V, No. 3 (Baroda, 1974), p. 20.

[2]Verrier Elwin and Hivale Shamrao, *Folk-songs of the Maikal Hills* (Oxford University Press, London, 1944), p. 227.

Assam is cited below. The game concerned is known as question-and-answer game. It is indoor in character and played by children of both sexes together during their early years:

O crane, who has taken away your hand ?
The mango, when I tried to pick it.
Where is that mango ?—It fell into the wood.
What became of the wood ?—The fire consumed it.
Where are the ashes ?—The washerman carried them away.[3]

Similar game songs are also current in Bengal, Orissa, and Andhra Pradesh. With the introduction of Western games, the traditional ones are being forgotten and the songs based on them are also becoming obsolete. In most of the tribal societies of India there are no organized children's games and hence game songs are seldom met with there. There are certain game songs, specially those of little girls, which are not just nonsense verses; they sometimes express the deepest feeling of domestic and personal life. In the following game song from the Punjab, a little girl is thinking of her future marriage and of its natural consequences:

O pipal of my birthplace,
Your shade is cool;
Water in your pond is dirty,
The leaf-powder from its surface I set aside,
Lacchi and Banto went to husbands,
Whom shall I tell my story ?
Without fire my bones are roasted,
On my spinning wheel I cannot make yarn,
I wish I could go back to father-in-law's
And confine myself within the house.[4]

Yet another type of doggerel verse can be commonly heard in the ceremonial worship performed by elderly women. The verses are not inspired by any intense spiritual feeling, being merely ritual songs and sometimes also magical in character. They are recited by the womenfolk only. In a ceremonial worship by the women of Bengal, the following prayer is offered to the popular goddess known as Senjuti:

Give me a palanquin to come and go,
Give me a golden mirror to see my face,
Let the palanquin of my father's house,
Come to my father-in-law's house,

[3]Prafulladatta Goswami, *Folk-literature of Assam* (Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, Gauhati, 1954), pp. 42-43.

[4]Devendra Satyarthi, 'My Village Still Sings', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII (Ranchi, 1943), p. 45.

On the way let the palanquin
Drink honey and clarified butter.[5]

There is a class of doggerel verses which can be characterized as magical. They have little or no literary merit and are sometimes no more than mere jugglery of obsolete words. They are recited by the exorcists to cure cases of snake-bite, to induce rainfall during a drought, to protect the ripe paddy in the fields from hailstorm, and for various other practical purposes. The following magical verse meant for the treatment of a case of snake-bite collected from the Santal Parganas in Bihar is an example:

Hunkā says *gaḍgaḍā*, *kalke* says ashes,
The preceptor looks at the water of *hunkā*
And says, thou art now free of poison.
O the poison of Netāi, the washerwoman,
O the poison of Kālakūṭa,
Go off by the way of the wound,
At the grace of Mother Manasā.[6]

They are nonsense verses in the real sense of the term. By such nonsense utterances the mystic character of the incantations is believed to be retained intact.

FOLK-SONGS

Folk-literature in India has been very much enriched by folk-songs. In every State of India, folk-songs exist in their widest variety. They cover the entire life of an individual, from the cradle to the grave, so to say. Within this wide canvas, nativity songs and funeral songs are the two milestones. Leopold Stokowski writes: 'The most typical of all this music should be recorded, as should the folk-music all over the world. Such records will be a permanent monument of the individual culture of many lands.'[7] But no appreciable work has been done so far in this field as far as India is concerned. In one sense, the folk-songs of India have a basic unity inasmuch as most of their themes are drawn from the two great Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, especially the *Rāmāyaṇa* which has been exercising very great influence on the minds of the Indian people at large over the centuries. It has a universal character because it has adopted the theme of the discipline of domestic or family life as its basis. Therefore, every child born in an Indian family is considered as Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and every brother has his ideal in Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata, and so on.

[5] Asutosh Bhattacharyya, *Bāṁlār Loka-sāhitya*, Vol. I (Calcutta Book House, Calcutta, 1962), pp. 139-40.

[6] P. O. Bodding, 'The Santal and Disease', *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X, No. 1 (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 113-22.

[7] *Music for All of Us* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1943), p. 291.

The birth of a child in a family is celebrated, as if it were the birth of Rāma himself, by means of songs sung by the elderly women of the family. A song sung on this occasion by the womenfolk in rural Bengal is given below:

Ten days and ten months having been completed,
A child with all auspicious signs is born.
The navel-string has been cut by the nurse,
Auspicious sounds are made at Kauśalyā's palace,
Messenger carries the news to Daśaratha,
The king sees the face of his son with gems and pearls.[8]

According to the custom of the Oraon tribe in South Bihar, on the ninth day after the birth of a child, male or female, the mother takes the purificatory bath in a river or an embankment. The child is left behind at home. The accompanying women of the family sing the following song:

Guñja flower is red,
Red is the skirt of the cloth,
O mother, whose baby is crying,
Crying alone on the river bank ?
Take it, take in your arms.[9]

The next social function after birth is the sacred thread ceremony of the boys in a Brahmin family. Songs befitting the occasion are sung almost all over India by women on that occasion. Marriage is the most important social function and its rituals are as complicated as they are numerous. Each ritual is generally associated with a specific group of songs. The idea of marriage is associated with pleasure and happiness and whenever the mind betrays such a feeling, it gives expression to it by the usual marriage songs. The marriage songs are obviously non-ritualistic and secular in character. A Korku marriage song collected from Hoshangabad (in Mahārāṣṭra) is as follows:

A palanquin of gold they have kept ready for you,
O bridegroom, be seated,
They have brought a fine turban for you,
O boy, put it on.
Beads of gold they have brought for you,
O darling, adorn yourself,
Printed cloth, gold and red, is also here,
O bridegroom, be quickly dressed.[10]

The best specimens of marriage songs are the bridal farewell songs. They are sung mostly by the elderly women of the brides' families or even by the

[8]Asutosh Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[9]Asutosh Bhattacharyya, 'Songs in Oraon Culture', *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLVI (Bangalore, 1946), p. 5.

[10]Durga Bhagat, 'Korku Marriage Song', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 27.

brides themselves. The pain of separation underlines these songs with the deepest sentiment of real life. The following is a specimen from the region of western Bihar:

Father's tears bring tide in Gaṅgā,
Mother's tears reveal all the darkness,
Brother's tears make his dress wet down to his feet,
Only the brother's wife has no tear in her eyes.[11]

A specimen of farewell songs sung by the brides themselves is given below. This is from Orissa:

O God, Thou art throwing off this unfortunate girl,
It is for me as hard as walking on the edge of a knife,
Without Thy kindness.
Having given me in marriage, O Father,
With a demon of Laṅkā,
Thou shalt be free from all anxieties.
It is as if a bull having served Śiva
Gets bunches of grass only to devour.
My case is also the same,
It is in vain that I have served my God.[12]

Funeral and mourning songs mark the end of the wide span of the ritual songs. They are naturally sung on a different note. Painful memory with a touch of cynical feeling constitutes the theme of these songs. Funeral songs are sung generally by men while the body is carried to the funeral place for cremation and the mourning songs are sung by women at the time of, or after, the death. They are in a sense lamentations. From the following mourning song collected from Chingleput District in Tamil Nadu, it will be obvious that the mother mourns the loss of her son:

O the apple of my eye, my darling, my blissful paradise,
Apple of my eye, where have you hidden yourself ?
My golden bead, my eyes,
My flower, where have you hidden yourself ?
Gem-like apple of my eye, my blissful paradise,
I don't know how have you gone away?
Even as a capering deer leaps
You have jumped into the well,
Even as a capering deer
Have you jumped into the lake?[13]

Songs which are sung during the various festivals throughout the year

[11]Krisnadev Upadhyaya, *Bhojpurī Aur Uskā Sāhitya* (Rajkamal Prakasan, Delhi, 1957), p. 59.
[12]Asutosh Bhattacharyya, *Bāṁlār Loka-sāhitya*, Vol. I, p. 692.
[13]E. Thurston, 'Songs of Mourning from Chingleput District', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 38.

in different parts of India are popular and of a wide variety. There are, for example, the Bihu festival of Assam, the Gājan festival of Bengal, the Karma festival of Chota Nagpur in Bihar, and so on. These songs are sung according to the scheduled time of the calendar. Almost all festival songs are accompanied by dance, and in some places it is mixed dance also. Therefore, they are more rhythmic than lyrical. An example of a Bihu song of Assam is given below:

This yellow bird, lovely are its wings,
Once it flies up it cannot be caught,
This youth, if it goes away,
No more is to be got back.[14]

Bāramāsīs are very well known and widespread folk-songs in India. They are commonly known as seasonal songs, because they express the sentiment of love against the background of the changing features of the twelve months of the year. The following is part of a *Bāramāsī* song collected from the Simla Hills in Himachal Pradesh:

The month of Jeṭh has come,
The sun burns me,
Now play your flute to me, my love.[15]

Though the sentiment of love is expressed through various types of songs, a set of folk-songs can also be classified as love songs. In the more Hinduized societies from Gujarat to Assam, the hero and heroine of folk-songs are invariably Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, but in the less Hinduized and aboriginal societies, they are human beings having only genuine earthly feelings. It is also a fact that though the names of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā have been borrowed from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, their characters have been humanized to the greatest extent by the illiterate rural composers of folk-songs. Therefore, it has been possible to adopt them as characters of folk-songs. A love song of the Ao Nagas from the hills of Assam is as follows:

Countless suitors come to the house where I sleep,
But in this lover only, handsome as a flower,
Do mine eyes behold the ideal of my heart.
Many came to the house where I sleep
But the joy of my eyes was not among them.
My lover is like the finest bead
On the necks of all the men of all the world.
When my lover comes not where I sleep
Ugly and hateful to my eyes is my chamber.[16]

[14] Prafulladatta Goswami, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[15] Devendra Satyarthi, 'Five Songs from Simla Hills', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 35.
[16] J. P. Mills, 'An Ao Naga Song', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 4.

There is a class of songs integrated with manual work known as work songs. They are generally group songs and sung by a group of workers while performing the same work together such as husking paddy, grinding pulses, reaping the harvest, rowing boats, and so on. The following Marathi grinding songs were collected from the State of Bombay:[17]

1. Rise, my companions, for the dawn grinding,
   The star of Venus stands above our heads.
2. In the dawn one should fold one's hands in the courtyard,
   As one looks down, the sun rolls into the sky.
3. The rain falls, sister, the clouds thunder and thunder,
   The farmer like a king rejoicing begins to sow his land.

FOLK-TALES

Folk-tales have been the most important element of Indian folk-literature. They have been collected and studied since the middle of the nineteenth century specially due to the efforts of the British civilians interested in this subject and the Christian missionaries of various nationalities of Europe and America. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Maurice Bloomfield, W. N. Brown, Ruth Norton, M. B. Emeneau, and others examined and analysed their themes and also studied the aspect of their diffusion. But it is not long since the interest of Indian scholars was drawn to this most fascinating subject. Although there has been some random collection here and there, it is only recently that a scientific and systematic study has been undertaken by Indian scholars.

India has established a great tradition as far as folk-tales are concerned. Some Western scholars are of the opinion that the folk-tales of the world have been borrowed from India through different channels, because India has a very ancient record of folk-tales. Notable works like Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, stories of the birth of Buddha in the *Jātaka*, *Dhammakahā* of the Jains, Somadeva's *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-carita*, Viṣṇu Śarman's *Pañcatantra*, and Nārāyana's *Hitopadeśa* have their root in traditional Indian folk-tales. Indian folk-tales have also travelled to such South-East Asian countries as Malaya, Cambodia, Thailand, and Indonesia through Buddhism and Hinduism. Even China and Japan, which adopted Buddhism, were not free from Indian influence so far as folk-tales are concerned. The reason behind this wide distribution of Indian folk-tales is perhaps that unlike any other form of oral literature, these have some universal elements in their motifs and are objective in nature.

The first publication of Indian folk-tales was made by Sir Richard C. Temple in 1866. Rev. S. Hislop, who had worked among the aboriginals of the Central Provinces, collected considerable information relating to the folklore

[17] Mary Fuller, 'Sixteen Marathi Grinding Songs', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, p 19.

of the tribal people of the area. Sir Richard C. Temple edited and published this material, which contained some folk-tales along with their originals. This was the first attempt at the publication of Indian folk-tales. Unfortunately, the first attempt failed to attract workers into this field because it was marked by technical discussion and deep scholarship to which the Indian reader had not yet become accustomed. Two years later, a fascinating collection of Indian folk-tales was published by Mary Frere in her *Old Deccan Days* or *Hindoo Fairy Legends Current in Southern India* (London, 1868) which caught the imagination of Indian scholars. It was translated into several European languages within a short time. In 1872 *The Indian Antiquary* started publishing a series of folk-tales collected from Bengal by G. H. Damant and it was continued till his death in 1879.[18] Since the first appearance of Damant's collection, folk-tales drawn from all parts of India were published in *The Indian Antiquary* for a considerable period. In 1883 *Folk-tales of Bengal* was published by Rev. Lal Behari Dey from London. In the following year R. C. Temple published the first of his three volumes of *The Legends of the Punjab* in Bombay. In 1884 *Wide-awake Stories* was published jointly by R. C. Temple and Flora A. Steel in Bombay. In the same year, a valuable collection of folk-tales was published in *The Indian Antiquary* by Natesa Sastri. In 1890 William Crooke started the publication of his periodical *North Indian Notes and Queries* in which a number of folk-tales were published from his own and others' collections. In the course of a few years, the Christian missionaries also started the collection and publication of folk-tales from different parts of India. Among those who made outstanding contribution in this field were Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. J. H. Knowles, who worked in the Sãntal Parganas (Bihar) and Kashmir respectively. The work was continued during the twentieth century. The first decade of the century was highly productive in this direction and saw the publication of the following titles: R. S. Mukherjee's *Indian Folklore* (Calcutta, 1904), Mrs Dracott's *Simla Village Tales* (London, 1906), Rev. C. Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* (London, 1908), and C. H. Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909). Each publication was remarkable in more than one respect. More collections followed including W. M. Cullock's *Bengali Household Tales* (London and New York, 1912), Sobhana Devi's *The Orient Pearls* (London, 1913), and P. O. Bodding's *Santal Folk-tales* (Oslo, 1929). Verrier Elwin, a missionary and later on Deputy Director of Anthropological Survey of India, made a great contribution to the study of Indian folk-tales by his collection and analysis in *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal* (London, 1944).

The Swadeshi movement started in Bengal during the first decade of the present century gave an impetus to the revival of the traditional culture of the country. Due emphasis, therefore, was laid on the collection and study

[18] *Vide Indian Antiquary* (Vols. I-IX).

of oral literature, and a number of volumes were published on folk-tales. Rabindranath Tagore, who himself made a collection of doggerel verses, also inspired young scholars in the collection of folk-tales. This, no doubt, yielded good results. Since Independence, the study of folk-literature in general has gathered momentum. Many universities have adopted this subject for special study in post-graduate courses and almost all the States of India have already published collections of folk-tales in their respective languages. Not being satisfied with mere collection, Indian scholars have devoted themselves to the analysis of the material they have collected so far in the modern Western manner.

RIDDLES

Riddles are believed to be the earliest and most popular type of formulated thought. Accordingly, they are also considered to be an important element of folk-literature. The answer to the riddle is always disguised in allegorical language. Successful unfolding of the allegory leads to the discovery of its meaning. It is not only an amusement for youngsters, but has also a ritualistic function in the social life of many countries. Sometimes riddles are explained by the exercise of common sense. But only traditional answers to them are accepted and there is rarely more than one answer to a riddle. A riddle from Madhya Pradesh asks:

Touch the plate and the spring gushes out, what is it?[19] The answer is 'the eye'. The reply to the riddle is concealed here under two allegorical words, 'plate' and 'spring', which mean the 'eye' and 'tears' respectively. An example can be taken from Orissa also:

What is the creature that is born first
But grows its legs later?[20]

The answer is 'the frog'. The reply is given here not by unfolding any allegorical term, but only by the exercise of common sense based on observation of natural life. A riddle collected from Rajasthan reads:

From here to there
But not in this country
I shall eat a fruit
Without a skin.[21]

The answer is 'hailstone'. A riddle from Bihar says:

Legs up, head down.[22]

[19] Verrier Elwin and W. G. Archer, 'An Indian Riddle Book', *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 273.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 303

The reply is 'the bat'. There is also no allegory in it, but the reply is given from observation of natural life.

There are riddles associated with rituals, particularly marriage rituals. These riddles are put by the members of the bride's party to the members of the bridegroom's party when the latter enters the boundary of the former's village. They are also sometimes put directly to the bridegroom when he enters the bride's house for the purpose of marriage. The custom is still prevalent in many Indian aboriginal and Hindu societies of the eastern region of India. Here is an example from West Bengal:

Where have you come from?
O gentlemen, where is your home?
To which clump the bamboo belongs?
To which clump the arrow?
How do you cook and how do you eat?
How do you sleep and how do you go about?[23]

The traditional reply is as follows:

We come from the East,
Hariḍi is the village we live in.
The bamboo belongs to the clump of Rāma,
The arrow belongs to the clump of Lakṣmaṇa.
We cook and serve as the wives do
And eat like a man.
We sleep like a jackal
And we go about like a lion.[24]

PROVERBS

An important aspect of Indian folk-literature can be found in its proverbs. They are the shortest expressions of long experience of practical life, and as the practical experience of a worldly man is the same almost everywhere, the proverbs have a uniform character both in form and ideas. Clothed in poetic language (sometimes in short prose sentences also), these are in most cases satirical and replete with puns. Although they embody experiences of day-to-day practical life, they are not without literary flavour.

The credit for the collection of proverbs in Indian languages goes to the Christian missionaries. In order to learn the languages of the soil, they made attempts to collect the proverbs of different regions and had been editing and publishing them in the forms of dictionaries from the beginning of the last century even before any other element of Indian folk-literature came out in print. As early as 1824 T. Rosebuck published in Calcutta

[23]Asutosh Bhattacharyya, *Bāṁlār Loka-sāhitya*, Vol. V (1971), p. 497.
[24]*Ibid.*, p. 498.

A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases in the Persian and Hindusthani Languages. In 1832 *Dṛṣṭānta-vākya-saṅgraha*, a collection of proverbs, Bengali and Sanskrit, with their translation and application in English, was published in Calcutta by Rev. W. Morton, senior missionary of the Incorporated Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It contained 803 Bengali and seventy-two Sanskrit proverbs. This is the first recorded compilation and publication of proverbs in an Indian language. The Christian missionaries continued to present similar collections from different parts of India and, as a result, a number of collections appeared in the course of half a century. The first collection of Tamil proverbs was made earlier than 1874, because the second edition of *Tamil Proverbs* by P. Percival was published in Madras in 1874. A collection of Punjabi proverbs was made for the first time by R. C. Temple in his article 'Some Punjabi and other Proverbs' published in *Folklore*, Vol. II (London, 1883). Telugu proverbs were compiled by M. W. Carr in his collection *Telugu and Sanskrit Proverbs* printed in London in 1868. A collection of proverbs from Kashmir was brought out for the first time in 1885 in Bombay by J. H. Knowles in his *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*. The first collection of Sindhi proverbs was made by an Indian, Rochiram Gajumal, in his *A Handbook of Sindhi Proverbs* published in Karachi in 1895. The book was issued in two parts; one contained about 500 Sindhi proverbs with their English equivalents, while the other contained about 250 Sindhi proverbs which had no English equivalents as such, but their translations were made by the compiler himself. A collection of Marathi proverbs was made by A. Manwaring in his *Marathi Proverbs* published in Oxford in 1899. It is, however, not known whether this was the first collection of Marathi proverbs.

It was only in the twentieth century that the attention of Indian scholars was drawn to the collection and preservation of proverbs in the regional languages, and due to their efforts the number of proverbs on record has increased in every State. About 13,000 proverbs have been collected in Bengali so far. The actual number of Hindi proverbs published may be much greater. The use of proverbs and idioms enriches the style of writing, but today it has become rare in most of the regional languages. Proverbs are now preserved only in the memory of illiterate womenfolk in general or in the pages of dictionaries.

LEGENDS

Legends are narrative songs based on the exploits or sacrifices of some heroic or noble characters of history or tradition. These may be classified as heroic and romantic according to the character and achievements of the hero or heroine. The heroic legends of the Punjab, Rajasthan, and Mahārāṣṭra are widely known. Through English translation the romantic ballads of Bengal and Assam have reached the foreign scholars in this field. The Bengali legend

of Prince Gopīcandra, who was asked by his mother Maynāmatī to give up worldly life and embrace asceticism for twelve years at the prime of his life, has spread far and wide in the country and even penetrated into Nepal and Tibet. The legend of Jayamatī is very popular in the whole of Assam. Jayamatī, a princess, was inhumanly tortured to death by an oppressive king because she would not reveal the whereabouts of her husband, a prince who had been a fugitive to save himself from the wrath of that tyrant on the throne. She is a historical character. Her husband Gadādhara Siṁha became king in A.D. 1681. Her son Rudra Siṁha, who succeeded his father in A.D. 1696, built a temple and excavated a big tank in her memory. The sufferings undergone, and the ultimate sacrifice made by the lady held as ransom, form the subject-matter of this legend. She is adored as a martyr to wifely devotion and her legend still inspires the poets and playwrights of Assam. The anniversary of her death is observed every year in the whole of Assam. Another legend which is very popular throughout the State is that of Maniram Dewan, the 1857 martyr. The Punjabi legend of Rasālu Kuār has been done into English by several translators from different oral sources. It was translated into English for the first time by General Abbot as early as 1854. Rasālu, according to the legend, was the son of King Śālivāhana of Sialkot, and scholars think that the story gives a hint of the true history of the Indo-Scythian hero who must have flourished between the first Arab invasions of Sind and Kabul and the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty.[25] Both valour and sacrifice for a noble cause are the basic ideas of the legend which is as follows:

Rasālu meets a princess by the side of a well. She has some attendants with her. Rasālu kills the attendants to talk freely with the princess, but falls into danger. He is about to be surrounded by people intending to kill him. He says to the princess:

Here is your mother's house,
But for me it is a foreign land.
For you I will lose my life
And who will send the news back to my home?

The princess replies:

I will make a pyre of sandal wood
By my brother Biram, I swear.
If you lose your life for my sake
I will leap into the flames.[26]

Sentiments of love and sacrifice are predominant in the legends of the

[25] R. C. Temple, *The Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. I (Trübner & Co., Bombay and London, 1884), p. 1.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

eastern region and the ideals of heroism and adventure are in those of the western.

BALLADS

Closely akin to legends, ballads are also narrative songs. They are shorter in form but more dramatic in character. In ballads the conflicts and problems of life of men and women are more pointed, crucial, direct and acute, and are insurmountable. Themes of ballads both in Western countries and in India end in tragedy. These are invariably based on real life and direct experience. There is no promise of life after death for the characters of the ballads. Losses and gains are limited to the visible world of reality alone. Folk-ballads must have one eventful story running from the very beginning to the end without pause, diversion, or any other episode in it. One theme only will carry the reader from the beginning to the end. The dramatic suspense is also maintained throughout.

Folk-ballads have been collected from every part of India. There are regional differences in their character and motifs, and most of them do not satisfy each and every point of the definition of ballad in the real sense of the term. The ballads of Assam have been divided into four groups according to their subject-matter—historical, magical, realistic, and satirical.[27] The historical ballad *Barphukanar Gita* is the most important from both literary and historical points of view. It describes events which occurred during the early nineteenth century in the course of Badancandra Barphukan's invitation to the Burmese invaders to occupy the territory of Assam. Badancandra was an Ahom viceroy of Lower Assam in Gauhati. Other historical ballads of Assam are: *Bakhararbarar Gīta*, *Padum Kuvārīr Gīta*, *Maṇirāma Devānar Gīta*, *Jayamatī Kuvārīr Gīta*, and *Ajan Fakirar Gīta*. Though each of them refers to one or two historical characters, the events and incidents described in them are not, strictly speaking, historical, because a lot of unhistorical and romantic elements have entered into them. In the ballads of magic, the emphasis is laid more on the magical than on the realistic activities of life. Three ballads of this type have so far been collected from oral tradition and published. They are *Maṇikuvārar Gīta*, *Phulkuvārar Gīta*, and *Janāgābharur Gīta*. The last is the Assamese version of the Bengali ballad *Gopīcandrer Gīta*. The realistic ballads deal with the affairs of day-to-day life. Sometimes they express deep sentiments of love and affection. *Dubalār Śāntir Gīta*, *Sāudar Gīta*, *Kanyā Bāramāhī*, and *Pagalā Pārvatīr Gīta* are a few ballads of the realistic group. These ballads are generally available in Lower Assam and Kamrup District. The satirical ballads of Assam are compositions of a class of village buffoons known as Bhāurā or Bahnā. Strictly speaking, they cannot be called ballads in view of the fact that they have no

[27]Prafulladatta Goswami, *Ballads and Tales of Assam* (Gauhati University, 1960), pp. 17-56.

story in them. Bengal is particularly rich in ballads. A number of ballads have been published in English translation by the University of Calcutta. Western scholars were greatly impressed by them and bestowed on them their highest praise. These were mostly collected from the district of Mymensingh (now in Bangladesh) and they were published under the editorship of Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen with the title *Maimansiṁha-gītikā* by Calcutta University in 1923. Another volume was also brought out by the same editor under the title *Pūrva-vaṅga-gītikā* (Calcutta University, 1932); this contains a collection from the districts of Sylhet, Noakhali, and Chittagong, all now in Bangladesh. Selected ballads were also rendered into English by Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen and published under the title *Eastern Bengal Ballads* (Calcutta, 1926). Some of these are the finest specimens of Indian folk-ballads. They express the deepest sentiments of love and sacrifice based on the realities of human lives. Love is the motif of almost all the ballads collected from this area, and they have, therefore, a universal appeal. They have been justly classified as 'love ballads' by a European scholar.[28] Though the basic sentiment of folk-ballads all over the world is love, it must be admitted that this sentiment predominates in the ballads from Mymensingh. They are also intensely lyrical in character. Of a ballad entitled *Mahuyā* it has been remarked by a foreign scholar that 'lyrical points form the most characteristic feature of the ballad and, I do not hesitate to say, its most valuable artistic achievement. We could call it *the art of poetic* abbreviation',[29] The ballad describes the story of love and sacrifice of a gypsy girl and a boy of a high family. In the ballads from the Punjab, Rajasthan, and Kashmir, heroic sentiments predominate, but sentiments of love and sacrifice are not altogether lacking in them. Ballads of Andhra Pradesh are generally full of pathos. The episodes of Kāmamma and Sanyāsamma, who sacrificed their lives on the funeral pyre of their husbands, have been dealt with in these ballads. There are also ballads of Vīra Rājamma, Lakṣmamma, and Pal Thāṅgā, who had to undergo physical tortures by their mothers-in-law and to sacrifice their innocent lives just because of suspicion about their character by their husbands. The ballad of Bāla Nāgamma, who was tortured by her step-mother, is very famous and is full of pathos.

MYTH

Myth, which is also considered by Western folklorists as one of the aspects of folk-literature, has been defined by some as 'a story, presented as having actually occurred in a previous age, explaining the cosmological and supernatural traditions of a people, their gods, heroes, cultural traits, religious

[28]Dusan Zbavitel, *Bengali Folk-ballads from Mymensingh and the Problem of Their Authenticity* (Calcutta University, 1963), p. 9.

[29]*Ibid.*, p. 38.

beliefs, etc. The purpose of myth is to explain ... matters in the "science of a pre-scientific age".'[30] Man's eternal quest to know the basic truth of the natural phenomena led him to invent myths. This is universal in its core and India, being an ancient country with a long and continued traditional heritage and culture, has also inherited a rich storehouse of myths written and unwritten. There are, for instance, creation myths in which the origin of the world and mankind is described. An example from Madhya Pradesh is:

'When the world would not remain steady, Mother Earth caused birds to be born. The first birds had four legs. But after they were born Mother Earth took two legs from each and set them below the earth like the pillars of a house. Resting on the legs of crores of birds the world became steady.'[31]

There are also myths about the origin of the sun, the moon, and the stars, which tell how these objects originated and were ultimately set into the sky permanently. There are animal and bird myths also in which the origin of various species of animals and birds has been described.

FOLK-DRAMA

Folk-drama is another element in folk-literature which can be found in some form or other in the various States of India. In Bengal this form of folk-literature attained a high level of maturity. The older type of folk-drama in Bengal is known as *Kṛṣṇa-yātrā* and the more modern type as only *yātrā*. In most cases *yātrā* plays used to be performed on the occasion of religious festivals as the themes themselves had always a religious appeal. Folk-drama in every part of the country used to adopt themes from the popular Indian epics and the Purāṇas. With the passing of time, folk-drama is gradually becoming more and more secular in character and spirit, and traditional subjects and techniques are being replaced by current social and political themes and modern stagecraft. In Madhya Pradesh folk-drama is known as *mach*, in Gujarat as *bhāoyāni*, in Assam as *aṅkīyā*, in Karṇāṭaka as *bayalaṭā*, in Tamil Nadu as *terukkūttu*, in Andhra as *kuravañji*, and in Mahārāṣṭra as *tamāśā*. In spite of linguistic differences, the folk-dramas of India have something in common which is found in their spirit.

Though modern civilization based on science and industry is posing a great threat to these unsophisticated forms of rural culture, the spirit of the simple rustic people still persists. The drive against illiteracy after Independence may have disturbed the continuity of the 'oral' tradition of this culture, but folk-literature remains an integral part of India's social life to this day.

[30]Maria Leach (Ed.), *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, Vol. II (Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York, 1950), p. 778.

[31]Verrier Elwin, *Myths of Middle India* (Oxford University Press, London, 1949), p. 34.

PART V

INDIAN LITERATURE ABROAD

44

NEPAL

INTRODUCTION

NEPAL, an independent Hindu kingdom in the Himalayas, is regarded as the meeting place of the three of Asia's great civilizations, Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese. But culturally, traditionally as well as historically, Nepal is closest to India, its immediate southern neighbour. The valley of Nepal, as D. R. Regmi observes, 'was never regarded as outside India's sphere of influence'.[1] It has, however, developed an independent culture of its own from a period earlier than that of Buddha. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, two major divisions of Hinduism, and Buddhism have been prevalent in Nepal from the remote past. Śāktism found in Nepal is only Śaiva in character. They all have played very significant roles in the religious as well as the cultural history of the land without having even been factors of dissension and disunity. The earliest Indian reference to Nepal is found in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, where he speaks of two kinds of Nepalese blankets, Bhiṅgisi and Apasāraka, being sold in Pāṭaliputra.[2] Buddhism was carried to Nepal by the missionaries of Aśoka who himself visited this land accompanied by one of his daughters, Cārumati. The latter is traditionally believed to have settled down in Nepal. All the historical dynasties of Nepal—the Licchavīs, the Ṭhākuris, the Karṇāṭakas, the Mallas, and the Shahs—were Hindus and emigrants from India. Nepal is the only kingdom in the world which has 'an unbroken tradition of Hindu kings following Hindu religion'.[3] The valley was within the limits of the Maurya empire under Aśoka in the third century B.C.[4] It is learnt from the Allahabad *praśasti* (verse 22) of Samudragupta that Nepal was 'an autonomous frontier state, paying tribute and yielding obedience to the paramount Gupta power'.[5] According to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Chapter III), King Harṣa 'exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains', which may be identified with Nepal.[6] During the Pāla period India's cultural contacts with Nepal were maintained. It is said that Dhīmān and his son Vītapāla, two celebrated Indian artists belonging to

[1] D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 40.

[2] *A.Ś.*, II. 11. 30.

[3] Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), p. 373.

[4] Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1938), p. 254 and Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford, 1962), p. 380.

[5] Vincent A. Smith, *loc. cit.*

[6] Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Harsha* (Delhi, 1959), p. 30.

the reign of Devapāla (A.D. 810-50), visited Nepal. The medieval art of Nepal is 'almost an offshoot of the Pāla style'.[7] It appears from the Tibetan annals that Buddhist *ācāryas* like Śāntaraksita, Padmasambhava, and Atīśa, who went to Tibet from India spent some time in Nepal. Mithilā, which acquired a traditional fame as a seat of learning and culture in the whole of India, has a fairly old history of close contact with Nepal. 'The relations of Nepal and Mithilā', as Dr Jayakanta Mishra writes, 'have been very intimate from remote times... It is said that for a number of years the direct route to plains from Nepal was through Mithilā alone. That is why under the stress of Musalman invaders, Maithila rulers could seek refuge in Nepal so easily...Maithilas gained decided ascendency in the Nepalese court and their mother-tongue was loved and respected in all distinguished quarters. We know of several eminent pundits from Mithilā who were invited to Nepalese courts...The result of all this intercourse was that Maithili became the most dignified of all languages in Nepal...The success of the lyrics of Vidyāpati and his contemporaries and the glorious achievements of Maithila musicians of the day gave an added interest to Maithili in Nepal'.[8]

INDIAN LITERATURE IN NEPAL AND ITS INFLUENCE

The inroads of the Muslims into India forced men of arts and letters of the famous Indian centres of learning and culture such as Takṣaśilā, Nālandā, Vārāṇasī, Mithilā, Vikramaśilā, and Odantapurī to seek shelter in other lands. Nepal provided a secure and lasting refuge to the emigrants. Many Indian scholars, *siddhas*, *ācāryas*, and *bhikṣus* went over there with their valuable manuscripts. These manuscripts were written in the Gupta, Kuṭila, Nāgarī, Maithili, and Bengali scripts then prevailing in northern and eastern India. Other people from different parts of India also entered Nepal from time to time as conquerors, priests, or traders. They spoke their own languages, but learnt at the same time the local languages. Thus, the languages of the Rajput conquerors or conquerors from Karṇāṭaka and Khasa-deśa[9] (the Khasa tribe lived and still lives in the Himalayan regions) intermingled with those of the local people leading to the evolution of the Gorkhali language which ultimately came to be known as Nepali. Some of the remoter tribes had maintained their Tibeto-Burman language which was an earlier form of the present-day Newari. But this language became saturated with Sanskrit and other Aryan elements. The people of Nepal, as we have seen, had come within the orbit of Indian civilization and thought-world, both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist, from the hoary past. They studied Sanskrit, Pali, and other Indian languages, and their great-

[7] Lokesh Chandra, *loc. cit.*

[8] *A History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I (Allahabad, 1949), pp. 255-57.

[9] For details about the Khasas, see D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Pt. I (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 710-35.

est contribution to the culture of India is that they have preserved large masses of the Mahāyāna Buddhist literature in Sanskrit. The originals of these Mahāyāna texts, namely, *Saddharmapundarīka*, *Gandavyūha*, *Daśabhūmīśvara*, *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā*, *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, etc. are lost in India. Besides the Buddhist texts, Nepal has preserved numerous ancient and medieval religious as well as secular texts in Sanskrit and other Indian languages, the originals of many of which are also not to be found in India. The Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Nepal include those of Vedic texts, the epics, Purānas, Tantras, Dharma-śāstras, Darśanas, Kāvyas, Vyākaranas, Kosas, Alaṅkāra-śāstras, Śilpa-śāstras, Nīti-śāstras, erotics, politics, and science. Thus, the valley of Nepal has served as a repository of ancient Indian cultural assets as well as a source of information regarding India's ancient heritage and tradition. Besides the manuscripts of the original texts and texts copied in Nepal by local scribes, there are translations in Newari (which was the most advanced speech of Nepal all through but underwent a period of languishment for nearly 200 years since the arrival of the Gurkhas in A.D 1768) as well as independent contributions in Sanskrit, Maithili, and Bengali by authors who were born and brought up in Nepal.

Brian Houghton Hodgson discovered and collected 423 volumes of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal in 1824 and distributed them to different research organizations, libraries, and museums between 1827 and 1845. To the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta he presented ninety-four Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts; to the College of Fort William, sixty-six; to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, seventy-nine; to the India Office Library, London, thirty; to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, seven; and to the Institute of France and the Société Asiatique de Paris, 147. Each one of these collections, with the exception of the small one presented to Oxford, suffices for an encyclopaedic treatment of Northern Buddhism. The collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal supplied the material for Dr Rajendra Lala Mitra's monumental work, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal*. Regarding the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal, Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* may be read with profit. In spite of the dispersal of so many Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal, scholars interested in ancient manuscripts of works on Northern Buddhism will find plenty of them, besides the manuscripts of many Hindu scriptures and classics, preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. Several volumes of catalogues of these manuscripts have been published by this institution. The National Library of Nepal has also published in three parts catalogues of the books preserved in the Library. Bhikshu Amritananda of Anandakuti Vidyapith, Swayambhu, has brought out in Nepali ten volumes of Buddhist history, literature, and philosophy from original Pali works found in Nepal. Several Indian scholars have studied a large number of manuscripts

found in Nepal and published their accounts. The contributions of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri deserve special mention in this connexion. Among his important works are: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1917-57), *A New Manuscript of Buddha-carita* (1909), *Notes on the Newly-found Manuscript of Catuḥśataka by Āryadeva* (1911), *Discovery of Abhisamayālaṅkāra by Maitreyanātha, Nepalese MSS.* (1910), and *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal* (1905 and 1916). He has also contributed valuable articles on the newly-found old Nepalese manuscripts (1893), the recovery of a lost epic by Aśvaghoṣa, and the manuscript in Sanskrit relating to Nepal (1909). The *caryāpadas* discovered in the Durbar Library of Nepal in 1907 are among his important finds. These are variously claimed as the earliest literary specimens of Old Bengali, Old Assamese, Old Oriya, Old Maithili as well as Old Hindi. Mm. Sastri did some original research in this direction and opined that these songs were examples of Old Bengali.[10] Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji analysed the linguistic and philological aspects of these songs composed and sung by the various *siddhācāryas* and established that they were no other than Old Bengali in their rudiments.[11] These songs are sung to the accompaniment of dance and music by the Newars under the guidance of their *vajrācāryas* (priests) in the valley of Kathmandu during specific festivals even now. The linguistic identity of the *caryāpadas* still remains a vexed question among scholars, but the various claims certainly testify to the close kinship of those languages to one another and confirms the presence of a common culture in eastern India, embracing Mithilā, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, and Nepal, of which Maithili was a main vehicle. Daniel Wright has furnished a long list of Sanskrit manuscripts procured by him in Nepal.[12] Although the list consists mostly of Buddhist texts, there are also quite a few important Brāhmaṇical Sanskrit texts such as the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the *Gītagovinda*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Śiva Purāṇa*, parts of the *Padma* and *Skanda Purāṇas*, and the *Mahābhārata*, besides the *Amarakoṣa*, *Naiṣadha-carita*, *Hitopadeśa*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, etc. This corroborates the existence of a wide range of Indian literature preserved in Nepal.

There were numerous Sanskrit inscriptions in Nepal even before the period of King Aṁśuvarman who ruled about A.D. 650. The inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman prove that he was a great devotee of Lord Śiva. In the Harigaon inscription,[13] for example, which is one of the earliest inscriptions of Aṁśu-

[10] Cf. *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* (Calcutta, 1323 B.S.), Introduction.

[11] Cf. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I (London, 1970), pp. 115-17.

[12] Cf. *History of Nepal* (Calcutta, 1958), Appendix IX.

[13] Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal, Etude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou*, III, No. 13 (Paris, 1905), pp. 85-88.

varman's reign, he calls himself *bhāgavata-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-paśupati-pādānudhyāta*. 'The dynastic, social, and religious history of Nepal between the fifth and the eighth centuries A.D. rests on the solid foundation of hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions written in beautiful Gupta-Brāhmī characters. In fact, Nepal has preserved more numerous Gupta-Brāhmī inscriptions than even India.'[14]

The Malla kings of Nepal were patrons of learning. Some of them were poets of renown and others used to compose devotional songs or hymns. Although Newari was the language of the court till A.D. 1768, the production of literature in Maithili, Bengali, and Sanskrit was encouraged and patronized by the Malla kings. Bhūpatīndramalla's (A.D. 1695-1722) *Bhāsā-gīta* preserved in the Durbar Library is a remarkable collection of Maithili songs.[15] They are on a variety of topics. There are devotional songs on Śiva, Gaurī, Hari, and Śakti. But the bulk of the songs (more than half) are on Śakti. Jagatprakāśamalla (A.D. 1655-76) and Ranajitamalla (*c.* A.D. 1722-72) composed devotional songs in Maithili. While the songs of the former are on the ten *avatāras*, on Viṣṇu, and on Sadāśiva, most of the songs of the latter are on Śakti. He also wrote hymns wholly in Sanskrit. Many plays were also written in Nepal in Maithili, Bengali, and Sanskrit either by the Malla kings themselves or under their patronage, and they are preserved in the manuscript form. Dramatists generally took their stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṁśa*, the Purāṇas, and various popular Sanskrit classics. From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the second quarter of the eighteenth, Maithili drama flourished at its height in Nepal and the Sanskrit drama acted as the model framework for some time. The tradition of the Maithili school of music also influenced the course of this literary activity to a great extent. Among the Maithili dramas written in Nepal, mention may be made of *Hara-Gaurī-vivāha* (A.D. 1629) by Jagajjyotirmalla (A.D. 1617-33), *Gīta-digambara* (A.D. 1655) by Vaṁśamaṇi Jhā in the reign of Pratāpamalla (A.D. 1641-74), *Prabhāvatī-haraṇa* (*c.* A.D. 1656) by Jagatprakāśamalla, *Bhārata-nāṭakam* by Jitāmitramalla (A.D. 1682-95), and *Andhakāsura-vadha-upākhyāna* (A.D. 1768) written under the patronage of Raṇajitamalla.[16] Vaṁśamaṇi's *Gīta-digambara* is a very famous dramatic work written 'in imitation of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. But it has a hymn to the united form of Hara and Pārvatī

[14] Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[15] This manuscript of the Durbar Library is a find of Mm. Haraprasad Sastri and Dr P. C. Bagchi. It contains, according to Dr Bagchi, eighty-one songs only. But Dr Jayakanta Mishra has found another manuscript of this work in the Library of Rajaguru Hemaraja Sharma of Nepal, which contains 173 songs.

[16] For a detailed description of the Maithili dramas in Nepal, see Jayakanta Mishra, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-86 and D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Pt. II (Calcutta, 1966), pp. 849-54.

in Hindi which has a ring of Tulasīdāsa'.[17] There are some dramas either in Bengali or in mixed Maithili-Bengali. For example, *Gopīcandra-nāṭakam* (A.D. 1690) by Jitāmitramalla is in Bengali, whereas *Kṛṣṇa-kailāsa-yātrā-upākhyāna*, *Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭakam*, and *Rāmacarita*—all written under the patronage of Raṇajitamalla—and *Gopīcandra* (*c.* A.D. 1712) under Bhūpatīndramalla are mostly in Bengali. This intense dramatic activity in Maithili and Bengali in Nepal ended in A.D. 1768 when the valley of Nepal came under the Gurkhas and Gorkhali was introduced into the court. The earliest Sanskrit drama written in Nepal is probably *Mahīrāvaṇa-vadha-nāṭaka* (A.D. 1337) by Jayata in the reign of Jayārimalla (A.D. 1320-44). Among other dramatic works in Sanskrit the following deserve mention: *Madālasā-jātismaraṇa-nāṭaka* by Rāmadāsa in the reign of Jayarāja Deva (A.D. 1347-61), *Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭaka* in four acts written by Dharmagupta in the reign of Jayasthitimalla (A.D. 1382-95), *Bhairavānanda-nāṭaka* by Maṇika, court poet of Jayasthitimalla, and *Pāṇḍava-vijaya-nāṭaka* by Jayaraṇamalla (*c.* A.D. 1516-29). The majority of the Sanskrit plays were religious in tone, as they drew their plots from either the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* or the Purāṇas. A few dramas appear to be secular, for example, *Bhairavānanda-nāṭaka*, the hero of the piece being Bhairava and the heroine Madanāvatī, a celestial damsel cursed by a sage to take a human form. The form of Nepalese Sanskrit drama generally followed the pattern of the classical Sanskrit drama. Manuscripts by Nepalese authors covering original contributions in Sanskrit in various other fields are also found in abundance in Nepal. Some important works among these are mentioned according to the subjects dealt with: Astronomy—*Siddhi-sāra* (A.D. 1412) by Jyotirmalla (A.D. 1409-29), *Graha-darpaṇa* (A.D. 1740) by Bālānanda during the reign of Raṇajitamalla, and *Ganita-mañjarī* (A.D. 1766) by Raṇajitamalla; Purāṇa—*Svayambhū Purāṇa* probably written during the reign of Yakṣamalla (A.D. 1428-82), *Paśupati Purāṇa* (*c.* A.D. 1504), and *Nepāla-māhātmya* (*c.* A.D. 1583); Tantra—*Kālikulārnava Tantra* (*c.* A.D. 1747); Kāvya—*Kṛṣṇa-carita* by Vaṁśamaṇi; Politics—*Kuśopadeśa-ṭīkā* (A.D. 1524) by Bāndhavasena; Erotics—*Nāgara-sarvasva-ṭīkā* by Jagajjyotirmalla; Āyurveda—*Yogamañjarī* (A.D. 1726) by Vardhamāna; Music, Dance, and Histrionics—*Saṅgīta-candra* by Jagajjyotirmalla, and *Hastamuktāvalī-ṭīkā* (A.D. 1765) by Ghanaśyāma.

Many Sanskrit texts were translated into Newari. Of them the following deserve mention: the *Nārada Smṛti*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, the *Amarakoṣa*, the *Madana-vinoda*, the *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṅgraha*, the *Śuka-saptati*, and the *Vaidyāṅga* (a book on Āyurvedic medicine). Cāṇakya's sayings were very popular in Nepal and it is even possible that the version mentioned was

[17] Cf. Haraprasad Sastri, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1905), Preface, p. xxxvi.

compiled there.[18] There are, besides, some works written in the mixed Sanskrit-Newari language, namely, *Jyotīrāja-karaṇasya* (A.D. 1421), *Nepāla-bhāṣā-cikitsā* (A.D. 1441), *Svarodaya-daśa* (A.D. 1462), etc. The first is a work on astronomy, the second on medicine, and the last on astrology. There was no written composition in Nepali prior to the early nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century a number of Sanskrit works, such as *Daśakumāra-carita*, a part of the *Hitopadeśa*, etc., had been translated into Nepali. The greatest figure in Nepali literature of the period, Bhanubhakta Acharya, wrote the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* based on the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*. Nepali poets drew inspiration from Sanskrit for the purification or elevation of the language.

The Malla kings of Nepal had knowledge of the Vaiṣṇava poems also and very much liked those poems composed in Maithili and Bengali. Vidyāpati, renowned poet of Mithilā, was a special favourite with them. He was a 'great force' in Nepal. The Nepalese poets made experiments in writing according to the style and standard set by him. According to Dr Jayakanta Mishra, 'the Malla kings of Nepal themselves wrote after Vidyāpati and induced many poets and musicians to do the same'.[19] The death of Kaṁsanārāyaṇa (A.D. ? 1496-1527), last king of the Ainivāra dynasty, was followed by a lull in the literary activity in Mithilā for a number of years. The 'centre of gravity', therefore, shifted to Nepal where Maithili language and literature had already been under the patronage of the royal courts. This also led to Vidyāpati's successors, from about A.D. 1527 onwards, being mostly made up of Nepalese writers.[20] A large number of manuscripts of Vidyāpati's *padas* have been preserved in the Bir Library as well as in the Library of Rajaguru Hemaraja Sharma of Nepal. The Nepalese poets used to compose poems also in Bhojpuri, Awadhi, and Brajabuli, besides Sanskrit and Maithili. In modern times, the great Newari poet Siddhidas (1867-1929) was greatly influenced by the literary and cultural renaissance in India. He came particularly under the influence of Swami Vivekananda, patriot-prophet of modern India, which was reflected in his life and works.

LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS

Nepali and Newari are the two major languages of Nepal. Maithili is the language of the Terai portion of the territory. Nepali, official language of the kingdom, was called Gorkhali or Khaskura or Parbatiya in the past and Newari now goes by the name of 'Nepāla-bhāṣā'. Both Nepali and Nepāla-bhāṣā (Newari) have been influenced to a great extent by Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, and other Indian languages such as Maithili, Bengali, and Hindi. Many

[18] Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit*, p. 37.
[19] Jayakanta Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

words from Urdu as well as from the languages of South India have also found place in the major languages of Nepal. Nepali is a language belonging to the Indo-Aryan speech family, and closely allied to Hindi, Rajasthani, Awadhi, Maithili, Bengali, and the rest. So far as Newari is concerned, as much as fifty per cent of the vocabulary is derived from or related to Sanskrit.[21] D. R. Regmi writes: 'The Newari language, the language of the valley of Nepal during the pre-Gurkha days, grew under the impact of varied influences emanating from Sanskrit and its literature. The Sanskritic influence had been felt in so many ways semantically and morphologically and this was most powerful in the later middle ages while the language was taking a definite shape through its own literary writing'.[22] Because of the intimate connexion of the Nepalese scholars with the learned people of Vārāṇasī and Kurukṣetra, Sanskrit and Hindi have all through played a prominent part in the growth of the languages of Nepal. Urdu *ghazals* also found place in the valley. A fair number of words of Portuguese origin like *acar, almari, balti, chabi, kamra*, etc. have since become common Nepali words through the influence of Hindi and Urdu.

In the matter of scripts also, Nepal has been profoundly influenced by India. The Newars took India's scripts. The Devanāgarī script is now commonly used in the everyday life by the people of Nepal. There are instances of the use of the Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Gurumukhi, Gujarati, Tamil, and Telugu scripts besides Śāradā here and there. Just a cursory glance at the scripts of Gomu, Bhujimu, Rañjanā, and Modern Newari will show how greatly they have been influenced by Indian scripts. The earlier written documents found in Nepal are in Sanskrit and in the Gupta and Kuṭila scripts. The Gupta script underwent various stages of modifications in Nepal, which led ultimately to the emergence of the Newari script. The latter bears close resemblance also to the Maithili and Bengali scripts. The extant manuscripts in Newari as well as in Sanskrit, dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, are mostly written in the Newari script. The Newari script, however, has never been cast in type for printing and all printing in Newari is done in Devanāgarī in which Nepali or Gorkhali is also written and printed. Ancient monuments, ruins, shrines, *caityas*, pillars, inscriptions, plates, manuscripts, etc. found in Nepal give us sufficient information and specimens of various Indian scripts in vogue from time to time. Sanskrit, which is the language of ancient Indian religious books, is called *devabhāṣā* (the language of the gods) also in Nepal. It is written and printed in the Devanāgarī script which has been recognized as the national script of Nepal.

[21] Cf. D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 39.
[22] *Medieval Nepal*, Pt. II, p. 825.

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CENTRAL ASIA

(INCLUDING NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN)

INTRODUCTION

THE central area of the mainland of Asia lies approximately between 60° East and 105° East Longitude and 35° North and 45° North Latitude. This region includes parts of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Khirgizia, and Tadzhikistan of the USSR; Sinkiang up to the Nan-shan in China; Mongolia below the Altai range; northern fringes of Tibet; north-western borders of the Indian Sub-continent; and northern Afghanistan. But traditionally, Central Asia is considered to comprise the above-noted territories of the USSR and China alone. There is ample evidence to show that the Indian Sub-continent could communicate with Central Asia through the route connecting Kashmir with the Sinkiang region and through the roads running through the areas now in Afghanistan. India's contact with Chinese Central Asia, particularly with Khotan, might have started in the centuries preceding the Christian era. The routes to Chinese and Soviet Central Asia and also to Bactria were for centuries very important in international trade, in which India was a participant. Archaeological discoveries since the second half of the nineteenth century and, in certain cases, known literary sources indicate Indian influences on the literature, religion, art, and society of several of the above-mentioned territories in the first millennium A.D. The most important of the areas of Indian influence were Shan-shan (Kroraina), Khotan, Kuchi (Kucha), and Agnideśa (Yen-ch'i or Karashar) in Chinese Central Asia, Sogdiana on the Oxus in Soviet Central Asia, and Bactria in northern Afghanistan. In the case of certain areas like Khotan and the territories on the Oxus, contact with India might have begun long before the beginning of the Christian era.[1]

Among the forces responsible for introducing Indian elements in Soviet and Chinese Central Asia were Indian emigrants, mostly missionaries and traders. The Indian participants in Central Asian trade, who might have settled in some of these regions, were among the greatest purveyors of Indian culture. In the Kuṣāṇa age, the establishment of a central authority over

[1] J. K. Dabbs, *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Chinese Turkestan* (Hague, 1963), pp. 37ff.; N. Ettinger, *The Heartland of Asia* (London, 1971), pp. 92ff.; B. A. Litvinsky, *An Outline of the History of Buddhism in Central Asia* (Moscow, 1968), p. 8.

a vast area touching Merv, Tashkent, and Kashgarh as well as remote areas of the Indian Sub-continent drew Central Asia nearer to India. Moreover, the Kuṣāṇa empire had special relations with the Central Asian States of Kashgarh, Khotan, and Kucha. In the Kuṣāṇa period Buddhism was made popular in Chinese as well as Soviet Central Asia, where for centuries it remained the most dominant religion. With Buddhism, Indian thoughts, languages, and literatures, and their vehicles, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts, found their way to different territories of Central Asia and China. Sojourns of Indian and non-Indian Buddhist scholars in different localities of Central Asia, and visits of Central Asian and Chinese savants (coming through Central Asia) to India, made the Indian impact on Central Asia greatly felt in different periods of the first millennium A.D.

USE OF PRAKRIT IN KHAROṢṬHĪ SCRIPT

Kharoṣṭhī seems to have been introduced in Central Asia earlier than Brāhmī. Legends in Prakrit inscribed in the Kharoṣṭhī script (as well as in Chinese characters) can be noticed on the coins of a group of rulers (of Indo-Parthian origin ?) struck in or near Khotan during the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. These rulers might have been responsible for the official use of the above language and script in a territory in Sinkiang. These might have been known in Khotan from a still earlier age, since a persistent local tradition speaks of an Indian contingent in the original population of that country.[2] The continuation of the use of Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī in Khotan in the third/fourth century A.D. is suggested by a record (No. 661) found at Endere, written in a dialect of Prakrit. This dialect is, however, different on certain points from that used in numerous inscriptions on wood, leather, silk, etc. discovered at Lou-lan, Niya, and Endere, which were within the limits of ancient Shan-shan. These documents, which deal with administrative, legal, and personal matters and, in some cases, also with religious or philosophical themes, indicate that in the third/fourth century a form of Prakrit was used by the officialdom and also by the Indianized or Indian Buddhist community of Shan-shan. In this connexion, we may refer to the Prakrit inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī characters of the second/third century A.D. found at Miran, which was in Shan-shan, and Lo-yang, which was a great centre of Buddhist studies in China.[3] This form of Prakrit, which is now called by scholars as Gāndhārī Prakrit, agrees closely with the language of the post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the north-western part of the Indian Sub-

[2] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXV (1973), pp. 104-5.

[3] E. J. Rapson, E. Senart, and A. Boyer, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1920), pp. 1ff.; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (*BSOAS*), Vol. XXIV, p. 527.

continent (including Gandhāra). At the same time, it differs from other varieties of Prakrit according to the degree of modification in its inflectional system. It was subjected to two foreign influences, viz. Iranian and that of the native language of Kroraina. Loan-words from several non-Indian languages like Iranian (including Sogdian), Greek, Tibetan, etc. may be traced in Gāndhārī Prakrit. The pronunciation of Prakrit words also was affected by the phonetic structure of 'Krorainic'.[4] Several innovations were made in the Kharoṣṭhī script which was employed to write Gāndhārī Prakrit. Among them were a sign for expressing long vowels, which had not been used in Kharoṣṭhī of north-western India, and certain compound letters (like *kma*, *lmy*, etc.) and modified forms of several letters (*ka*, *ga*, *ca*, etc.) devised obviously to record local pronunciations.

Gāndhārī Prakrit had its own literature as evinced by the Prakrit recension of the *Dhammapada*, fragments of a manuscript of which were discovered in Khotan in 1892 and 1897. Written in Kharoṣṭhī in the first or second century A.D., it is the oldest surviving manuscript of an Indian text. The text itself is the only extensively known early Buddhist treatise in an Indian language other than Sanskrit or Pali.[5] There are indications that Gāndhārī Prakrit had a fairly extensive literature. A few of the aforementioned Kharoṣṭhī records (Nos. 501, 510, and partly also 204) contain literary pieces which might have been composed in the Shan-shan area itself. In fact, one of the inscriptions (No. 514) includes among the subjects of study grammar, music, astronomy, the technique of writing poetry, etc. In the Shan-shan kingdom of the third/fourth century A.D., which was under strong cultural influence from India, local literary compositions should have included works in Gāndhāri Prakrit. Traces of the influence of Gāndhārī Prakrit have been discernible in Khotanese, Agnean, Kuchean, Tibetan, and also in the remains of Sogdian, Uighur-Turkish, Mongolian, and Manchu texts. It appears that texts in Prakrit (Gāndhārī Prakrit) took a leading role in disseminating Buddhism in Central Asia and China. A closely similar form of Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhī script had been in use *inter alia* for recording donations to Buddhist establishments in the north-western parts of the Indian Sub-continent and in its borderlands prior to the introduction of Buddhism in China. The Sarvāstivādins were active

[4] T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. v ff.; *BSOAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 764ff. The Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī alphabet has signs representing the letters *ā* and *ṛ*, which are absent from the Kharoṣṭhī script as used in the Indian Sub-continent. Cf. John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dhammapada* (London, 1962), pp. 55ff.; E. J. Rapson, E. Senart, and A. Boyer, *op. cit.*, the chart of Kharoṣṭhī letters.

[5] John Brough, *op. cit.*, Introduction. Several Chinese translations of the *Dhammapada* are known to us. Of these *Fa-k'iu-ching* (*Dharmapada-Sūtra*, translated in A.D. 224) and *Fa-k'iu-p'i-yu-ching* (*Dharmapadāvadāna-Sūtra*, translated between A.D. 290 and 306) were probably based on a text similar to that of the Prakrit *Dhammapada*. Cf. P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* (*ICA*), Calcutta, 1955, p. 99.

in these areas in pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods. Buddhist texts were written in this language during the Kuṣāṇa age, as indicated by the Prakrit version of the *pratītya-samutpāda* formula mentioned in the Kurram inscription of the year 21 (probably of the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 99). So the Sarvāstivādins, who influenced the progress of Buddhism in Sinkiang, might have introduced there the Buddhist literature in Prakrit. This language was perhaps well known to many of the earliest translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. There were among them, until A.D. 316, six Yüeh-chihs, four An-hsis (Parthians), three Sogdians, and six Indians. Many of them might have hailed from the Yüeh-chih (Kuṣāṇa) territory or from regions once included in that empire, which incorporated large areas now in the Indian Sub-continent and Afghanistan and to which were annexed parts of An-hsi or Parthia and Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus. It is perhaps not without significance that Lo-yang (in China), where many of these early translators lived and worked, has yielded a Prakrit inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters, referring to Buddhist Saṅgha. It has also been claimed that some Mahāyāna texts might have first reached China in a Prakrit form, although the versions available to us are highly Sanskritized but for a few verses which are in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. The earliest extant Chinese versions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (third century A.D. or earlier) show 'unmistakable influence of Gāndhārī'. Thus the importance of this language in Central Asia is quite out of proportion to the relatively small number of documents discovered so far. Transliterations of non-Chinese words in some old Chinese renderings of the Buddhist texts like the *Dīrghāgama* point to their originals having been in Prakrit (Gāndhārī Prakrit). If the *Dīrghāgama*, which was rendered into Chinese in A.D. 413, was translated from a Gāndhārī text, then Gāndhārī was known in China and Chinese Central Asia in the early fifth century A.D. Since Brāhmī became popular in Khotan between the periods of Sung Yun (early sixth century A.D.) and Hiuen Tsang (seventh century A.D.), the practice of writing Gāndhārī Prakrit in Kharoṣṭhī may be taken to have been in vogue in Khotan up to the sixth century A.D.[6]

The earliest use of Prakrit in Soviet Central Asia is suggested by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Tadzhikistan, datable to *c.* first century B.C. Even if such a dating is questioned, there is perhaps no doubt that Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī were two important media for spreading Buddhism in the territories now in Afghanistan and to the north of the Oxus during the Kuṣāṇa period. In this connexion, we can refer to the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found at Wardak and Qunduz (Afghanistan) and at Fayaz Tepe and Kara Tepe near Termez in Tadzhikistan (USSR) The use of the script and the language concerned for secular purposes

[6] *BSOAS*, XII, p. 764; XXVIII, p. 609; XXIV, p. 527 and *Asia Major* (Old Series), Vol. II, pp. 270-71.

is indicated by the Dasht-e-Nawur record in Afghanistan, inscriptions on gold slabs discovered at Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan, etc.[7]

USE OF BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT

Brāhmī was the other Indian script used for writing Prakrit during the period from the second to the fourth century A.D. in localities now included in Soviet Central Asia. Brāhmī inscriptions of didactic as well as donative nature have been discovered at Kara Tepe.[8] Of the two Indian languages, Prakrit and Sanskrit, known in Central Asia in the first millennium A.D., Sanskrit used to be written in Brāhmī. Its use for this purpose in Soviet Central Asia is indicated by the discovery, near the town of Merv, of parts of the text of Sanskrit Vinaya of the Saivāstivāda school consisting of more than 200 leaves written in the Brāhmī of about the fifth century A.D. The use of Brāhmī is also corroborated by the find at Zang Tepe of fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts (dealing with Saṅgha, Dharma, *bhikṣu*, *dāna*, etc.) written in the Brāhmī of about the sixth/seventh century A.D. Even if such manuscripts are considered to have been imported in Soviet Central Asia from outside, their locations should suggest that Sanskrit and Brāhmī were read and understood there in the centuries to which they are datable. We may add here that Merv seems to be the westernmost locality known so far to have yielded a Sanskrit manuscript.[9]

In Chinese Central Asia, Brāhmī was regularly used for writing not only Sanskrit, but also Kuchean (=Tokharian B, language of Kuchi or Kucha), Agnean (=Tokharian A, language of Agnideśa or the Karashar area), and Śaka-Khotanese.[10] The greater part of the extant Śaka-Khotanese manuscripts has been found at Ch'ien-fo-tung, Tun-huang (Kansu, north-western China), etc. Agnean and Kuchean, which belong to the Indo-European group of languages, are represented by manuscripts found in the eastern part of the Tarim basin and in Tun-huang. Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered in numerous areas including Tumshuq, the Kucha region (Qizil, Qumtura, Kirish, Achiy-Iläk, etc.), Shorchuq, the Turfan oasis (Xocho, Yarxoto, Murtuq,

[7] B. A. Litvinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 8; S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 170; *Vestnik Drevneĭ Istorii*, No. 3 (1974), p. 125 and No. 1 (1976), p. 74; *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. LXI (1974), pp. 22 and 58.

[8] B. Y. Stavisky, *Novuie Nahodki na Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze* (Moscow, 1975), p. 70. For an evidence of the use of Brāhmī in *c.* fifth century A.D. in the Dilverdzhina area, situated in northern Afghanistan and not very far from Soviet Central Asia, see *Drevnyya Baktriya* (1976), pp. 170-71.

[9] M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and E. Tyomkin, 'Nauka i Zhizn', *Indiyskiye Rukopisi v Turkmeni*, No. 1 (1966), p. 261; B.A. Litvinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 65; *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (*JAS*), Vol. XI (1969), pp. 10-11. The Merv manuscript consists of either pieces of birch-bark or palm-leaves.

[10] One Śaka language or dialect called Hvatanau or Hvamano (<Hvatanaka=Khotanese) was spoken and written in the kingdom of Khotan from about the seventh to the tenth century A.D., and another of uncertain name (indicated in the word *kāñcake* of document No. 8 ?) was used in Tumshuq and Murtuq in the same period.

Sängim, Bäzäklik, Toyoq, etc.), Tun-huang, Kashgarh, and the Khotan region. Sanskrit treatises are known to have been included in the famous Bower, Godfrey, Macartney, and Weber manuscripts recovered from the Kucha region.[11]

Texts in the Brāhmī script written on birch-bark, palm-leaves, leather, and paper, and also block-prints of the same script have been unearthed in areas to the north and south of the Takla Makan desert. Among the manuscripts found in the localities on the northern route[12] connecting China with countries on its west are those written in Brāhmī comparable with the Kuṣāṇa, Gupta, Śāradā, and Pāla varieties of Indian Brāhmī and also with the forms used in the Gilgit manuscripts. Many of the Sanskrit manuscripts found in Chinese Central Asia might have been imported from India. But several of them and all of the Kuchean, Agnean, and Śaka manuscripts were written in Chinese Central Asia.[13] Tables of Brāhmī syllabary obviously meant for teaching the script to students have been discovered in fair numbers. Hiuen Tsang attested to the use of Brāhmī as a local script in different areas of Chinese Central Asia. He observed that in Agnideśa or Karashar, the 'writing is taken from that of India with slight modifications'. In Kucha, he noticed that 'writing was taken from India, but had been much altered'. In Kashgar, the pilgrim became aware of the fact that the local people had their writing 'copied from that of India', and that 'although changes had been made, the substance was still preserved'. According to him, the writing in Chokkuka (Yarkand) 'was like that of Khotan', where 'the system of writing had been taken from that of India, but the structure had been slightly altered by a sort of successive changes'. Thus, by the time of Hiuen Tsang's travels in Central Asia in the first half of the seventh century A.D., Brāhmī had not only become a popular script there, but also showed local developments to meet local needs.[14] Finds of manuscripts, datable to the second half of the first millennium A.D., substantiate Hiuen Tsang's statements. The local Brāhmī to the north of the Takla Makan desert originated from a variety of Western (or North-western ?) Gupta script. But, whereas the earlier Gupta has an upright *ductus*, the North Central Asian type of script betrays a slanting style of writing. The basic consonants, as in Indian

[11] D. Diringer, *The Alphabet* (London, 1953), pp. 348ff.; *JAS*, Vol. XI, pp. 63ff.; W. Clawiter and L. Holzmann, *Sanskrit Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 1ff.; A. F. R. Hoernle (Ed.), *The Bower Manuscript* (Calcutta, 1893), pp. lxxxviff. P. C. Bagchi has observed that 'we have a few Turkish documents in Brāhmī'. Cf. *ICA*, p. 108.

[12] On this route were, as indicated by *Hou-han-shu*, regions like Ku-shih anterior (Yar-Khoten not far from Turfan), Yen-ch'i (Agnideśa or Karashar), Kuei-tzu (Kutsi, Kuchi, or Kucha), Ku-mo (Bharuka or Akṣu), Wen-su (Uch-Turfan), and Su-lo (Kashgarh).

[13] W. Clawiter and L. Holzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff.; D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, pp. 346ff.

[14] Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), pp. 209ff.; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 48, 59 and Vol. II, pp. 290, 293, and 295.

Brāhmī, have an inherent *a*. But there are in this form of Brāhmī special signs which have an inherent *ä*. In Kuchean and Agnean, Sanskrit sounds like *k*, *t*, *p*, *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *n*, *m*, *r*, and *l* are somewhat attenuated and hence the corresponding Brāhmī signs are underlined in manuscripts. In writing Agnean and Kuchean, signs of Gupta Brāhmī, which had no corresponding sounds in these languages, were eliminated. On the other hand, some new signs were invented to represent peculiar indigenous sounds. The sporadic use of Brāhmī in southern Chinese Central Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era is indicated by a few archaeological data including a wooden board bearing, on one side, a Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the third/fourth century A.D. and, on the other, three lines in Brāhmī characters of the Kuṣāṇa period.[15] Sung Yun in the early sixth century A.D. noticed that the spoken language of Chokkuka (Yarkand) was like that of Khotan, but 'the written character' was that 'of the Brāhmaṇas'. Thus in the Yarkand area, Brāhmī was very much in use in the sixth century A.D. The evidence of Sung Yun implies that Brāhmī was not in regular use in Khotan about that period. The testimonies of Hiuen Tsang quoted above show that Brāhmī was the script of Khotan as well as of Yarkand during the first half of the seventh century A.D. So Brāhmī may be said to have become popular in Khotan in the sixth/seventh century A.D. Śaka (including Khotanese) manuscripts, written in Brāhmī, are datable to different periods from the seventh to the tenth century A.D.[16] The Khotanese script developed from a variety of the Gupta script. According to one theory, we have here cursive and calligraphic types of writing. A close examination of several manuscripts would show Brāhmī letters of the area concerned were of 'thick' and 'thin' appearance. Simple thin letters developed into slanting, and then ornamental (sometimes roundish) characters. Simple thick letters showed a tendency towards developing into roundish (sometimes ornamental), and angular as well as slanting (sometimes ornamental) characters. The *ductus* of simple thin and thick letters, which perhaps indicates one of the earlier stages of Khotanese Brāhmī, betrays influence of the *ductus* to the Kharoṣṭhī script. Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit were

[15] L. Sander, *Palaögraphisches Zu dem Sanskrit Handschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 1ff.; *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XII, pp. 13ff.; M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1907), p. 369; M. A. Stein, *Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archaeological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1901), p. 52, document No. N. XX, 1. A few Brāhmī letters can be noticed on the obverse as well as the reverse of the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661 found at Endere (E. J. Rapson, E. Senart, and A. Boyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1927, p. 244). Similarly, a few Brāhmī characters as well as Kharoṣṭhī letters appear on a record (No. N. XIII, ii. i. D), now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. A mutilated folio and a fragment of a palm-leaf *punthi* (No. M. 11·0011) in Sanskrit discovered at Miran, are written in the upright Brāhmī script of the early Gupta age. The *punth* seems to be a part of a grammatical text. Palaeographically, these documents are older than the Bower Manuscript. A. F. R. Hoernle dated them to *c.* A.D. 400 (M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, Vol. I, Oxford 1921, p. 489).

[16] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I (London, 1906), pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix; *Asia Major* (Old Series), Vol. II, p. 271; D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

used in Khotan, Shan-shan, etc., before Brāhmī became populaı.[17] 'The adaptation of the Gupta script to Khotanese probably took place in the eastern oases of Chinese Turkestan. The pronunciation of the Khotanese consonants was, however, somewhat different from the Indian.'[18]

In Chinese Central Asia Brāhmī, along with other scripts, was sometimes used on the same leaves of manuscripts. Some paper leaves from Khara-Khoto, Turfan, and Mazar Taqh bear Chinese or Uighur with interlinear Brāhmī writing. A block-printed text of a Buddhist charm discovered at Tun-huang, bears writings in Brāhmī as well as in the Chinese scripts. An extremely interesting case of the relationship of the Brāhmī script with the Chinese language is furnished by a manuscript containing a Buddhist Chinese text written in Brāhmī characters, similar to those used predominantly in Śaka-Khotanese documents.[19]

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

Sanskrit was introduced into Central Asia by the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna, which had its stronghold in Kashmir and the north-western parts of the Indian Sub-continent and its borderlands. The sacred literature of this school was (mainly ?) in Classical Sanskrit which was studied by Buddhist scholars of several kingdoms of Chinese Turkestan such as Agnideśa and Kucha. According to Hiuen Tsang, all adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school in Agnideśa and Kucha studied their books of religion (including the Śāstra and the Vinaya) in the 'language of India', identifiable with Sanskrit.[20] Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced into Khotan, Kaṣhgar, and Kucha in the fourth century A.D. Its literature was also in Sanskrit.[21] As a vehicle of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism, the most dominant religion of Central Asia in the first millennium A.D., Sanskrit occupied there a pre-eminent position. In a Tokharian manuscript, it was mentioned as Ārśi Kāntwa or the Ārśi (Central Asian

[17] P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 93; D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[18] D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 351. A recent study of Central Asian Brāhmī has divided it into Old Turkestanese, North Turkestanese (Types A and B), and South Turkestanese. It has been claimed in another study that the presence in Khotanese Brāhmī of the compound letter *ys*, which is not known to have been used in writıng Brāhmī in India excepting in writing the names of Ysamotika, the father, and Dāmysada, a grandson, of Śaka Caṣṭana of the first/second century A.D., indicates Caṣṭana's connexion with Khotan and the beginning of the use of Khotanese Brāhmī in the second century A.D. S. Lévi drew attention of scholars to the occurrence of the compound *ys* in a certain mystic alphabet mentioned in Buddhist texts as Arapachana. Interestingly enough, Arapachana is also the name of a form of Mañjuśrī, Buddhist god of transcendental wisdom. According to a theory, the Khotanese variety of Brāhmī influenced the origin of the Tibetan alphabet.

[19] M. A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Vol. III (Oxford), plate CXXV; *Serindia*, Vol. IV (1921), plate CII.

[20] P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 94; Thomas Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 53 and 60.

[21] P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 94. A Kharoṣṭhī inscription (No. 390) discovered by M. A. Stein in southern Sinkiang and datable to third/fourth century A.D. referred to Mahāyāna.

Prakrit *arśa*, Sanskrit *ārya*) language. The language called 'Wkw Kwys'n in the colophon of a Uighur-Turkish translation of the work called *Dashkrmapuda' awtanamal* (=*Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*) was probably the same as Sanskrit. It was called 'Wkw Kwys'n=Oku Küsän (*wkw*=*oku* being a Turkish word for Kuchean *vak* or *uäk*, possibly based on some such word as *baka* or *baga*, meaning 'Lord') perhaps to emphasize its role as the medium for writing the texts of the religion of the 'Lord' or 'God' (Buddha), and to distinguish it from Küsän or Kuchean (Tokharian B), the local language of Kucha. A Uighur-Turkish colophon refers to Āryacandra as having composed the book *Maitrisimit* (*Maitreyasamiti*) out of the 'n' tk'k (or Änätkak) tili or 'the Indian language'. Hiuen Tsang, as noted before, used the expression 'language of India' to denote Sanskrit.[22] It has been suggested that Sanskrit was methodically taught in the monastic schools of Kucha. There were arrangements in some other Central Asian States also to teach Sanskrit so that the local students and scholars could study and translate Indian texts. We know of some bilingual documents containing Sanskrit texts and their Kuchean or Agnean or (Śaka)-Khotanese versions. These were meant apparently as handbooks for local Buddhists learning Sanskrit so that at least some of them could become good translators. Finds of manuscripts of dictionaries, such as a Sanskrit-Tokharian vocabulary (*c.* A.D. 700) in the Kucha area and a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon prepared by a Kuchean scholar in the seventh century A.D., corroborate the extensive study of Sanskrit in Central Asia and the wide prevalence of the practice of translating Sanskrit texts into the languages of the region.[23] Discoveries of several manuscripts of the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* suggest that Central Asian students had to study Sanskrit grammar according to the Kātantra system.

SANSKRIT BUDDHIST CANONICAL TEXTS

The statements of Hiuen Tsang about learning of the Sūtra teachings and the Vinaya regulations by the Sarvāstivādins of Agnideśa and Kucha, and also the fragments of a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from different sites of Central Asia indicate that once there was a complete Sanskrit Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school. It consisted of the Sūtra Piṭaka, Vinaya Piṭaka, and Abhidharma Piṭaka. The Sūtra Piṭaka included *Āgamas* corresponding to *Nikāyas* of the Pali Tipiṭaka. We have manuscripts of the *Saṅgīti-Sūtra* and *Āṭanāṭiya-Sūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama*, the *Upāli-Sūtra*, and *Śūka-Sūtra* of the *Ma-*

[22] *BSOAS*, VII, pp. 895 and 909-12; B. N. Mukherjee, 'Wkw Kwys'n—Oku Kusàn', *Indian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. II, No. II, pp. 47ff.

[23] W. Clawiter and L. Holzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 353; *Problemy Vostokovedeniya*, Vol. V (1959), p. 190; *Ucheneye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, Vol. XVI (1958), p. 305; P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, pp. 106 and 111. We know also of some Sino-Sanskrit lexicons apparently meant for the Chinese scholars or persons conversant with Chinese, who intended to learn Sanskrit. Cf. P. C. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit Chionis*, Vols. I and II (Paris, 1929-37).

dhyamāgama, and the *Pravāraṇa-Sūtra*, *Candropama-Sūtra*, *Śakti-Sūtra*, *Nidāna-Sūtra*, *Kokanada-Sūtra*, *Anāthapiṇḍada-Sūtra*, *Dīrghanakha-Sūtra*, *Śarabha-Sūtra*, *Parivrājaka-sthavira-Sūtra*, and *Brāhmaṇa-satyāṁśu-Sūtra* of the *Saṁyuktāgama*. The Vinaya Piṭaka is represented by a complete text of the *Prātimokṣa-Sūtra* (found at Duldur Aqur in Kucha), portions of *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* (found also in Kucha), and other fragments of manuscripts. It is interesting to note that the text of the *Prātimokṣa-Sūtra* agrees closely with the Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva in A.D. 404. Fragments of texts of the Abhidharma Piṭaka have also been discovered. We may specially refer to *Saṅgītiparyāya*, manuscripts of which have been found in the Turfan oases area and in a cave of Bamiyan (in Afghanistan). The Turfan area has also yielded manuscripts of the *Cīvara-vastu*, *Karmavācanā*, and *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* belonging to the same Vinaya is known from fragments recovered at Shorchuq near Turfan and Tumshuq near Maralbashi. Parallel texts have been found in the ruins of Kizil near Kucha. A considerable portion of this Vinaya literature was discovered by M.A. Stein in Gilgit in the extreme north-west of the Indian Sub-continent itself. Before these discoveries the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya was known only from the Chinese and Tibetan translations and from the famous Buddhist treatise called *Divyāvadāna*. The Mūla-sarvāstivāda developed from the Sarvāstivāda school. The fragments of the Tripiṭaka literature of this school, discovered in Central Asia, show that the Chinese translation of the Tripiṭaka was based on the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school and not on the Pali canon. Fragments of a few *sūtras* belonging to the Sūtra Piṭaka of Hīnayāna (but not strictly belonging to any of the *Āgamas*) have been identified. Among them are the *Saptabuddhaka*, *Mahāvadāna-Sūtra*, *Daśabala-Sūtra*, etc. From Chinese Central Asia Grünwedel and Pelliot recovered almost the complete text of Sanskrit *Udānavarga*, while Stein collected only its fragments. This text is a collection akin to the *Dhammapada*, a Prakrit version of which had been recovered, as noted already, in the Khotan region. The authorship of the *Udānavarga* is attributed to a Sarvāstivādin teacher called Dharmatrātā, a contemporary of Kaniṣka I.

Texts of the Mahāyāna school have also been discovered in Central Asia. Among them we may mention the *Vajracchedikā*, *Ratnasāri-Sūtra*, *Ratnadhvaja-Sūtra*, *Candragarbha-Sūtra*, *Candrapāla-Sūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-Sūtra*, *Daśabhūmika-Sūtra*, *Dharmaśarīra-Sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha-Sūtra*, *Śata-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra*, and *Samādhirāja-Sūtra*. Texts on *dhāraṇīs* or magical formulas, belonging to later Mahāyāna, have come to our knowledge. Among them we can refer to the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*, *Ananta-mukha-dhāraṇī*, *Suraṅgama-samādhi*, *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī*, *Mahāpratyaṅgira-dhāraṇī*, and *Vajrapāṇi-sumukhanāma-dhāraṇī*. Prior to these discoveries, several of these Mahāyāna texts were known only from their translations in Chinese, Tibetan,

Khotanese, etc. These discoveries also show that the Mahāyāna canon was seriously studied in Central Asia.[24]

NON-CANONICAL TEXTS

Central Asians not only studied the Sanskrit Buddhist canon, but also were conversant with other branches of Sanskrit literature. The Kucha area has yielded a palm-leaf manuscript, written in the Kuṣāna Brāhmī characters. It contains fragments of three Sanskrit dramas. One of them deals with a theme concerning courtesans; another is an allegorical drama containing dialogues among three characters, namely, Buddhi (Wisdom or Prudence), Dhṛti (Steadfastness), and Kīrtti (Fame). The third is the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* by Aśvaghoṣa, which deals with a theme concerning the admission of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana into the religious order. The manuscript is datable to the Kuṣāṇa age as Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kaniṣka I. It may be noted that this Sanskrit drama contains dialogues in Prakrit which is older in form than the dramatic Prakrit used in Classical Sanskrit plays. In fact, an analysis of the fragments of these three dramas shows that these are the earliest known Sanskrit plays conforming to the rules and techniques of Indian dramaturgy. The *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*, of which another manuscript of somewhat later date has been discovered again in the Kucha region, is not known to have been found at any place outside Central Asia. Two manuscripts, one of the *Buddha-carita* and the other of the *Saundarananda-kāvya*, both by Aśvaghoṣa, have been recovered from the ruins of Shorchuq.[25] Another poetical work in Sanskrit, manuscripts of which have been recovered from Kucha and Turfan, agrees with the Chinese translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṅkāra* done by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century. In the colophon of the work concerned, the name of the book is given as *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* or *Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā-dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* and that of the author as Kumāralāta. H. Lüders thinks that the Chinese version wrongly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa a work of Kumāralāta. The latter was a famous Buddhist scholar of the Sautrāntika school and founder of the Dārṣṭāntika branch. Also known as Kumāralabdha, he was a native of Takṣaśilā. His fame as an author and founder of a school was so great that he was taken by force to Kie-p'an-t'e. According to Buddhist tradition, he was 'the Sun shining in the North, while Aśvaghoṣa illuminated the East, Nāgārjuna the West and Āryadeva the South'.[26]

[24] A. F. R. Hoernle, *op. cit*, pp. 1ff.; W. Clawiter and L. Holzmann, *op. cit*, pp. 348ff.; P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, pp. 94ff.; *JAS*, Vol. XI, pp. 63ff.; K. Saha, *Buddhism in Central Asia* (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 31ff.

[25] W. Clawiter and L. Holzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 and 353; A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama* (Oxford, 1924), p. 90; P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, pp. 100-101.

[26] Thomas Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 280; H. Luders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanditikā des Kumāralāta* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 137. A theory suggests that the work concerned 'was a new edition of Aśvaghosa's *Sūtrālaṅkāra* expanded by the addition of moral lessons and apologues in the form of examples according to the practice of the Dārṣṭāntika school'.

Numerous manuscripts of hymns like *Śatapañcāśatikā-stotra*, *Varṇārha-varṇa-stotra* (*Varṇārha-varṇe Buddhastotre Catuḥśatakam*), *Anāparāddha-stotra*, etc. have been found in the areas of Tumshuq, Kucha, Shorchuq, Turfan, and Tun-huang. These are attributed to Mātṛceṭa, who is either identical with Aśvaghoṣa or one of his contemporaries. Judged by the number of manuscripts recovered so far, he seems to have been popular with the Sanskrit-lovers of Chinese Central Asia. Among other literary works, Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* is represented by manuscripts found at Murtuq, Toyoq, etc. The *Chandoviciti*, a work on metrics, is known to have been used in the northern area of Chinese Central Asia. In the same region, the grammatical work called *Kātantra* was studied. A similar work has been attributed to Kumāralāta. No doubt, most of these works, though read in Central Asia, had been composed outside its area. Kumāralāta may, however, be associated with a part of Chinese Central Asia. There are also indications that original Sanskrit works were composed in Central Asia. We can refer to Sanskrit literary compositions in the official donation-texts from Kucha and Agnideśa of about seventh/eighth century A.D. The *Jātakastava*, preserved in a Khotanese metrical translation done by Vidyāśīla, was probably written, as indicated by the syntax, in Sanskrit. The Khotanese translation was done in the second half of the tenth century in the Sāmanyā monastery in Khotan.[27]

A Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī inscription (No. 514), as already mentioned, includes grammar, the art of writing poetry, and astronomy among the subjects of study. We have enough evidence of the study of Sanskrit grammar and the composition of poetry or other literary works in that language by Central Asians. But so far no regular astronomical text has been discovered from the ruins of early Central Asian monuments. However, another Kharoṣṭhī inscription (No. 565) gives a list of the names of twelve *nakṣatras* named after twelve animals. E. Chavannes found the cycle of twelve animals mentioned in a portion of the *Mahāsannipāta-Sūtra*, translated in the second century A.D. S. Lévi was of the view that the text originated, at least partly, in Central Asia. Astrology was also not unknown in Chinese Central Asia. F. W. Thomas noticed a fragment of an astrological treatise written in a more or less barbarous Sanskrit.[28] Different Sanskrit medical texts have been found in the Kucha region. The Bower Manuscript includes a text dealing with the use of garlic. Another text contains medical formulas. In the Bower Manuscript there is another medical treatise called *Nāvanītaka* which contains an abstract of earlier medical literature. It refers to Agniveśa, Bheda, Hārīta, Jātukarṇa, Parāśara, Suśruta, and others. These texts and translations of Indian medical treatises like the *Yoga-*

[27] M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 402.

[28] A. F. R. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, pp. 121ff.

śataka and a few others in Kuchean and those like the *Siddha-sāra* and *Jīva-pustaka* in Śaka-Khotanese show that the system of Indian medicine was widely practised in Central Asia in about the second half of the first millennium A.D.[29]

TRANSLATIONS AND AMPLIFICATIONS

Translations indeed formed an important branch of regional literatures in Central Asia. We know of Kuchean translations of the *Prātimokṣa*, *Udānavarga*, *Udānastotra*, *Udānālaṅkāra*, *Karmavibhaṅga*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra*, etc. There are Agnean versions of *Puṇyavanta Jātaka*, *Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka*, *Araṇemi Jātaka*, *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka*, etc. We have, besides, (Śaka)-Khotanese renderings of the *Vajracchedikā*, *Aparimitāyuḥ-Sūtra*, *Bhadracaryādeśanā*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra* (?), *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* (?), etc.; and Sogdian translations of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, *Dīrghanakha-Sūtra*, *Vimalakīrtti-nirdeśa*, *Dhyāna-Sūtra*, *Dhūta-Sūtra*, *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī*, *Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī-Sūtra*, etc.[30] Of these languages Khotanese was used in the southern areas and Kuchean and Agnean in the northern areas of Chinese Central Asia. Sogdian was the language of Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus in Soviet Central Asia. But there were colonies of Sogdian merchants in different parts of Chinese Central Asia. This helped the development of Sogdian as a *lingua franca* in ancient Central Asia. The translations of Sanskrit texts of Buddhist literature into the major local languages of Central Asia testify to the abiding Indian influence on Central Asian literature. Some of the translations of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which must have been understood and spoken in parts of Central Asia, were made by Central Asians themselves. Until A.D. 316 there had been at least three Sogdian, two Kuchean, and one Khotanese translators. Their number must have increased in later periods. One of the most well-known translators of the fifth century A.D. was the versatile scholar Kumārajīva of Kucha. A son of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother, Kumārajīva learnt Buddhist literature and philosophy in Kashmir, and then lived first in Kucha and later in China proper. Admirably suited to interpret Indian Buddhist thought, he translated a number of Sanskrit works into Chinese.

[29] *Ibid* (1893-1912). See also P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, pp. 104-6. The name *jīvaka* appears in the Sanskrit portion of a manuscript of medical treatise, written in a form of barbarous Sanskrit, and also in Śaka-Khotanese. Fragments of this manuscript were found in 'the Caves of Thousand Buddhas' near Tun-huang. On the folios known to us each phrase of words in Sanskrit is followed by a free translation in Śaka-Khotanese. Some of the medical formulas, stated in this manuscript, are not known from standard Sanskrit medical treatises. But some of the formulas can be traced in Indian standard works. Neither the name of the author nor that of the text in question is known from the surviving part of the manuscript (*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1917, pp. 415ff.). Nevertheless, evidence of this manuscript indicates the existence of translations of Sanskrit medical texts in Chinese Central Asia. It has been pointed out that there were Kuchean translations of Tāntric texts also (see W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Vol. II, Heidelberg, 1964, p. 70).

[30] P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, pp. 105ff.; W. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 24ff. and 65ff.; H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (London, 1951), pp. 94ff.

The zeal for learning the contents of Sanskrit Buddhist texts was so great in Central Asia that in about the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. even second-hand translations of Sanskrit texts were produced in Chinese Central Asia. Tokharian translations of *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka*, *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-Sūtra*, the *Sūtra* of Kalyāṇaṅkara and Pāpaṅkara, etc. were rendered into Uighur-Turkish. Colophons of three manuscripts, fragments of which have been discovered in the Turfan area, refer to a work (already mentioned) called *Dashkrmapuda'awtanamal* (=*Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*), which was first rendered from 'Wkw Kwys'n (=Sanskrit) into Toγari or Toχari (=Tokharian =Kuchean), and from Toχari into the Uighur-Turkish language. This text, which belongs to the Avadāna class of Sanskrit literature, might have been originally imported into Kucha or might have been composed in Kucha itself. It may be added that the surviving fragments of this text narrate a story about King Caṣṭana of western India (first/second century A.D.).[31] Stories concerning Indian kings like Ajātaśatru (mentioned in Uighur-Turkish source), Aśoka (mentioned in Khotanese documents), and Kaniṣka (referred to in Khotanese, Kuchean, Agnean, Sogdian, and Uighur-Turkish texts) were popular in different parts of Central Asia. A manuscript (No. Pelliot 2787), which contains two legends about Kaniṣka, begins with Buddhist Sanskrit and continues in Khotanese translation.[32]

Indian texts were not only translated, but also amplified in Central Asia. According to Chinese evidence, manuscripts of the *Mahāsannipāta-Sūtra*, *Avataṁsaka-Sūtra*, *Vaipulya-Sūtra*, *Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra*, *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, *Śāriputra-dhāraṇī*, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, *Aṣṭaṣāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, etc. were preserved in the Chokkuka area. Analyses of the contents of Chinese translations of these texts of Indian origin have led scholars to believe that some of them were 'naturalized' in Chinese Central Asia. Contents of the Chinese versions of *Candragarbha-Sūtra* and *Sūryagarbha-Sūtra*, the Indian originals of which are lost, perhaps indicate that they were recast in Serindia. The Chinese story about the search by the Indian monk Dharmarakṣa in Khotan for a full and complete text of *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, even though he had already found the text consisting of ten chapters, has been interpreted as suggesting amplification of the text in that Central Asian kingdom.[33] Texts were studied, translated, and amplified mainly in the monasteries which, as also Buddhist learning and literature, were patronized by local rulers (like those of Chokkuka, Khotan, Kucha, etc.) of Chinese Central Asia. The depth of Indian influence on them is clear from Indian names assumed by several kings of Khotan (Vijayakīrtti,

[31] *Indian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 47ff.; P. C. Bagchi, *ICA* pp. 105ff.

[32] H. W. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 40; A. L. Basham (Ed.) *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka* (Leiden, 1968), p. 35.

[33] P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, pp. 108ff.

Vijayasambhava, etc.), of Kucha (Haripuṣpa, Suvarṇapuṣpa, Suvarṇadeva, etc.), and of Agnideśa (Indrārjuna, Candrārjuna, etc.).[34] People who embraced Buddhism, among whom there might have been Indian elements (in some areas), must have been familiar with Indian Buddhist terms and usages in their daily life. These affected and enriched their native languages. The origin of numerous words in Khotanese and a few other local languages may be traced to Sanskrit. For example, we can refer to Khotanese word *jana* (meditation), which was probably derived from the Sanskrit word *dhyāna*. It appears that Indian settlers, traders, and missionaries and local rulers were among those who made Buddhism an all-embracing force in Central Asia and made Indian scripts, languages, and literatures popular in several of the aforementioned territories. We have already referred to the role played by the Gāndhārī Prakrit language and its literature in the kingdoms of Khotan and Shan-shan and their importance in the early history of Buddhism in China as well as in the southern area of Chinese Central Asia. The influence of the Sanskrit language and literature was more comprehensive. Sanskrit became a universally respected language and, in about the second half of the first millennium A.D., it also influenced and inspired the growth of regional languages like Kuchean, Agnean, (Śaka)-Khotanese, etc. Brāhmī became the vehicle of all these three Central Asian languages. Indian influence was not so keenly felt in Soviet Central Asia. No doubt, the Prakrit language and the Kharoṣṭhī as well as Brāhmī script made Buddhism a popular religion in that area. Sanskrit was also understood and perhaps practised there to some extent, at least in certain periods. Sanskrit literature influenced Sogdian, language of the Oxus territories. We must, however, remember that Sogdian was also spoken in the colonies of Sogdians in Chinese Central Asia. The Sogdian language helped in disseminating Buddhist terms. It has been suggested that the word *bodhisattva* (Sogdian *pwtyst*) 'came into Middle Persian and Chinese through Sogdian'.[35]

Bactrian, which was the language of Bactria in northern Afghanistan, was sometimes used in the Oxus territories in the north and as far as in the extreme north-western parts of the Indian Sub-continent in the south. The Greek script was employed to write this language. It was used in the records of certain Buddhist monasteries. Lord Buddha is referred to as Boddo in the Bactrian legends on Kuṣāṇa coins and in the Bactrian inscriptions. A Bactrian inscription on a vessel, found in the ruins of a monument near Termez, reads in translation as: 'He who makes no distinction between his own "I" and that

[34] F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Pt. I (London, 1935), pp. 74ff.; Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-10.

[35] B. A. Litvinsky and T. I. Zeymal, *Adzhina-Tepe* (Moscow, 1971), p. 239; *Afghanistan*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, pp. 89ff.

of others is on the proper road'. This utterance betrays the influence of some Indian philosophical or religious tenets. We have an early medieval instance of the use of Bactrian and Sanskrit in a record found in the Tochi valley of Pakistan.[36] In Bactria proper, as indicated before, Prakrit was used in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was mainly employed in Buddhist donative records. The knowledge of Sanskrit in Bactria proper is perhaps indicated by the discovery of a fragment of the Sanskrit text of the *Saṅgītaparyāya* in a cave at Bamiyan. Though the manuscript (written in the 'north Turkestanese' script of Chinese Central Asia) might have been imported there for the use of local monks, its evidence indicates that they knew Sanskrit. The knowledge of Sanskrit outside Bactria, but within Afghanistan, in the early part of the second half of the first millennium A.D. is indicated by Sanskrit inscriptions from Gardez and Tapa Skandar.[37]

Parthian, which was used by the followers of Mani inhabiting *inter alia* a part of Central Asia, betrays the influence of Indian Buddhist literature. It has been claimed that even the earliest of Manichaean-Parthian texts contain certain Indian Buddhist terms. A Parthian amuletic text furnishes a list of *yakṣas*, which resembles similar lists in the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* texts. As in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*, each of the *yakṣas* is referred to here as occupying a certain country. It is interesting to note that among such countries are Peshawar (Pushkavur), Kashmir, etc. belonging to the north-western part of the Indian Sub-continent. In employing meaningless enumerations of charms or parts of charm, the Manichaeans followed the Buddhists. Parthian texts also borrowed such Buddhist terms as *Sh'qmn bwt=Śākyamuni Buddha*, *Shmn=śramaṇa*, *byxs=bhikṣu*, *mytrg=Maitreya*, *nybr'n=nirvāṇa*, etc. It has been claimed that there is evidence revealing a strong influence of the literature of Northern Buddhism on Manichaean-Parthian literature.[38]

Buddhism did not altogether disappear from Soviet Central Asia and northern Afghanistan immediately after the advent of Islam under the banner of the Arabs. It gradually waned. The Qarakhanids were mainly responsible for converting the Chinese Central Asians to Islam despite opposition from the Uighurs who were great patrons of Buddhism. Old oases, particularly

[36] H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmaler*, Vol. I (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 42ff. and 105.

[37] P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 97; *East and West*, Vol. IX (1958), p. 276. Aśoka seems to be the earliest of the Indian monarchs whose epigraphs are known to have been discovered in the territories now included in Afghanistan. The provenances of his edicts in question, written variously in Greek, Aramaic, and 'an old Indic language' (=Prakrit), indicate the rule of the Mauryas in Paropamisadae and Arachosia. The ideas of an Indian king became known in these territories in the third century B.C. (*Year Book of the Asiatic Society for 1970*, p. 187).

[38] *BSOAS*, XII, pp. 47-48; B. A. Litvinsky and T. I. Zeymal, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40 (A Manichaean-Parthian text refers to Mani as the Buddha. The expression 'Mani-Buddha' appears in a Manichaean hymn in Turkic).

the areas having Buddhist centres, were destroyed or deserted. Their irrigation systems fell into disuse, and there was perhaps a general desiccation. Gradually, sand encroached upon and covered the pieces of evidence of Indian influence on the language and literature as well as the religion, art, and society of Central Asia. They lay hidden for a long time till the spades of treasure-hunters, explorers, and archaeologists began to unearth them in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since then it has been a continuous story of digging up the past to lay bare the areas of India's influence in early Central Asia.

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TIBET, MONGOLIA, AND SIBERIA

THE spread of Indian literature in Tibet, Mongolia, and Siberia coincided with the dissemination of Buddhism in these regions. The process started in Tibet in the seventh century A.D. and continued for a long time, making a great impact on its cultural life. Large masses of Buddhist Sanskrit texts—canonical as well as other philosophical and Tāntric texts—found their way to Tibet in the course of time and have been preserved there in literal and accurate translation. The translations were done by monk-scholars, of both Indian and Tibetan origin. As many of the original Sanskrit works are lost in India, the literature preserved in Tibetan has a very great value for Buddhistic studies. Quite a good number of Indian secular works are also found in Tibetan translation.[1] The influence of Indian literature came to be felt in Mongolia and Siberia later. The introduction of Indian thought and culture in these trans-Himalayan countries resulted in an intense literary activity which has been described by a German Orientalist thus: 'The waters of the Gaṅgā made fertile the arid steppes of Inner Asia'.[2] This paper attempts a general survey of the spread of Indian literature in Tibet, Mongolia, and Siberia from the available material.

TIBET

The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet from India took place in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. during the reign of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (A.D. 629-50), the greatest ruler of Tibet in ancient times. According to Tibetan chronicles, Tibetan had no alphabet of its own prior to this. The Tibetan alphabet was devised out of a North Indian script known as Kuṭila during the middle of the seventh century A.D. by Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa, minister of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa came to India to study Buddhist scriptures. He adopted the Indian alphabet and with a few modifications employed it for Tibetan. Indian literature came to be preserved in Tibet since the time of Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa who first translated into Tibetan Buddhist texts like the *Ratnamegha-Sūtra*, the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, and the *Abhiṣiñcanī-dhāraṇī* under the patronage of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.

[1] It may be mentioned that a large number of Indian Sanskrit texts, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, were preserved in Tibet and formed a precious collection. Rahula Sankrityayana found numerous texts preserved in original Sanskrit in the Zhalu monastery during his visit there in 1930-31. He brought a number of them to Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

[2] Quoted in Nirmal C. Sinha, *Greater India: Fact, Fiction & Fetish* (Bhagalpur, 1971), p. 10.

In this work he was assisted by three Indian scholars, Devavidyāsiṁha, Śaṅkara Brāhmaṇa, and Śīlamañju. The work thus started by him culminated in the production of an enormous mass of literature comprising 4,566 texts in Tibetan translation. These texts were codified and preserved in two sacred Tibetan collections, namely, the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (Buddha-vacana—Word of Buddha) and the Bstan-ḥgyur (Śāstra—Doctrinal Treatises).[3] It may be mentioned that Buddhism was propagated in Tibet by the teachers and missionaries from India and their Tibetan disciples in the midst of tremendous opposition from the followers and priests of the old Tibetan Bon[4] religion. In the course of this struggle, the Indian teachers had to exert, according to tradition, their magical and spiritual powers to win over the Bon-pa priests, and they had to perform many magical rites for invoking the terrible deities. Later on, Buddhism in Tibet developed into a mystic esotericism through *dhāraṇī*, *mantra*, *yantra*, *maṇḍala*, and *mudrā*, which were practised by the followers of the later Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism in India (i.e. cults like the Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, and Sahajayāna). Padmasambhava (*c.* A.D. 750-800) is said to have introduced the Vajrayāna Buddhism in Tibet and carried with him some Tāntric texts from India. *Vajramantrābhisandhimūla Tantra*, translated by Padmasambhava in collaboration with the Tibetan scholar Dpal-gyi-seṅge (Vairocana), was one of those texts.

BKAḤ-ḤGYUR COLLECTION

The authorship of all the texts preserved in the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur collection is attributed to Buddha, as they are said to be his commandments. This collection, containing 100 or 108 volumes, has three major divisions, viz. the Vinaya (Dul-ba), the Sūtra (Mdo or Mdo-sde), and the Tantra (Rgyud). The Vinaya section containing thirteen volumes consists of *Prātimokṣa-Sūtra*, *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-Sūtra*, *Bhikṣuṇī-vinayavibhaṅga*, *Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu*, *Vinaya-uttaragrantha*. The Tibetan version of the *Prātimokṣa* corresponds to the Sanskrit *Prātimokṣa* found at Kucha in Central Asia. The Pali *Pātimokkha* is considerably smaller in size.[5] The Sūtra section consists of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Avataṁśaka*,

[3] These two great collections, which took centuries to develop through the joint labours of both Indian and Tibetan monk-scholars, are popularly known as Kanjur and Tanjur. The former contains 1,108 texts and the latter about 3,458. They are, in the words of F. W. Thomas, the Śruti and Smṛti of Tibet. The Tibetan collections of translation of Indian texts are much larger than the Chinese both in accuracy and volume. The credit for compiling them goes to Bu-ston (A.D. 1290-1364), an eminent scholar and authoritative historian of the country.

[4] A kind of ancient Shamanism prevailed in Tibet as a distinct religion prior to the advent of Buddhism. For details see H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet* (London, 1961); M. Lalou, *Les Religions du Tibet* (Paris, 1957); and M. Eliade, *Shamanism* (London, 1964).

[5] The Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, the Sanskrit *Prātimokṣa* excavated from Kucha, and the original *Mūlasarvāstivāda* Vinaya discovered in Gilgit speak about the sources of Tibetan translation.

Ratnakūṭa, and *Nirvāṇa* or *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras*. The *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, numbering twenty-three in twenty-one volumes, are held in the highest esteem by the Tibetans. Available in six volumes, the *Avataṁsaka* texts describe the glorious activities of Buddha with his supernatural powers. It is interesting to note that the Chinese Tripiṭaka enumerates some of the sections of the *Avataṁsaka-Sūtra* under the heading *Hua-yen*. The *Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra*, consisting of about forty-nine texts in six volumes, speaks about the supra-mundane performances of the *buddhas*. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* has been translated by Tibetan scholars from time to time corresponding to its Chinese version. There are, moreover, a large number of texts including the *Avadāna* stories and moral and metaphysical doctrines of Buddha preserved in the Sūtra section and they form a separate group. Several *Paritta* texts in Pali have also been translated into Tibetan and preserved under the Sūtra section. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the fragments of the Sanskrit texts discovered in Central Asia sometimes do not differ much from those in Tibetan. The Tantra section, containing twenty-two volumes, has two broad subdivisions, inferior rituals and superior rituals. Each of these refers to four classes of Tantras, namely, *Kriyā Tantra*, *Caryā Tantra*, *Yoga Tantra*, and *Anuttarayoga Tantra*. According to tradition, Buddha delivered his secret doctrine in the assemblies of the supernatural deities and *buddhas* in heaven in order to expel the evils and other undeserving elements. This section also includes 233 *dhāraṇī* texts which are commonly used for *abhicāra-karma* (rituals and spells).

BSTAN-HGYUR COLLECTION

The Bstan-ḥgyur collection or the collection of Śāstra works, comprises the commentaries and philosophical texts written by great Buddhist saint-scholars, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrtti, and their successors. Besides the canonical and exegetical texts of Buddhism, a large number of secular texts have also been translated and preserved in this collection. The Bstan-ḥgyur contains 225 volumes. Two more volumes, one containing *stotras* and the other an index, are also included in this collection. The secular texts translated into Tibetan number about 1000. About 500 texts are listed in the Bstan-ḥgyur collection, while a large number are preserved in Tibetan translation separately as the contribution of the Indian masters. The secular Indian texts which were translated into Tibetan relate to various branches of general Sanskrit literature, viz. Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alaṅkāra, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Āyurveda, etc. The works translated include the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin, the *Nāgānanda* of Śrīharṣa, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, the Nīti texts ascribed to Cāṇakya, Mayūrākṣa, and Vararuci, the *Candra-*

chando-ratnākara, the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya Saṁhitā*, the *Amarakoṣa* with its *Kāmadhenu* commentary, the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, and the *Sarveśvara-rasāyana*.[6]

TRANSLATION OF INDIAN TEXTS

The spread of Indian literature in Tibet, which was started by Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa under the patronage of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, languished for a few decades after the death of the latter in A.D. 650. But it took a significant turn during the reign of King Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (A.D. 755-97), a descendant of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. He brought a new vigour to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet by establishing the Sam-ye monastery where the Indian teachers Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava preached the old Tantras and founded the Rniṅ-ma school. King Ral-pa-can (*c.* A.D. 824-36), grandson of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, was also a great patron of Buddhism. He invited a conference to standardize the technique of translating the Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan, particularly in respect of corresponding Tibetan terminology, metrical composition, and syntactical rules. Among the participating Tibetan scholars were Ye-śes-sde, Dpal-brtsegs, 'Jam-dpal-go-cha, and Chos-kyi-skyon. The Indian teachers included Bodhimitra, Dānaśīla, Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śīlendrabodhi, and Prajñāvarman. The eminent Tibetan scholar, Ye-śes-dbari-po, presided over the said conference. Nam-mkha'-sñiṅ-po, Ye-śes-sde, and Dpal-brtsegs were entrusted with the task of classifying and codifying all the Buddhist texts which had been translated into Tibetan up to the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Among the important texts translated into Tibetan during this period, the following may be mentioned: Vinaya texts—*Prātimokṣa* and its commentary, *Vinayavibhaṅga* commentary by Vinītadeva, *Vinaya-Sūtra* commentary by Dharmamitra, and *Vinaya-praśna-kārikā* of Kalyāṇamitra; Sūtra texts—*Bhadrakalpika-Sūtra*, *Dharmasaṅgīti-Sūtra*, *Samādhirāja-Sūtra*, *Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna* and its commentary by Alaṅkabhadra, *Ratnacandra-paripṛcchā*, and *Ratnajāla-paripṛcchā*; *Prajñāpāramitā* texts—*Śatasāhasrikā*, *Daśasāhasrikā*, *Saptaśatikā* commentary by Kamalaśīla, *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*, and its commentary by Vimalamitra, and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*; Philosophical texts—*Hetucakraḍamaru* of Diṅnāga, *Abhidharmakoṣa* with its commentary, *Pratītyasamutpāda* commentary, *Daśabhūmika* commentary by Vasubandhu, *Hetubindu* and *Sambandha-parīkṣā* of Dharmakīrtti, Yaśomitra's commentary of *Abhidharmakoṣa (Sphuṭārtha)*, Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, *Amaṇera-kārikā*, and *Yuktiṣaṣṭi-kārikā* with its commentary by Candrakīrtti, Vinītadeva's commentaries on *Nyāyabindu* and *Hetubindu*, Āryadeva's *Skhalitapramardana*, Buddhapālita's commentary of *Mūlamadhyamaka*, Asaṅga's

[6] Details may be found in V. Sastri, *Bhoṭaprakāśa* (Calcutta, 1938); Rahula Sankrityayana, *Tibbat me Bauddhadharma* (Allahabad, 1940); Nalinaksha Dutt, *The Gilgit Manuscripts* (Srinagar/Calcutta, 1939-59); and S. K. Pathak, *Indian Nītiśāstras in Tibet* (New Delhi, 1973).

Abhidharma-samuccaya, *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha*, and *Sūtrālaṅkāra* with its commentary, Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-samuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṅkāra* and its commentary by Kamalaśīla; Tantra texts—*Ḍākinījihvājvālā Tantra*, *Vajramantrāśanigraha*, and *Vajrasattva-māyājāla-guhya-sarvādarśa Tantra*.

Following the pattern of Sanskrit lexicons like the *Amarakoṣa*, Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionaries were compiled. The most important and the first authentic work in this category now extant is *Bye-drag turtogs par byêd pa (Mahāvyutpatti)*. This work is generally assigned a date prior to A.D. 825. There were other secular books too. Mention may be made in this connexion of *Siddheśvara* on medicine. The progress of Indian literature in Tibet was, however, handicapped when Buddhism had a setback in the land for a couple of centuries following the assassination (*c.* A.D. 836) of King Ral-pa-can, because of his devout faith in Buddhism. The renaissance in the field of Buddhism and Buddhist literature in Tibet was heralded by the advent of Dīpaṅkara (A.D. 982-1054), a distinguished teacher of the Vikramaśīlā monastery of India.

In the history of Indo-Tibetan cultural contact, the visit of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna or Atīśa may be considered as a landmark. Dīpaṅkara went to Tibet around A.D. 1041 and stayed there till his death (A.D. 1054). This period synchronized with Muslim incursions into India forcing many Indian scholars to take shelter in Tibet. A number of Tibetan scholars like Rin-chen-bzan-po, 'Brog-mi Śākya Ye-ses, Śākya'od, and Nima grag-pa flourished in Tibet during the eleventh century. Their mutual collaboration resulted in the translation of a good number of Sanskrit works into Tibetan. These were: Vinaya—*Samādhi-sambara-parivartā* and *Bodhicittotpāda-sama-dānavid* of Jetari; Sūtra—*Sumagadhāvadāna*; *Prajñāpāramitā*—*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* revised by Rin-chen-bzan-po and Indian pundit Subhāṣita; Philosophical texts—Aśvaghoṣa's *Paramārtha-bodhicittabhāvanā*, Āryadeva's *Hastabalaprakaraṇa*, Mātṛceṭa's *Caturviṣaya-kathā*, Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, Asaṅga's *Mahāyānottara Tantra* commentary, Dīpaṅkara's *Bodhipatha-pradīpa*, Bhavaviveka's *Madhyamaka-hṛdaya* and his commentary of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, Jñānaśrīmitra's *Kāryakāraṇabhāvanāsiddhi*, Vasubandhu's *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhaṅga*, Prajñākaramati's *Abhiṣamayālaṅkāra-vṛtti*, Dharmakīrtti's *Nyāyabindu* and *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*, Candrakīrtti's *Mūlamadhyamaka* commentaries, Nāgārjuna's *Mahāyānaviṁśikā*, *Yuktiṣaṣṭi-kārikā*, Dharmottara's *Apohaprakaraṇa*, and Ratnakīrtti's *Apohasiddhi*; Tantra texts—*Kālacakra Tantra*, *Yoginī Tantra*, *Hevajra Tantra*, and *Vajrāloka Tantra*. The secular texts translated into Tibetan during this period include *Vimala-praśnottaramālāratna*, a Nīti text ascribed to King Amoghavarṣa; *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya Saṁhitā*, an Āyurvedic text ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa; *Aśvāyurveda*, a work on veterinary science by Śālihotra; and *Subhāṣita-ratna-karaṇḍa* of Śrīharṣa.

The patronage of the Sa-skya monastery, founded in *c.* A.D. 1071, to the

leading Indian pundits like Alaṅkadeva, Dharmadhara, Kīrtticandra, Śākyaśrībhadra, Mitrayogī, Lakṣmīkara, and Sumanaśśrī resulted in the production of many important translations of Indian texts. Besides the Buddhist texts like Ārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* and Dharmakīrtti's *Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā*, a large number of secular texts were also translated during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among the secular texts were Ātreya's *Pratimāmāna-lakṣaṇa* on iconography, Amarasiṁha's lexicon *Amarakoṣa* with its commentary *Kāmadhenu*, dramas like the *Lokānanda* of Candragomin and the *Nāgānanda* of Śrīharṣa, Kālidāsa's poetical composition *Meghadūta*, Daṇḍin's work on poetics *Kāvyādarśa*, and Durgāsiṁha's commentary *Kātantra-vṛtti* on *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*.

The spread of Indian literature in Tibet received a further stimulus towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D. when the Dge-lugs-pa or Geluk-pa (Yellow) sect was established by Tsong-kha-pa (A.D. 1357-1417). Owing to the patronage extended by this sect, the period between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed remarkable literary activity in the country. Important Buddhist texts like the *Abhidharmakoṣa* commentary by Sthiramati and Nāgārjuna's *Īśvara-kartṛttva-nirākaraṇa* were translated together with many Indian secular texts, which include *Kālacakra-gaṇita*, *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa*, and *Mañjuśrī Śabdalakṣaṇa* and its commentary ascribed to Bhavyakīrtti, king of Kaliṅga. The rendering of Indian texts into Tibetan continued unabated in the following centuries also.

In conclusion, it may be noted that a technique distinct from that in other Asian countries was observed in the preservation of Indian literature in Tibet. As Sanskrit was introduced in the original into South-East Asia, Indian texts had been preserved there mostly in Sanskrit. Not much effort was, therefore, made in preserving Indian texts in the South-East Asian languages. But Indian texts, mostly belonging to the Mahāyāna Buddhism, are very largely preserved in translation in Chinese and Tibetan. The originals of these texts are not found in India and many of them are also lost in China and Tibet. The restoration of original texts from their foreign versions is evidently an extremely difficult task. But owing to the unique policy adopted in the Tibetan translations of the Indian texts, it has become easy for modern scholars to restore almost the original Sanskrit words from them. Although the practice of preserving the Indian texts through translation was introduced into China prior to that in Tibet, such restoration is not possible in the case of Chinese versions. The Tibetan translations were done more faithfully and the meaning of the sermons of Buddha remained literal. For every translation from Sanskrit (or Pali) into Tibetan one (or more) Tibetan scholar versed in Sanskrit had to work with one (or more) Indian scholar versed in Tibetan. The object was to make the translation accurate, literal, word-for-word, and in keeping with the Tibetan syntax. The idiom and imagery of the Sanskrit original were to be

fully reflected in the Tibetan diction and the two parties had to agree before a draft translation could be submitted for approval by the council of editors. The process was a stupendous one. But to produce the exact rendering, the Tibetan scholars had to undergo this and they did not spare any pains to probe the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar and to study the numerous homonyms and synonyms preserved in Sanskrit lexicons. In fact, a thorough acquaintance with these was a must for the work of translating Indian texts into Tibetan. The translators did not have the option of using words according to their choice and were advised to strictly confine themselves to the bilingual vocabularies compiled by Tibetan scholars in collaboration with Indian teachers. Such efforts resulted in very correct translations and, therefore, the Tibetan versions now available to us are close to the Sanskrit (or Pali) original.[7]

MONGOLIA

Buddhism and its literature in Tibetan translations reached the regions now known as Inner and Outer Mongolia through Tibetan missionaries during the second half of the twelfth century A.D. when these areas were integral parts of the khanate of Chingiz Khan (*c.* A.D. 1162-1227). Even before the introduction of Buddhism into Mongolia, the Mongols were somewhat familiar with the Buddhist culture around the sixth century A.D. through the Uighur and Sogdian teachers.[8] Mention may also be made in this connexion of the visit of two Indian Buddhist missionaries, Śākyavaṁśa and Narendrayaśas in the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. It is said that Kun-ga-rgyal-mtshan or Śākya Paṇḍita (A.D. 1182-1252) of Tibet instructed Godan, successor of Chingiz Khan,- in the teachings of Buddha. 'Phags-pa Blo-dros-rgyal-mtshan (A.D. 1235-80), a nephew of Śākya Paṇḍita, could also impress Kublai Khan, successor of Godan. In A.D. 1253 Kublai sought religious instruction from a learned Tibetan lama who was honoured as the Imperial Preceptor. This was the early story of how the Tartar Mongols adopted the doctrine of Buddha. In the course of time a large number of the Tibetan versions of Indian texts were rendered into Mongolian. Some books like *Lalitavistara* were available in the original (Sanskrit) in Mongolia. Mongol monks also flocked to the Tibetan monasteries in quest of the knowledge brought from India, the land of Buddha.

A few Buddhist *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs* of Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and some texts of Bstan-ḥgyur were translated into Mongolian during the time of Gulug Wu Tsung (A.D. 1308-11). The translations of the Tibetan Bkaḥ-ḥgyur was completed at the time of Legs-ldan-khutuktux Khagan of Cakhar (A.D. 1603-34).

[7] See Nalinaksha Dutt (Ed), *Prajñā* (Gangtok, 1961), Foreword.

[8] See S. K. Pathak, 'Sanskrit and Central Asia', *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal* (Hoshiarpur, Punjab, September, 1974), pp. 240ff.

The greater portion of the Tibetan canonical texts was translated, revised, and blockprinted in Mongolian during the time of the Chinese emperor K'ang Hsi (A.D. 1662-1722). Subsequently, Lcan-skya Rolpa'i rdo-rje and Blobzaṅ btsan-pa'i-ñimā were commissioned by the Chinese emperor Chien Lung to translate the texts of the Bstan-ḥgyur collection. During his reign forty-two *sūtras* ascribed to Mātaṅgakaśyapa, preserved in Chinese but lost in the original, were translated by a Mongolian scholar whose Sanskritized name was Prajñodayavyāsa.

Indic nomenclature, in pure Sanskrit or hybrid Mongol Sanskrit forms, was popular among monks and scholars as well as tribal chiefs. The translation of the *Saptarsinakṣatra-Sūtra* dates back to A.D. 1330 when Tub Temur Khan was on the throne. Mongolia had its own version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and there were shadow plays based on it. There is also evidence of Indian rhetoric and medical treatises being studied in Mongolia. The *Avadāna* stories in Buddhist Sanskrit and the *Jātaka* stories in Pali were translated into Mongolian in two collections, namely, *Uligarun Dalai* ('Ocean of Compassion'), and the *Altan-garal* ('Gold-lustre'), the latter corresponding to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra* preserved in the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur collection. It is said that this book was translated during the time of Gusri Khan (*c.* A.D. 1581). A similar work, *Cindamaṇi-kārikā* ('Wreath of Jewels of Wisdom'), was translated into Mongolian on the basis of the stories narrated by Dīpaṅkara about the pious deeds of the ancient teachers. The interesting story of Devī Manoharī, presumably drawn from an Indian source, was rendered into Mongolian by Gusi with the title of *Kundu-bilika Arilgaki Manuhari* under the patronage of Dsasaktu Hung-taiji by the end of the seventeenth century. A story named *Sudhanāvadāna* from the *Divyā-vadāna* and the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* resembles that of Manoharī. Even a scene of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* (Act IV) strikingly corresponds to this story. The Mongolian translation of *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā* was made with the title *Arji Borji*. The story mentions a King Kṛṣṇa of the city of Gokula on the bank of the Yamunā who succeeded King Bhoja. The Mongolian version was probably composed from a Tibetan translation which bore marks of the Buddhist tradition. The *Pañcatantra* stories also came into Mongolia from some unknown source. It may be mentioned that a number of them are also available in Tibetan translations.[9] Besides these, Indian Nīti texts in verses went to Mongolia to teach practical wisdom and rules of conduct for laymen and royal officials. *Oyun Tulkigur* ('Key to Understanding') is one such work available in Mongolian. A *gāthā* text, *Toba-yin gagao-u-logiji*, consisting of verses with examples and similes from the life of Buddha, was composed from some unknown Indian source. In this regard, we may mention the Mongolian version of the *Subhāṣita-*

[9] See P. Mukherji, 'Buddhist Literature in Mongolia', *Sino-Indian Journal* (July, 1947); Kowalewsky, *Mongolische Crestomathie*, Vols. I and II.

ratna-saṅgraha ('Collection of Elegant Sayings') ascribed to Śākya Paṇḍita of Tibet. The Mongol tradition of writing Nīti works may also be referred to in this connexion, which was a legacy of Indian impact. Thus, both religious and secular texts of India have been preserved in Mongolia since the fourteenth century A.D. The contributions of Mongolian lamas and scholars are remarkable in disseminating Indian literature and culture in the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a period which may be described as the 'Golden Era' in the cultural history of Mongolia.

SIBERIA

Buddhism spread among the people of the trans-Baikalian Siberia much later than in Mongolia. It was firmly established among the Siberian Buryats by the end of the seventeenth century. The Kalmyks, however, had embraced Buddhism through the Tibetans earlier. In A.D. 1725 Damba Dorje Sayait of Buryat Mongolia visited Tibet and studied Buddhist scriptures there. After his return to Buryat in A.D. 1740 with a large mass of scriptures and objects of worship, he was recognized as the chief among the Buddhists in Siberia. The teachings of Buddha thus went to Siberia through the Tibetan collections, Bkah-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur, which preserved the *verbatim* translation of the Indian originals. The impact of Buddhism has exerted a tremendous influence on the development of the entire culture of the Buryats and Kalmyks in Siberia, who are today found in the Buryat ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), especially in the Aginsky National Area of Chita Autonomous Region and the Buryat National Area of the Irkutsk Region, and in the Kalmyk ASSR and the Tuva Autonomous Region.

Of the Kalmyk contributions in the field of translation of the canonical and non-canonical texts into Mongolian from Sanskrit, the translation of the *Damamūkanāma-Sūtra* made in the seventeenth century may be mentioned. *Siddhikür*, corresponding to the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, was another important specimen of the Kalmyk Mongolian translation from Sanskrit. The Tibetan version of the Vetāla stories is also available. The *Rāmāyaṇa* story was known in Siberia and there is evidence of the epic having been translated in the Kalmyk language.[10] Among the important seats of Buryat learning where Indian texts were preserved in Tibetan and Mongolian versions, the Aginsky monastery deserves special mention. It has been known to the world as the seat of Buddhist scholars like Zamcarano, Tshybikov, and Baradin, who attained international reputation for their Sanskrit scholarship. The Aginsky monastery has two temples; the earlier one dates back to A.D. 1816 and the other was built in A.D. 1846. The library of the monastery with its own printing

[10] Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), p. 631.

house has been a famous centre for Buddhist learning in Siberia. Bethlenflavy has thrown new light on the Indian texts, preserved and printed in the monastery, which had been carried to Siberia through Tibet and Mongolia about three hundred years ago. The catalogue written in Tibetan is a comprehensive bibliography of Mongolian and Tibetan texts which include a large number of Indian works preserved either in Tibetan or Mongolian.[11] These may be classified on the basis of prints as follows: Long prints—(i) canonical texts from the Buddhist Sanskrit sources, (ii) treatises of the Buddhist teachers, (iii) commentaries and manuals for studying philosophy and mysticism, and (iv) texts on medicine, pharmacology, chemistry, etc. Medium size prints—119 texts consisting of indigenous Tibetan works. Short prints—fifty-four texts on Tāntric rituals and practices. New Short prints—ninety-nine miscellaneous works by the native scholars. The texts collected in the first category contain the works of Indian masters like Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, and others, besides the Sūtra and the Vinaya texts like the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśa-Sūtra* and the *Vinaya-Sūtra*. A thorough study of the catalogue may provide new knowledge regarding Indo-Siberian cultural relations. Soviet scholars at Leningrad, Moscow, Ulan-Ude, and Chita are engaged in compiling exhaustive catalogues and reference media of this great literature of Buddhism in Northern Asia.[12]

The library of the Ivolginsky monastery (constructed in 1944-45) preserves 100 volumes of Ganjur (Tibetan Kanjur or Bkaḥ-ḥgyur) and 220 volumes of Danjur (Tibetan Tanjur or Bstan-ḥgyur). It may be noted that this monastery has its own rare collection of the *Navaratna* Ganjur, based on the Tibetan Narthang edition and written in nine inks prepared from silver, mumin, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearl, iron, and conch. This tradition of scribing the teachings of Buddha with multicoloured ink had been imported from India.

Thousands of texts and compendia which are now available in Tibetan and Mongolian, including Buryat and Kalmyk, bear the legacy of India, especially traces of the way of life and thought which prevailed in ancient India. Due to the vicissitudes of history most of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts are lost in India and many are even unknown to us. But they are still carefully preserved in the Tibetan and Mongolian records. Furthermore, many traditions and practices have been lost and forgotten by the present generation in India, but these are still faithfully continued and meticulously preserved by the people of Tibet, Mongolia, and Eastern Siberia as the most precious heirlooms inherited from their ancestors.

[11] For a Tibetan Catalogue of the Blocks of the Lamaist Printing House in Aginsky, see Bethlenflavy, *Acta Orientalia Academic Scientiarum Hungaricae* Vol. XXV (1972), pp. 53-72.

[12] Regarding bibliographical works on Indian literature in Northern Asia where Tibetan was the medium of communication, publications from the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, are noteworthy Mention may particularly be made of Lokesh Chandra's *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* (1963) and B. Rinchen's *Four Mongolian Historical Records* (1959).

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CHINA, KOREA, AND JAPAN

I

CHINA (A): LITERATURE OF BUDDHISM

INDIA and China had knowledge of each other from pre-Aśokan times,[1] though active contacts between the two countries began during the first century A.D. with the introduction of Buddhism into China.[2] The story that Buddha's teachings reached China even as early as *c.* 217 B.C. has no historical basis and has been discarded as 'a pious legend forged in later times when Buddhism had been well established in China'.[3] Although the date of the advent of Buddhist texts and images in China can be definitely put in the year 2 B.C., Buddhist missionaries from India began their visits to China from A.D. 65. The first Indian missionaries to China were Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa, who translated a number of Buddhist works into Chinese. Gradually, Buddhism came to occupy an important place in Chinese life, and in the Wei period (A.D. 386-534) it became a State religion. The visit of Fa Hien to India and his stay in this country for about a decade (from A.D. 401 to 410) is a matter of great significance in the history of Sino-Indian cultural relations in general and the growth of Buddhist literature in China in particular. He was not only one of the first-known Chinese pilgrims to India,[4] but also the first authentic translator of the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya which he discovered in a monastery of Pāṭaliputra and carried to China. He completed the translation round about A.D. 424. Sino-Indian cultural contacts reached their heyday during the T'ang period (A.D. 618-907) when Buddhism made its deepest impact on the Chinese mind. This period was the most fruitful one in the history of translation of Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese. Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing, famous Chinese pilgrims to India, who were themselves great Buddhist scholars and translators of outstanding calibre, belonged to this period. The Chinese version of the Tripiṭaka is in the main a translation

[1]The reference to China as 'Cīna' in the *Mahābhārata* can be accepted as one of the pointers to this belief.

[2]The earliest contact between India and China, however, can be traced to a couple of centuries earlier. We are informed that India had trade connexions with south-western China as early as the time of Chang Kien, i.e. the second century B.C. Some Indian stories seem to have migrated to China from India directly or indirectly through some frontier people even during the pre-Christian era. They are traceable in the writings of Huainan Tseu, a Chinese author of the second century B.C.

[3]P. C. Bagchi, *India and China* (New York, 1951), p. 6.

[4]In his journey from China, Fa Hien was accompanied by four other Chinese monks, viz. Hui Ching, Tao Ching, Hui Ying, and Hui Wei. On their way to Central Asia they came across another party of Chinese pilgrims to India consisting of five monks—Che Yen, Hui Kien, Seng Shao, Pao Yun, and Seng Ching. Both the parties joined and made their journey to India.

from the Indian original. The translations were made by both the Chinese Buddhist scholars and Indian monks. The work of translating Indian Buddhist texts, which began as early as the first century A.D., continued throughout the first millennium of the Christian era. By means of translations and commentaries, the Chinese collection has preserved for the world today a good number of texts of the vast Sanskrit canon of Buddhism, while the originals in Sanskrit are lost in India.

SŪTRA, ŚĀSTRA, AND VINAYA

The Chinese Buddhist canon forms a huge collection. It follows the broad pattern of the usual Buddhist classification, viz. (1) the Sūtra or the *Buddha-vacana* or the Word of Buddha, (2) the Abhidharma or the Śāstra,[5] and (3) the Vinaya or the Code of conduct and discipline that one has to follow in one's cultivation of the Buddhist way. The entire canon again falls into two broad divisions—Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

SŪTRA TEXTS

Of the *sūtras* of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, there are several classifications. The *sūtras* of Hīnayāna consist chiefly of the *āgamas* (viz. *Dīrgha*, *Madhyama*, *Saṁyukta*, and *Ekottara*) which are the Sarvāstivādins' collection of Buddha's teachings. The *āgamas* form a small part in the Chinese collection. Some *sūtras* are also grouped together as *pen-yuan-ching*, a term which can be translated as *jātakas* or *avadānas*. They form a kind of mixed group of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts. The Chinese Sūtra Piṭaka also includes at least three different translations of the *Udānavarga* (the *Dhammapada* in Pali) made as early as the third and fourth centuries A.D. The *sūtras* of Hīnayāna attracted but little attention in China. The major *sūtras* of Mahāyāna, on the other hand, have been from the very beginning the subject of very wide, serious, and sincere study. Practically, every important Buddhist school in China has come to base itself on one or the other of these *sūtras*. These *sūtras* of Mahāyāna are classified into certain groups, namely, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Nirvāṇa*, and *Vaipulya*.

In the *Prajñāpāramitā* group, the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-Sūtra*, the shortest and the most widely used text, has now six different translations in Chinese, while the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā* has two. One of these is by Kumārajīva, famous Buddhist philosopher and scholar, who worked in China in the early fifth century. He translated most of the early Mādhyamika texts including the *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, well-known commentary on the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā*, traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna, famous Mādhyamika philosopher. The biggest in this group is the one translated by Hiuen Tsang. This is in two hundred *chuans*

[5]In the Chinese collection, the Abhidharma Piṭaka is known as the collection of Śāstras.

and corresponds roughly to the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The central theme of the *Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtras* is the undivided Being as the ultimate Reality, and this is expounded through *śūnyatā*. These *Sūtras* are overwhelmingly negative in their form, method, and approach.

The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Avataṁsaka*, and *Nirvāṇa Sūtras*, each of which is central to its own group, set forth and emphasize different aspects of the philosophy of Mahāyāna. Each of these *Sūtras* provides the basic inspiration as well as the ideological foundation to a specific school of Buddhism. The school that takes the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra* as its basis is called the T'ien-t'ai school, named after the mountain T'ien-t'ai where its activities were centred. It is also called the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka school. To the T'ien-t'ai school the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* is fundamental. It accepts the *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra* as its basic Śāstra or expository text. We do not have the original Sanskrit version of the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*. It was translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema who worked in China in the fifth century. A *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* translated slightly earlier with a shorter text was rejected later. The *Avataṁsaka-Sūtra* or *Buddhāvataṁsaka-Sūtra*, basic text of the *Avataṁsaka* group, has three different versions counted separately as large, medium, and short. One of the sections in the *Avataṁsaka-Sūtra*, the section on the ten *bhūmis* (levels), expounds the levels in the course of a *bodhisattva's* wayfaring. This section was translated separately as an independent *sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika-Sūtra* or *Daśabhūmīśvara-Sūtra*, the *sūtra* on the ten *bhūmis*. This *Sūtra* has a commentary by Vasubandhu, famous philosopher of Vijñānavāda. For some time, there prevailed a separate school of Buddhism in China called the school of the *bhūmi* text, which based itself on Vasubandhu's commentary on this *Sūtra*. Later, it merged with the main stream of the Avataṁsaka school. The *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* is an independent treatise expounding the different levels, counted as seventeen, in the course of a *bodhisattva's* wayfaring. This work of great value was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. While the *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra* can be said to have provided the logical foundation for the philosophy of Mahāyāna, this work provides the psychological analysis and the details pertaining to the kinds and levels of wayfaring. But it also seems to have the additional ideological element of emphasizing *citta* or *vijñāna* as the all-inclusive reality. Thus it assumes an idealistic trend and has been regarded as a basic text for Vijñānavāda.

The group called *Vaipulya* or the 'Wide Collection' contains *sūtras* of miscellaneous type; it is none the less quite important. Included in this group are the texts of what are sometimes called the 'Collection of *sūtras*' or the *Sūtra-samuccaya* and the 'Great Collection' or the *Mahāsannipāta*. The *sūtras* of the group called *Ratnakūṭa*, which itself may be counted separately, also form a part of the *Vaipulya*. Among the important *sūtras* of this group, mention may be made of the *Vimalakīrtti-nirdeśa* which is one of the foremost. It is an extremely

absorbing text, short in length but equal in profundity to the *Prajñāpāramitā*. This *sūtra* has been widely studied and deeply admired by all the schools of Mahāyāna in China, but it has a special affinity with the Ch'an (or the Dhyāna) school. Then there are in the *Vaipulya* group, the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtras*. These are basic to the Fa Hsiang (or the Dharmalakṣaṇa) school which in fact is the Vijñānavāda in China. This school played a very important role by providing considerable material and insight to the ideology not only of several Buddhist schools, but also of certain non-Buddhist schools of Chinese philosophy. Lastly, we may mention another *sūtra* in this group, viz. the *Amitāyus-Sūtra* (or the *Amitābha-Sūtra*), also called the *Sukhavatīvyūha*. This *sūtra* is put in the *Ratnakūṭa* group when it is counted as one of the *sūtra* groups. The principal text of the *Ratnakūṭa* group is the *Mahāratnakūṭa-Sūtra*, which is a collection of forty-nine different texts. In the Chinese collection, the *Amitāyus-Sūtra* has three different versions counted separately—large, medium, and short. The school that is based on this *sūtra* is called the 'Pure Land' school. It is one of the most popular schools of Buddhism in East Asia.

ŚĀSTRA OR ABHIDHARMA TEXTS

All the seven Śāstra or Abhidharma texts (viz. *Jñāna-prasthāna*, *Saṅgītiparyāya*, *Prakaraṇapāda*, *Vijñānakāya*, *Dhātukāya*, *Dharmaskandha*, and *Prajñaptisārapāda*) of the Sarvāstivāda school, one of the most important early schools of Buddhism, are preserved in Chinese translations. The term *abhidharma* means in this case the analysis, definition, and classification of elements as well as the laying bare of the various ways in which the elements function in order to bring about events that constitute the world of experience. The Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school is a vast philosophical literature of profound value. The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* is a great commentary on the *Jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra* which was the basic text of the Sarvāstivāda study of *dharmas* (entities). This was the main work and the other six were deemed supplementary to it, all now available only in their Chinese translations. The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* is an extremely absorbing work expounding the basic philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda. This was rendered into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang, who translated also a number of very important Vijñānavāda works. This interesting combination of Sarvāstivāda-Abhidharma and Vijñānavāda is a feature that prevailed widely in India even during the time of Vasubandhu. His *Abhidharma-koṣa-śāstra* is an exposition of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine of the Dharma, on which he himself wrote a commentary from the Sautrāntika standpoint criticizing the doctrine of the ultimacy of elements that was basic to the Sarvāstivāda. He later wrote the famous *Viṁśikā* and *Triṁśikā* expounding the basic philosophy of the Vijñānavāda. *Abhidharmakoṣa-śāstra* in this case serves as a preliminary to the study and comprehension of the Vijñānavāda. The school of Buddhism

that prevailed in China as the Koṣa school was later absorbed into the Fa Hsiang school. Another school based on the text *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* lasted for a while in China. This text was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. It is believed that he translated this text in order to provide a kind of stepping-stone to the more complete criticism of the Sarvāstivāda, and thus to the more mature philosophy of the Mādhyamika. The Satyasiddhi school soon got overshadowed by the Mādhyamika. The Mādhyamika school is known as the 'School of the Three Treatises', namely, the *Mādhyamika-śāstra* and the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna, and the *Śata-śāstra* (or *Catuḥśataka*) of Āryadeva. Based on these texts along with the *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, there came into being the 'School of the Four Treatises', which, in contrast with that of the 'Three Treatises', emphasized the positive side of the teaching of *śūnyatā*. Later it was absorbed into the T'ien-t'ai school which accepted the *śūnyatā* teaching as well as its positive import so well expounded in the *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra*.

Among the Mahāyāna texts in the Śāstra class, the *Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra* and the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* are the most significant and outstanding. But in the Chinese collection, there are a large number of *śāstras* of Mahāyāna which are either expositions of special topics like logic, psychology, and metaphysics or brief introductions to different systems. Among them may be mentioned the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra*, *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*, and *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-śāstra*. All these are idealistic in their approach to, and in their presentation of, the nature of ultimate Reality. The *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra* is recognized even in the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen (Avataṁsaka) schools, while the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* is a basic text of the Fa Hsiang school.

VINAYA TEXTS

The Vinaya class in the Chinese collection is usually rich and of enormous value. We have here the Vinaya texts of five different Buddhist schools, viz. the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Mahīśāsakas, the Dharmaguptakas, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The Vinaya texts in the Chinese collection belonging to the first four of these schools were translated in the early fifth century. The texts of the last were brought to China and translated by I-ching in the eighth century. These texts are hardly available except in their Chinese versions. The introduction of the Vinaya literature into China was comparatively late. It was brought about in order to meet the growing need of regulating the community life of the Saṅgha and for discipline in the daily life of its members. In the early stages, this need was met by the Vinayas of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas. However, the Vinaya that eventually gained the appreciation of the Chinese was the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, also called the 'Vinaya of the Four Sections'. It is with this as the basis that the Vinaya school came into being in China. There has been no Mahāyāna Vinaya as such. Some parts of the

Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra and the *Daśabhūmika-Sūtra* are reckoned as the Vinaya, as they prescribe the course of training to be taken by a *bodhisattva*. The interesting thing is the way in which the 'Vinaya of the Four Sections' has been interpreted so as to be in tune with the basic philosophy of Mahāyāna, making use of the *ālaya-vijñāna*, a conception that is central to the Vijñānavāda.

TANTRAYĀNA OR MANTRAYĀNA SŪTRAS

There are in the Chinese collection also a number of *sūtras* that together form the source of the esoteric school of Buddhism known as Tantrayāna or Mantrayāna, which grew in India around the eighth century A.D. largely under the influence of Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism. The basic philosophy of two groups of these *sūtras*, with the *Mahāvairocana-Sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara-Sūtra* as their centres, is that of Mahāyāna. The mystic forms included in the Tantrayāna school are Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, Sahajayāna, etc. Of these, only the texts of the Vajrayāna variety are available in Chinese, while those of the other forms are not. Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra, two Indian monks, carried the Vajrayāna works to China and translated about 150 of them into Chinese between A.D. 720 and 774. Śubhākarasiṁha, another Indian monk and a teacher of Buddhist mystic doctrine, came to China in A.D. 716. Among the translations he attempted to undertake, the most notable was that of the *Mahāvairocana-Sūtra*. Two other Indian monks, Dharmadeva and Dānapāla (?), rendered into Chinese about 200 Vajrayāna texts towards the end of the tenth century A.D. Many of these Vajrayāna works are in the form of *mantras*, *dhāraṇīs*, and *sādhanas* relating to the deities of the Mahāyāna pantheon.

The vast literature preserved in Chinese consisting of translations from the original Indian Buddhist works in Sanskrit amply testify to the study of Sanskrit in China during the first millennium A.D. Chinese Buddhist scholars not only collaborated with the Indian missionaries in translating the Buddhist texts, but also translated the texts themselves. They used to learn Sanskrit under the tutorship of Indian missionaries. To facilitate the process, Chinese-Sanskrit dictionaries were compiled, some specimens of which are available to us. It may not be out of place to note that a variety or derivative of Brāhmī called Siddham or Siddhamātṛkā, used in North India during the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, was introduced into China in the eighth century A.D. and became very popular there. Its popularity in China was due to its association with the Mantrayāna school. This script was used in China during the eighth and tenth centuries A.D. for writing Sanskrit *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*. Several manuscripts have *dhāraṇī* texts in Sanskrit and in the Siddham script together with their Chinese transliterations. In some cases, Siddham as well as Chinese was written vertically. A similar way of writing Siddham (vertically and from right to left) may be noticed in an inscription found at Hsuan-wu in the Loyang

District of China. It contains a version of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī* engraved on a stone tablet at Shao-lin in Honan (China). Bricks in certain temples in Yunnan (China) bear magical formulas in the Siddham script. It appears that Prakrit was also known in China in the early centuries of the Christian era and is supposed to have played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in the country. The Prakrit inscription (second/third century A.D.) in the Kharoṣṭhī script referring to Buddhist Saṅgha, found at Lo-yan, is of great significance in this context. Some scholars believe that many of the early translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese were well versed in Prakrit and some early Buddhist texts (e.g. the *Dīrghāgama* translated in A.D. 413) might have been translated into Chinese from Prakrit (Gāndhārī Prakrit) originals.

CHINA (B): SECULAR LITERATURE

The introduction of Buddhism into China, as already seen, marked a new epoch in the history of cultural exchange between India and China. This initial contact gradually deepened into closer relationship and learned monks as well as laymen marched along the routes that linked these two ancient centres of civilization. Moreover, the entire length of the trade routes that ran through Central Asia and connected India with China were dotted with flourishing Indian colonies which in various ways helped the spread of Indian culture in Central Asia and China. In the course of this close contact over a long period, the Chinese not only acquired intimate knowledge of Buddhism and translated hundreds of books on Buddhism, but also gained a first-hand knowledge of the other aspects of Indian culture such as music, painting, sculpture, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, astrology, etc. They also translated and summarized Indian books on different subjects, references to which are found in the official bibliographies compiled in China. When we study the lists of Indian books on secular subjects translated into Chinese, two facts stand out in sharp relief. Firstly, most of these books were translated by the Buddhists during the Sui (A.D. 581-618) and T'ang (A.D. 618-907) periods. Secondly, the majority of the Indian books translated deal with astronomy and astrology. Indian mathematics was only appreciated as a useful tool to understand Indian astronomy. Even the books on medicine translated in the earlier period are comparatively few. Although Indian music, painting, and sculpture exerted great influence on the corresponding aspects of Chinese culture, no reference is now available to Indian books on music and Śilpa-śāstra being translated into Chinese. The reason for the preference for Indian books on astronomy can be traced to the important position which astronomy enjoyed in Chinese culture as well as to the high state of development the Indians attained in this branch of science as early as the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. As for the importance of astronomy in Chinese culture during ancient and medieval times, we

have to take note of the 'basic quality' of Chinese astronomy, namely, its 'official character' and 'intimate connexion with the government and the bureaucracy'.[6] Thus the stage was perfectly set for Sino-Indian collaboration which resulted in the incorporation of Indian astronomical knowledge in the Chinese scientific tradition.

Astronomy: The annals of the Sui dynasty, completed by Wei Cheng in A.D. 636, contains in its bibliographical catalogue the following Indian astronomical works, almost all beginning with the words *Po-lo-men* (Brahmin)[7]: *Po-lo-men-t'ien-wen-ching* ('The Brahmin Astronomical Manual'), *Po-lo-men-chie-ch'ie hsien-jen-t'ien-wen-shuo* ('The Astronomical Theories of the Brahmin Sage Chie-ch'ie'), *Po-lo-men-t'ien-ching* ('The Brahmin *Sūtra* on the Sky'), *Mo-teng-chi-ching-huang-tu* ('A Map of the Sky in the *Mātaṅgī-Sūtra*'), and *Po-lo-men-yin-yang-suan-li* ('The Brahmin Calendrical Methods'). These works must have been circulating in China about A.D. 600. As all these works are now lost, it is difficult to say what their contents were and how far their theories were accepted by Chinese scholars. In the T'ang period, the influence of Indian astronomy was felt even more, and the number of Chinese books which were either translations of Indian books or based on Indian material increased. Lo, a member of the Gautama school,[8] presented to Empress Wu in A.D. 684 a new calendar called *Kuang-tse-li*, 'The Calendar of the Bright House'. This calendar was in use for three years.[9] Between A.D. 718 and 729, Indian astronomer Siddhārtha (Hsi-ta), who was president of the Bureau of Astronomy at the Chinese capital and the most distinguished member of the Gautama school, produced *K'ai-yuan-chan-ching*, the greatest collection of the Chinese astronomical and astrological fragments from the fourth century onwards. Chapter CIV of this collection is virtually a translation from an Indian calendar, *Navagraha-siddhānta*.[10] It is usually believed that this calendar was similar to the material contained in the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira.[11] The *Chiu-chih*, as it is called in Chinese, introduced Greek astronomical terms adopted in Indian books. As A. Wylie[12] has shown, *li-to*, a minute (Sanskrit *liptā*), is originally a Greek word. So also is the case with

[6]Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 186ff.

[7]Cf. P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[8]There were three Indian astronomical schools at Ch'ang-ngan during the seventh century, viz. Ch'ut'an (Gautama), Chiayeh (Kāśyapa), and Chumolo (Kumāra).

[9]P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[10]*Ibid.* See also R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Memorial Volume* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 200, and Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 175. The translation by Hsi-ta was, however, not literal, and all the computations were recast for the latitude of Ch'ang-ngan (Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 203, f.n. 'e').

[11]Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 175, f.n. 'i'.

[12]Cf. his *Chinese Researches* (Shanghai, 1897), pp. 86ff.

Sanskrit *horā*, an hour, which appears to have been rendered in Chinese as *huo-lo*. The Kumāra school contributed a method of computation of solar eclipses to the *Ta-yen-li* or the *Ta-yen* Calendar (A.D. 728), the compilation of which was started by I-hsing, a Chinese Buddhist monk. I-hsing died in A.D. 727, and the work was completed by Chang Yüeh and Ch'en Hsüan Ching under the Imperial order. The influence of Indian astronomy on this calendar is evident from its introduction, in the Indian fashion, of nine planets, namely, the sun, the moon, the five planets, and Rāhu and Ketu.[13] The Kumāra school produced an astrological manual in Chinese based on Indian tradition. Four Buddhist astronomical texts were translated into Chinese during the T'ang régime. These texts reached China through Serindian intermediaries, particularly the Sogdians. Although the names of the days of a week are given in these texts in their Sogdian forms (namely, *mir*, Sunday; *max*, Monday; *wnxan*, Tuesday; *tir*, Wednesday; *wrmzt*, Thursday; *maxid*, Friday; and *kewan*, Saturday), the titles of the texts in which they occur point to their Indian origin.[14] The book entitled *Fan-t'ien-huo-lo-chiu-yao* ('The *horā* of the Brahma and the *navagraha*') was falsely attributed to I-hsing, but in reality it was not translated before A.D. 874.[15] *Ch'i-yao-hsing-ch'en-pieh-hsing-fa* ('The Different Influences of the Seven Stars and Lunar Mansions') lists the lunar mansions and gives the number of stars in each one.[16] The other two books are *Ch'i-yao-jang-tsai-chiu* ('*Mantras* for Averting the Evil Influences of the Seven Planets') and *Wen-shu-li-p'u-sa-chi-chu-hsien-so-shuo-chi-hsiung-she-je-shan-ngo-su-yao-ching* ('*Sūtra* Spoken by Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the Sages on the Auspicious and Evil Days, and the Good and Evil Planets and Lunar Mansions'). The latter was translated by P'u K'ung or Amoghavajra. It was annotated by Yang Ching Feng, a Chinese disciple of Amoghavajra, in A.D. 764. Yang Ching Feng mentions the seven planets with their names in Sanskrit, Sogdian, and Persian and points out that these planets—the sun, the moon, and the five planets—control the destiny of man. It was the same Amoghavajra who translated another Buddhist astrological work named *Hsiu-yao-ching* in A.D. 759, which was also commented upon by his disciple.[17] His commentary shows the great influence Indian astronomers and astronomy exerted on China. He wrote: 'Those who wish to know the position of the five planets adopt Indian calendrical methods. One can thus predict what *hsiu* (a planet will be traversing). So we have the three clans of Indian calendar

[13]Ch'en Hsüan Ching's joint declaration with Ch'ut'an Chuan in A.D. 733 that the *Ta-yen* Calendar was a plagiarism of the *Chiu-chih* Calendar as translated by Hsi-ta from an Indian original is also a pointer to this direction. Cf. Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[14]P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[15]Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 176, f.n. 'b'.

[16]*Ibid*, p. 204.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 202.

experts, Chiayeh (Kāśyapa), Ch'üt'an (Gautama), and Chümolo (Kumāra) all of whom hold office at the Bureau of Astronomy. But now most use is made of the calendrical methods of Master Ch'üt'an together with his "Great Art", in the work which is carried out for the government.'[18] The 'Great Art' might refer to trigonometry which, as Yabuuchi points out, was the main contribution of the *Po-lo-men* books and the schools of the Indian astronomers to Chinese mathematics.[19]

Mathematics: Due to the development of trigonometry, Indian astronomy was valued in China, and Indian works on mathematics were translated and incorporated in Chinese works. The Yin-te Index No. 10 mentions three books on mathematics, all beginning with *Po-lo-men*.[20] These books were in circulation in the Sui period. *Po-lo-men-suan-fa* ('The Brahmin Arithmetical Rules') and *Po-lo-men-suan-ching* ('The Brahmin Arithmetical Classics') are the two Indian books on mathematics which find mention in the annals of the Sui dynasty.[21] Shen Tso Che (*c.* twelfth century A.D.) says that in his days the children of China used to learn mathematics from printed Buddhist text books.[22] He gives the name of such books as *P'u-sa-suan-fa* ('Bodhisattva Calculation Methods').[23]

Medicine: Chinese Buddhist monks had felt interest in the Indian medical system even from the fifth century A.D.[24] There is a work called *Chih-ch'an-ping-pi-yao-fang* ('The Method of Curing the Diseases Concerning Meditation') by Ching Sheng, a Chinese noble converted to Buddhism. It treats of the ailments of the heart and nerves caused by shocks and distractions during meditation. Translated in A.D. 455, this is a compilation from different texts of Indian origin.[25] *Hsi-yü-ming-yi-so-chih-yao-fang* ('The Best Prescriptions Collected by the Most Famous Physicians of the Western Countries') listed in the bibliographical catalogue of the Sui annals[26] might have contained prescriptions from India. The same bibliography also mentions a book called *Po-lo-men-yao-fang* ('Brahmin Pharmaceutics'). The Yin-te Index No. 10, however, mentions three Indian books on pharmaceutics.[27] The Chinese Buddhist collection includes a few other Indian medical texts, some of which are of purely Buddhist inspiration. The Sanskrit work, *Rāvaṇa-*

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, f.n. 'd'.
[20] Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I (1961), p. 128, f.n 'b'.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 128, and P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 170
[22] Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 88.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 128.
[27] *Ibid.*, f.n. 'b'.

kumāra Tantra, which deals with the method of treatment of children's diseases by spell as well as fumigation, was translated into Chinese in the eleventh century A.D. Another Chinese text of the same century, which deals with the treatment of pregnant women's diseases, is probably a translation of a portion of the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā,* a celebrated Āyurvedic compendium.[28]

II

KOREA AND JAPAN

Buddhism, which had its origin in India, was introduced into China by Indian Buddhist missionaries during the first century A.D. Gradually, a Chinese form of Buddhism with its own peculiar special features came into existence and thus a new sphere of Buddhist culture emerged in East Asia covering Korea and Japan with its centre in China. Although Buddhism thus disseminated was almost entirely Chinese in character, there were some Indian *ācāryas* who also played significant roles in spreading the religion of Buddha and its literature to these two countries directly from India.

KOREA

With the introduction of Buddhism two streams of civilization, Indian and Chinese, converged in ancient Korea. As Korea's knowledge of Indian Buddhist literature was coloured mainly by Chinese versions of Indian texts, a study of early Korean literature, therefore, enables one to have an 'indirect' idea of the spread and influence of Indian literature in Korea. Unfortunately, there was no growth of any literature in Korea in the early centuries of the Christian era, as it had no national script to express ideas in the Korean language. It could probably boast only of oral tales and folk-songs. The country was divided into three kingdoms, namely, Koguryo, Paikje, and Silla. They flourished side by side between A.D. 313 and 668. In A.D. 669 Silla unified them all and held sway over Korea till the beginning of the rule of the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 935-1392). Of the three kingdoms, Koguryo, which was nearest to China, had adopted Buddhism as early as A.D. 372. Its king Sosurim Wang allowed Buddhist priests to bring with them Buddhist literature, images, etc. from China, and schools and temples grew up. In A.D. 374 the first Indian monk Ahdo came to Korea, and in A.D. 384, first regnal year of King Chimryu Wang, the religion spread to Paikje. In this Malānanda, second Indian monk to visit Korea, played a notable role. In A.D. 540, the then Chinese emperor of the Liang dynasty, at the request of the king of Paikje, sent not only the sacred scriptures of the Buddhists, but also many teachers. A local monk

[28]P. C Bagchi, *op cit*, p. 172.

named Kyumik brought from India sacred Buddhist texts relating to Vinaya and translated them into Chinese. A third Indian monk named Mukhoja visited in A.D. 417 (during the reign of King Nulchi Wang) the neighbouring kingdom of Silla which adopted the Buddhist religion in A.D. 528. Wuncheuk (A.D. 613-96), leading scholar of Silla, was a great Sanskritist. His contribution in developing the tenets of the Vijñaptimātratā school is noteworthy. The commentaries of Wunhyo (A.D. 617-86), who was a master of the Avataṁsaka school in Korea, were held in great esteem in China. During the reign of King Chungsuk Wang (A.D. 1314-30) another Indian monk named Jigong came to Korea. I-chang, a Korean scholar who came to India in A.D. 673, stayed in Nālandā for about a decade and studied Buddhist scriptures. Then he travelled all over India and collected many Sanskrit texts. When he returned to Korea in A.D. 695, he brought with him as many as 400 Sanskrit texts. Several other Korean scholars also came to India and studied Buddhist scriptures here.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE FIRST KOREAN SCRIPT

The introduction of Buddhism necessitated the study of the Buddhist scriptures in Pali and Sanskrit, and also the writing of texts and annotations in native Korean. But the native language and literature were unequal to the task, for, as has already been said, it had no script. The Chinese system of writing, which obviously penetrated into Korea in the meantime, could not serve the purpose of a national script in Korea as Korean was different from Chinese in almost every respect. The experimentation was, however, made to adapt Chinese ideographs to Korean conditions. It took several centuries but ultimately bore no fruitful result. In A.D. 1446 King Sejong of the Yi dynasty (A.D. 1392-1910) developed a script for Korean called Hanggul. It was the first Korean system of writing, and many Buddhist scriptures were published in this script. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Hanggul script consisting of twenty-eight letters[29] was adapted from Sanskrit. It may be mentioned here that the study of Sanskrit characters known as Siddham had also been introduced into Korea and the use of this script is still in vogue in the land for writing Sanskrit.

PUBLICATION OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

The printing of *Daejang-gyung* (Buddhist scriptures which were originally written in Sanskrit and translated into Chinese and Mongolian) was the greatest achievement of the Koryo dynasty. This corpus of scriptures was based

[29]Later on, the number of letters was, however, reduced to twenty-four by merging the other four in letters of similar sounds.

on the Chinese edition[30] brought to Korea by Mukhwa in A.D. 981. The printing was started during the reign of King Hyunjong (A.D. 1010-31). A Buddhist monk named Uichun brought from China in A.D. 1086 some 3,000 commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures and many more were collected from Liao and Japan. These were preserved in the Hungchunsa temple and 1,010 copies of 4,740 volumes were reprinted in A.D. 1096. These texts were reprinted thrice in order to seek divine intervention during Mongol incursions. In this way, nearly 6,000 Buddhist scriptures were printed, but the Mongol hordes destroyed in A.D. 1232 all the blocks for the printing of the scriptures. Only the lists of the subjects and a few of the printed volumes survived and were preserved in the Buinsa temple (near Taegu). The *Daejang-gyung* texts were reprinted under the guidance of Sugi, chief priest of the Kaetaesa temple, from the new Koryo capital in the islet of Ganghwa where the capital was transferred due to Mongol invasions. Here in A.D. 1236, after sixteen years of hard labour, 1,511 copies of 6,791 volumes of the sacred scriptures were printed from 81,658 wooden blocks. These blocks have come to be known as the 'Eighty Thousand', and are now preserved in the Hawinsa temple. Some Buddhist scriptures were also copied in gold and silver letters.[31]

BUDDHIST INFLUENCE ON KOREAN LITERATURE

The earliest *genre* of Korean poems is known as *hyangga*. Only twenty-five specimens of these poems are available now, of which fourteen were composed between the reigns of Chinpyong (A.D. 579-632) and Hon'gang (A.D. 875-86), and the remaining eleven were composed in the early part of the reigns of the Koryo kings. Some of these poems show the influence of Buddhist philosophy and metaphysics, and it appears that they were composed by Buddhist monks. 'Chanki-parangka' and 'Mojukjirangka', for example, have beautifully blended poetic excellence with Buddhist philosophy of life. But this Buddhism was of the Vajrayāna variety, because in one place *vajra* has been compared with *śūnya*. The poems 'Tosolka' and 'Chonsutaebika' breathe the prayerful attitude of Buddhism. Towards the end of the Koryo rule, a literary style known as *sijo* came into vogue. Some think this to be an offshoot of the *hyangga*, others trace its origin to the Buddhist songs introduced from China. Although this literary style remained in vogue for nearly 700 years, only ten specimens have reached us. One of these refers to the reign of King Sejong of the Yi dynasty, who, on the death of a favourite queen, asked his son, Prince Su Yang, to

[30]Commenced in A.D 718 during the T'ang rule, the work of the Chinese edition was completed during the reign of the first Sung emperor in A.D. 971.

[31]*Vide* Tae Hung Ha, *Korea—Forty-three Centuries* (Seoul, 1962), pp. 67-68.

compose a biography of Buddha. The prince accordingly composed *Sokpo Sangjol* sometime before A.D. 1450. The king was exceedingly pleased with the work and himself composed many lyrical poems in praise of Buddha. During this time, many Buddhist texts were composed in the Hunmun language. In the fifteenth century an important work called *Kumo Sinhwa* was written by Kim Si Sup (A.D. 1435-93). It contains five independent stories of which one is entitled *Manboksa Chap'o Ki* ('Game with Buddha'). The Buddhist ideal inspired also another work called *Kun Mong*, one of the best in Korean literature. Another great writer, Kim Manchung, discussed in his famous work *The Cloud Dream of the Nine*, written in A.D. 1689, the basic philosophies of the three great religious systems of the East, viz. Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. He placed Buddhism in the forefront. Buddhism thus played a significant role in the development of literature in Korea.

Indian tales and fables went to Korea and made a great impact there. Korean folk-songs were influenced by Indian tunes. In the evolution of the instrumental and vocal music of Korea as well as Korean dance, India made a considerable impact. Styles and principles of Indian art and architecture also exercised a great influence in Korea. In fact, Indian culture had its impact on every field of Korean culture and made notable contribution towards its enrichment.

JAPAN

It was through Buddhism that Indo-Japanese cultural contacts came to be established and Indian influence on Japanese literature came particularly to be felt. Buddhism was officially introduced into Japan from Korea in A.D. 552 during the reign of Emperor Kimmei (A.D. 539-71) when an image of Buddha and some copies of the Buddhist scriptures were brought to the Japanese court by a representative of the Korean king of Paikje or Kudara. The new faith, however, did not meet with immediate acceptance, but eventually its success was assured with the victory of the pro-Buddhist group in the royal court.

STUDY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

The study of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures became quite extensive in Japan since the last decade of the sixth century A.D. and was an important feature of Japanese cultural life. The find of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts in old Brāhmī characters preserved intact in Horyuji, the most ancient monastery extant in Japan, and some other old monasteries is a pertinent point in this connexion. In fact, these manuscripts are even much older than the oldest manuscripts found in India, as they date from the first half of the sixth century A.D.[32] (It may be mentioned here that the earliest

[32]Hajime Nakamura, *Japan and Indian Asia* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 3.

manuscripts which India now possesses date back 1,000 years or so.) All these manuscripts must have been brought from India to China via Central Asia, and from there to Japan. The patronage of Empress Suiko (A.D. 592-628) and Prince Shotoku (*c.* A.D. 622) to Buddhism was a factor of great significance so far as the spread of the Dharma and the study of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures are concerned. When the Horyuji temple was constructed in A.D. 607, the prince often discoursed there on the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, particularly the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra*, the *Mālādevī-siṁhanāda-sūtra*, the *Vimalakīrtti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, etc. His commentaries are still extant. In a little over fifty years, Hetuvidyā or Buddhist logic was also introduced into Japan. It has been stated of Dosho (d. A.D. 700) that he went to China to study the Vijñaptimātratā (i.e. Buddhist idealism) as well as the system of Buddhist logic under Hiuen Tsang. He returned to Japan in A.D. 661 and began to teach Buddhist logic from the Genkoji temple. In the Nara period (A.D. 710-94), the study of the subject received further impetus when Genbo went to China in A.D. 716 to study Buddhist logic under the guidance of Chih Chou, grandson of the founder of the Hosso sect which propagated the teachings of Buddhist idealism. On his return to Japan, he began to discourse on the subject from the Kofukuji temple. It constituted a subject for study by the adherents of the Hosso sect, whose major disciplines were the study of the *Abhidharmakoṣa* and Buddhist idealism. Hajime Nakamura has drawn our attention to the fact that in the bibliography entered at the end of *Immyo-Zuigenki* ('The Origin of Buddhist Logic') written by Hotan in the first half of the eighteenth century, eighty-four Japanese works have been listed on the subject and many of them were undoubtedly studied in earlier times.[33]

The scope for studying Buddhist scriptures was expanded during the Nara period, as it included the study of the Vinaya as well as the *Abhidharmakoṣa* of Vasubandhu, the *Satyasiddhi* of Harivarman, the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, besides works on Buddhist idealism like Dharmapāla's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, and the *Avataṁsaka* or *Buddhāvataṁsaka* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*)-*Sūtra*. These have been designated as the 'Six Schools of the Ancient Capital'. The first three belong to the Hīnayāna school of thought, while the others to the Mahāyāna. Of the texts current in ancient Japan, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra* was the most important and popular, and it has often been referred to in Japanese literature. Bodhisena, a great Buddhist savant of India, who visited Japan in A.D. 736 on a special invitation from Emperor Shomu, used to teach Sanskrit and the *Hua-yen* (*Gaṇḍavyūha-Sūtra*) in different monasteries of Japan till his death in A.D. 760. His principal disciple Shuyei wrote in A.D. 770 an eulogy on his

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

death, mentioning therein how 'the sage was reduced to eternal calm all too sudden, as charcoal is extinguished (as is set forth in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra*)'.[34] Bodhisena acted as the officiating minister in the historic dedication ceremony of the statue of Vairocana Buddha held in the city of Nara, the then capital, in A.D. 746 in the presence of both Emperor Shomu and Empress Komyo and eminent Japanese monks. This as well as his appointment as an archbishop by Imperial order in A.D. 750 attests to the great honour accorded to an Indian monk by the Japanese royalty. Dharmabodhi is said to have visited Japan in the first half of the seventh century. He is recorded in Japanese history as the first Indian monk to have come to Japan. The visits of Dharmabodhi and Bodhisena throw a flood of light on Indo-Japanese cultural relations in the first millennium of the Christian era.

The Indian texts current in medieval Japan are not all well known. But if one is to judge from the writings of Jogan (A.D. 1632-1702) and Jiun, also known as Onkwo (A.D. 1718-1804), their range must have been considerable. Of the Buddhist texts studied in Japan in those days, the following deserve particular mention: the *Sukhāvatīvyūha-Sūtra*, *Bhadracarīnāma Ārya-Samantabhadra-praṇidhāna*, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-Sūtra*, and *Prajñāpāramitānaya-Sūtra*. The corpus of study included, in addition to such important Buddhist texts, many Sanskrit *dhāraṇīs*, *stotras*, *gāthās*, grammars, and lexicons. Sanskrit studies received great impetus in Japan from Jogan who was a great Sanskritist himself. He wrote a book called *Shittan-sanmitsu* which is an authoritative text on the Sanskrit studies in the country. He also edited some Sanskrit *dhāraṇīs*. Jiun was a great Buddhist scholar and a prolific writer. *Juzen-hogo* is one of his important works, which contains his sermõns to the royal family on the ten fundamental virtues of Buddhism. The tradition of Sanskrit studies, it may be mentioned, is still very much alive in Japan, and there are many students in different colleges and universities of the country who learn this sacred language of India.

JAPANESE ALPHABET : INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

Japanese, like Korean, also suffered from the handicap of not having any national script for the first few centuries of the Christian era. The Chinese language and its written characters had obtained great vogue in the land, particularly among the official class. The extant chronicles of Japan of the ancient period covering A.D. 686 to A.D. 784,[35] the *Kojiki* (A.D. 712) and the *Nihongi* (A.D. 720), and the first

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[35] Earl Miner in his *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, 1968) has classified the history of literature of ancient and medieval Japan under the following periods:

great anthology of Japanese poetry *Manyoshu* (A.D. 760) were written in Chinese or, what was worse, in a transliterated form of Chinese. But Chinese was unsuitable for the Japanese language, as the latter was phonetic, while the former was ideographic. The Japanese language, like Sanskrit, is inflectional. Its rules governing syntax, morphology, phonology, and semantic structure follow a pattern of its own. The forty-seven letters of the Japanese alphabet are said to have been devised by the Japanese Buddhist saint Kobo Daishi, also known as Kukai (A.D. 774-835), after the Sanskrit alphabet. The arrangement of the Japanese syllabary based on the Sanskrit system is also attributed to the influence of Bodhisena in Japan which, according to Riri Nakayama, 'will continue as long as the Japanese language continues to exist'.[36] It has been pointed out that the old Japanese song 'Iroha-uta', which contains all the forty-seven Japanese letters, is a liberal translation of a Sanskrit Buddhist hymn in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*.[37] The Indian script known as Siddhamātṛkā or Siddham, called Hsi-t'an in Chinese and Shittan in Japanese, gained currency in Japan for writing Sanskrit from the eighth century. It was introduced by Kobo who was responsible for bringing Mantrayāna Buddhism from China to Japan. Even now, Sanskrit letters are sometimes used in Shinto rites, and mountaineers preparing to climb Mount Ontake sometimes paint or print the auspicious word 'Om' in Siddham on their scarves. Some details regarding the Siddham script have been preserved in *Bonji-shittanjimo-narabi-ni-shaku-gi*, a text written by Kobo. The title of the text signifies 'Sanskrit and Siddham scripts and the explanation of their designations'. It describes the origin of the Indian scripts, the explanation of different *dhāraṇīs*, etc. More important than Kobo's work was the text *Shittan-zo* ('Siddham Ratnākara'), written by An-nen in A.D. 880. The work narrates at the beginning what is known from original Chinese sources about Sanskrit and the Siddham script. The author then examines the transliteration of Sanskrit words in Chinese characters and compares the phonetic value of both. Lastly, he discusses

(i) Ancient period: A.D. 686-784;
(ii) Classical period (first phase): A.D 784-1100;
(iii) Classical period (second phase): A.D. 1100-1241; and
(iv) Classical period (final phase): A.D. 1241-1500.

A somewhat different classification has been furnished by Donald Keene in his *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York, 1955). This classification is as follows:

(i) End of the Ancient period: A D 794;
(ii) The Heian period: A.D. 794-1185;
(iii) The Kamakura period: A.D. 1185-1333;
(iv) The Muromachi period: A.D. 1333-1600; and
(v) The Tokugawa period: A.D. 1600-1868.

We have followed Miner.

[36]Cf. Chaman Lal (Ed.), *India and Japan · Friends of Fourteen Centuries* (Hoshiarpur, 1959), p. 48.

[37]*Ibid.*

all the letters of the Siddham script and all their possible combinations. Each of the letters of this script is deemed to be a *bīja* and identified with a deity.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE STORIES

A considerable portion of the cosmogonical and mythological literature of Japan bears traces of Indian influence. Hajime Nakamura has observed: 'Some stories of ancient India were very influential in shaping Japanese stories by providing them with materials. In the process of shaping, however, Indian materials were greatly modified and adapted in such a way as would appeal to the mentality of the common people of Japan in general.'[38] Post Wheeler has also said: 'Many fragments of the Japanese myth-mass are unmistakably Indian.'[39] The original homeland of the first man and woman of Japanese mythology is said to have been in the Earth-Residence-Pillar, i.e. Mount Meru of Indian mythology. Wheeler thinks that the episodes concerning the eating of poisoned food in the Hades by the Food-god and the creation of crops and domesticated animals out of his various limbs have their parallels in Indian mythology. Similarly, the story of the growth of bamboo-shoots from the teeth of the comb thrown by the first man called He-Who-Invites in his flight from the nether world, to bar the path of the pursuit of the Ugly-Females-of-the-Land-of-Night, is believed to have been of Indian origin.[40] The story has, however, also Persian parallels.[41] Whatever one may think of the Indian origin of this episode, there is hardly any doubt about the origin of the story of the Buro-no Kami whose identity has been established with the deity called Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male. This Kami may be none other than the Indian deity Gavagrīva, the Ox-head deity.[42] The story recounts in the style of the *jātakas* how the deity punished the heartless rich brother and rewarded the kind-hearted poor brother. In India one of the names of the moon is Śaśāṅka (lit. having a rabbit in the lap) and there is an ancient Indian legend why it is so called. The belief prevalent in ancient Japan that there lived a rabbit in the moon was probably an outcome of the Indian influence.[43] The story of the monkey and the crocodile mentioned in the *Jātaka* appears in a slightly modified form in *Sasekishu*, a medieval Japanese collection of popular stories. The story is referred to in a work by Nichiren (A.D. 1222-82) and also in *Konjaku-monogatari*. Among other episodes,

[38]Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), p 363.

[39]Post Wheeler, *The Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese* (London, 1952), p. 421.

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]*Ibid.*

[42]In the text called *Gien-Engi*, it has been stated: 'There is a kingdom to the North of India named K'yuse. Its king is named Gozu-Tenno (Ox-Head-Heaven-King)...'

[43]Cf. Lokesh Chandra, *loc. cit.*

one may recall the Indian Purāṇic story of the sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga[44] who had never seen the face of woman and was ultimately seduced by Śāntā, daughter of King Lomapāda. The story is likely to have reached Japan in the trail of Buddhist legends. In the Japanese garb, the sage is designated Ikkaku Sennin, i.e. the Unicorn sage.[45] A famous medieval Japanese drama *Narukami* has been based upon this story. These instances clearly illustrate the nature and extent of 'Indian influences on Japanese stories'.[46]

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE CLASSICAL WORKS

Japanese classical works also reveal 'a great deal of Indian influence',[47] both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical.

The works of some important poets of the first phase of Japanese classical literature, extending from A.D. 784 to A.D. 1100, show considerable Buddhist influence. The *nikki* or diary of Murasaki Shikibu offers us an insight not only into the court and aristocratic life of contemporary Japan, but also furnishes sidelights on the impact of Buddhism on it. The greatest work of Japanese literature, indeed one of the dozen masterpieces of world literature, namely, *The Tale of Genji*, by the same author, is not immune from similar influences. The second phase of Japanse classical literature covers the period from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1241. Some of the works of this period also bear the marks of Buddhist thought. This was principally due to the immense effort made by various Buddhist sects to bring the religion closer to the common man. In this direction, the efforts of Shinram (A.D. 1175-1262) deserve particular mention. He wrote many articles like 'Tannisho' and 'Kyo-gyo-shinsho' in easy Japanese for the comprehension of his rustic followers, laying particular stress on the veneration of Amitābha Buddha. The work of Dogen (A.D. 1200-1253) was not the less important for the propagation of Buddhist teachings. He gave regular discourses to his disciples at the monastery of Eiheiji and these were posthumously published. Of these texts, the best-known is *Sho-bo-gen-zo* which is recognized as an authoritative text on the essence of the True Doctrine in Japan. Nichiren, who founded the Hokke sect in A.D. 1252, taught his disciples the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra*. It was the most sacred text of the Hokke sect and one of the principal works of the Tendai and Zen sects. It is also worth noting here that there are three complete translations of the Chinese Tripiṭaka including the

[44]Literally, the name means 'the Antelope-horned'. As the sage had one horn on his head, he was also called 'Ekaśṛṅga', i.e. 'Unicorn' or 'Monoceros'.

[45]Hajime Nakamura, *op. cit.*, p. 4. For the drama rendered into English, see Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-68.

[46]Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[47]*Ibid.*

supplementary twenty-five volumes of the Taisho edition of the Tripiṭaka.[48] Apart from religious and scholarly texts, some poems of this period also show distinct Buddhist influences. A moving description of the Buddhist philosophy of flux in the phenomenal world has been drawn up by Kamo-no Chomei (A.D. 1153-1216) in his work called *An Account of My Hut*: 'The flow of the river is ceaseless and its water is never the same. The bubbles that float in the pools, now vanishing, now forming, are not of long duration: so in the world are man and his dwellings...Whence does he come, where does he go, man that is born and dies? We know not. For whose benefit does he torment himself in building houses that last but a moment, for what reason is his eye delighted by them? This too we do not know...I have installed an image of Amida (i.e. Amitābha). The light of the setting sun shines between its eyebrows. On the doors of the reliquary, I have hung pictures of Fugen (i.e. Samantabhadra) and Fudo (i.e. Acalanātha).'[49] Towards the end of this period was published *Uji Shui Monogatari* containing 194 tales which were probably compiled in the early part of the thirteenth century. Many of its tales breathe the Buddhist spirit of dedication and morality in right *Jātaka* style.[50] The last phase of Japanese classical literature covers the period A.D. 1241 to A.D. 1500. A poetess of this age was Chikako (*c.* A.D. 1300), some of whose writings exhibit the influence of Zen Buddhism. In fact, other writings of this period also betray this impact in various degrees.

Japanese literature is also replete with instances of the influence of the Hindu theory of Karma and the transmigration of the soul. Although Buddhist deities like Buddha, Maitreya, Amitābha, Samantabhadra, and Vairocana predominate Japanese literature, Hindu deities like the Sea-god Varuṇa (Japanese Suiten), the king of gods Indra (Japanese Taishakuten), the god of success Gaṇeśa (Japanese Shoten), the god of wealth Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera (Japanese Bishamon), the goddess of learning Sarasvatī (Japanese Benten or Benzaiten), the goddess of fortune Lakṣmī (Japanese Kichijoten), Mahākāla or Śiva (Japanese Daikoku), the divine architect Viśvakarman (Japanese Bishukatsuma) are also quite well known. In the annals of the Todaiji temple, it has been stated that the worship of Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī was first introduced in Japan in A.D. 722 and continued down the centuries. In *Bessom Zakki* ('Description of Gods'), written in the twelfth century in the Siddham

[48]B. Nanjio entered in his famous Catalogue as many as 1,662 texts classified into four divisions, namely: (i) the Sūtra Piṭaka, (ii) the Vinaya Piṭaka, (iii) the Abhidharma Piṭaka, and (iv) Miscellaneous. Hobogirin, in a still later Catalogue, includes 2,184 texts printed in fifty-five volumes of the Taisho edition. Supplementary texts written in Japan and China are included in another twenty-five volumes.

[49]Donald Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-207.

[50]For some of the stories see *ibid.*, pp. 213 ff.

script, a corrupt Sanskrit *mantra* reads: *Sarasvatai svāhā namo sarasvatyai mahādevyai svāhā, namo bhagavati mahādevi sarasvati sidhyatu mantrapadami svāhā.*[51] A description of Sarasvatī occurs in the voluminous text *Asabasho* by Shocho (A.D. 1205-82) and the rituals connected with her worship have been recorded by Ryoson (A.D. 1279-1349) in Chapter CXLIX of his *Byaku-hokku-sho* ('The White Jewel Oral Tradition'). The adoption of these Hindu deities into the Buddhist and Shintoist[52] pantheons of Japan indicates the influence of India on Japanese religions as well as the syncretic character of the religious systems of Japan.

The survey made above reveals the immense contribution of India to the theology of Japanese Buddhism as well as to Japanese literature. The present indications are that the texts utilized were written in Sanskrit, probably in the Siddham script, and there was no intrusion of Pali, unlike in the Buddhist countries of South-East Asia. The Buddhist religion, until the Meiji Restoration of A.D. 1868, was the religion of the royalty, the aristocracy, and the masses. Consequently, the Japanese literature has not been able to escape the all-pervading sweep of this religion. The impact of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody is not discernible anywhere, but the vocabulary has received many words of Sanskrit origin.

[51] It is preserved in the Ninnaji temple of Kyoto; images and their description occur in fifty-seven scrolls.

[52] Shintoism has been designated by some scholars as the Japanese version of Hinduism.—Cf. Chaman Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 ff.

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CEYLON (SRI LANKA) AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA*

CEYLON

CULTURALLY, Ceylon has never been isolated from the Indian mainland since the dawn of history. The geographical proximity of the two countries contributed to the long history of their intimate contacts. Buddhism, which is 'the greatest of all links between India and Ceylon',[1] was introduced into the island from India during the reign of Devānaṁpiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.) by Aśoka's son Mahinda and daughter Saṅghamittā. The earliest records of Ceylon are in the Brāhmī script of Aśoka's time noticed specially in the inscriptions of Western and South India.[2] As there was no alternative system of writing in Ceylon in the pre-Christian centuries, the earliest literary heritage of the country before the third century B.C. presumably belonged to the domain of unwritten folk-literature, in which the principal ingredients were cosmogonical stories, myths, legends, ballads, folk-songs, proverbs, and the like. The introduction of Buddhism gave the first great impetus to usher the writing age in Ceylon and the Brāhmī inscriptions bear testimony to this phenomenon.

PALI LITERATURE

The sacred texts of Buddhism in Ceylon are in Pali which developed from a North Indian dialect known as Māgadhī.[3] The Pali literature of Ceylon, which flourished in the island after the establishment of Buddhism, is vast in range and depth.[4] There is hardly any doubt that the greater part of the canonical texts of the Theravāda school was fashioned in India and possibly given final approval in the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka, and then transmitted to Ceylon. For about two centuries thereafter the canon circulated orally, as in India in the early days of Buddhism, from teacher to pupil, as explained in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[5] Due to periodic visitations of famine and the consequent dispersal of monks, knowledge of the sacred canon grew dimmer. It was therefore decided to put down the sacred texts in writing, and this was done during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi in the first century B.C. Many non-canonical Pali texts were also written in the island and Pali commentaries on canonical texts were often translated

*This article has been edited by Dr D. C. Sircar (DCS).

[1]M. D. Raghavan, *India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 69.

[2]S. Paranavitana (Ed.), *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 13.

[3]For the origin of Pali, see p. 185 of this volume.

[4]For a succinct account, *vide* M. Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. II, pp. 1-226; G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1958); B. C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, 2 Vols. (London, 1933); and pp. 185-202 of this volume.

[5]XXXIII. 100.

into Sinhalese. It seems reasonable to hold the view that the earliest canonical texts were brought to his country from India by Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, but the *aṭṭhakathās* (commentaries) thereon written in Old Sinhalese were gradually drawn up locally for exegetical needs and, whenever necessary, these were retranslated into Pali. It is usually believed that upon these *aṭṭhakathās* were based the two famous Pali chronicles of Ceylon, the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, of which the former was composed at the close of the fourth century A.D. by an unknown author, while the latter, a more ornate text, was composed towards the end of the fifth century A.D. by Thera Mahānāma. The *Cūlavaṁsa*, a supplement to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, was composed by Dhammakitti in the thirteenth century. The style of these two texts reminds one of the Sanskrit *kāvyas*. A commentary on the *Mahāvaṁśa* called the *Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīkā* was written in Ceylon between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1250, but it contains many extraneous matters.

The most outstanding author in the history of Pali literature is doubtless Buddhaghoṣa, an Indian Brahmin converted to Buddhism, who came to Anurādhapura in Ceylon during the reign of King Mahānāma (A.D. 409-31). One of his works, the *Samantapāṣādikā*, a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, was translated into Chinese as early as A.D. 489. In his introduction to this work, he tells that he had translated the *Sīhala-aṭṭhakathās* into Pali.[6] Among his other important works mention may be made of the *Visuddhimagga*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, *Papañcasūdanī*, *Sāratthapakāsinī*, and *Manorathapūraṇī*. His scholarly works in Pali established the language firmly in the Buddhist world. Buddhadatta, believed by many to be a contemporary of Buddhaghoṣa, was the author of a commentary on the *Buddhavaṁsa* called *Madhuratthavilāsinī* and of several works on the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. Besides Buddhadatta, other commentators like Dhammapāla, Upasena, and Mahānāma made substantial contributions to the growth of Pali literature in Ceylon. A ninth century text seems to be the *Khema-pakaraṇa*, whose author Khema furnishes here an exposition of the Abhidhamma.

Pali as well as Sanskrit studies received great impetus during the Polunnaruva-Dambadeniya period (ninth-thirteenth centuries), and there was a galaxy of brilliant writers in these languages. One of the earliest and best-known authors of the time was Moggallāna, whose *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*, a Pali grammar, was very popular and led to the growth of a new school of Pali grammar in the island. The most versatile scholar of the period was, however, Sāriputta whose work in the field of Sanskrit grammar and linguistics was matched by his compositions in the field of Pali literature. He is the author of the *Vinayasaṅgaha* which offers a summary of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Commentaries on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* and the *Majjhima Nikāya* also came from his pen. His

[6] The Sinhalese commentaries translated by Buddhaghoṣa are not extant now.

magnum opus was, however, the *Sāratthadīpanī*, a sub-commentary on Buddhaghoṣa's *Samantapāsādikā* on the Vinaya Piṭaka. All his works in various degrees bear the imprint of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. The *Mahābodhivaṁsa* or the *Bodhivaṁsa* by Upatissa, which seems to have been composed either in the last quarter of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, bears the impact of Sanskrit. Its language may be termed as Sanskritized Pali. The language of the *Dāṭhāvaṁsa*, written in five cantos by Dhammakitti in A.D. 1211, is also Sanskritized Pali. The *Thūpavaṁsa*, available in both Pali and Sinhalese recensions, was probably composed in the thirteenth century by Vācissara. Kalyāṇīya's poetical work *Telakaṭāhagāthā*, exhorting people to lead the good life, is assigned to this period. A commentary on the *Mahāvaṁsa* called *Vaṁsatthapakāsinī* may also have been written during this period.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Sanskrit inscriptions and the existence of a fairly extensive Sanskrit literature attest to the importance of Sanskrit in Ceylon's cultural and religious life. One of the earliest extant Sanskrit texts written in the island in the fourth century A.D. is *Sārārtha-saṅgraha* by King Buddhadāsa. An outstanding composition in Sanskrit is the *Jānakī-haraṇa* by King Kumāradāsa (A.D. 513), who was himself a great Sanskrit scholar. Sanskrit grammars and lexicographical texts were introduced from India to facilitate the study of Sanskrit. These also sometimes served as models for texts written in Sinhalese. Not only was Candragomin's grammar (*Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*) assiduously studied in Ceylon, but also used by Moggallāna as a model for his famous Pali grammar. Sāriputta of the Polunnaruva-Dambadeniya period composed a concise Sanskrit grammar called *Pādāvatāra* and also a commentary called *Pañjikālaṅkāra* on Ratnaśrījñāna's *Pañjikā* which again is a commentary on *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*. In a mixed Sanskritic style, he also composed the *Abhidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sannaya* which gives a word-for-word explanation of the Pali text attributed to Ānanda. A great scholar of the time of King Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-86) was Dimbulāgala Mahākāśyapa who wrote the Sanskrit grammar *Bālāvabodhana*. Even a glossary of synonyms like the *Abhidhāna-pradīpikā* was drawn up on the pattern of the famous Sanskrit lexicon, the *Amarakoṣa*. There were also Sanskrit treatises on Śilpa-śāstras, particularly on the statuary art, as for example, the *Śāriputra*. In about A.D. 1245, a Brahmin scholar from Gauḍa (Bengal) named Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī came to Ceylon and was converted to Buddhism. He received the title of 'Bauddhāgama Cakravartī', from King Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-68) for writing a work entitled *Bhakti-śataka* in glorification of Buddha. It is 'essentially a Hindu poem' as far as its idea and treatment are concerned. Buddha is praised here in 'precisely the same fashion as Rāma,

Kṛṣṇa or Śiva in Brāhmaṇical *bhakti* poems'.[7] The poem is comparable to the *saraṇa* works in Sinhalese of almost the same period, such as *But-saraṇa*, *Daham-saraṇa*, *Saṅga-saraṇa*, etc. The same author is also credited with the composition of the *Vṛtta-ratnākara-pañjikā*, which is a commentary on the famous Indian Sanskrit text on prosody called *Vṛtta-ratnākara* by Kedāra Bhaṭṭa. Very often subject-matters have also been borrowed from famous Indian Sanskrit works or allusions have been made to them. There is hardly any doubt that Sinhalese monks of the Mahāyāna school used Sanskrit as the vehicle of their ideas and studied the language and its literature extensively. Outside literature proper, Sanskrit was used not only in inscriptions on votive tablets of Ceylon, but also in many of the *dhāraṇīs* or brief mystic forms of prayer or spells, dating mainly from the ninth century, in the eastern Indian script of the Pāla period.[8]

SINHALESE LITERATURE : INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

The linguistic and literary traditions of India made a great impact upon the Sinhalese language and literature. They fashioned their growth from the formative stage. Sinhalese emerged as an Indo-Aryan speech like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, and Gujarati.[9] The contributions of Sanskrit and Pali to the corpus of Sinhalese vocabulary as well as to the development of literary Sinhalese are indeed immense. The language was also influenced to a large extent by the Dravidian languages of South India, particularly Tamil.[10] Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana says: '...while in regard to its word equipment, Sinhalese is the child of Pali and Sanskrit, it is, with regard to its physical structure, essentially the daughter of Tamil'.[11] In the matter of script also, Ceylon has been profoundly influenced by India. The influence of the Grantha script of South India, which is a form of Brāhmī, can be noticed in the current script of Ceylon, and scholars believe that the latter is derived from the former.[12] The earliest extant Sinhalese verses seem to be recorded in the three Brāhmī inscriptions of the third century B.C. Of the extant Sinhalese works, the oldest is *Siyabas-alaṅkāra*, a text on poetics composed in the ninth century after the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin. It is attributed to King Sena I (A.D. 831-51). Works of Kālidāsa were very popular in Ceylon. His masterpieces like the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, and *Meghadūta* were 'regarded as models of poetic composition and were an inspiration to Sinhalese writers and poets. . .'.[13] *Sikavalanda Vinisa*

[7] M. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 379. Such *māhātmya* texts extolling the merciful bounties of Buddha were composed by the Mahāyānists. Other works of this nature are the *Buddha-gadyaya*, the *Anuruddha-śataka*, etc.

[8] For their texts, see N. Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1967), pp. 99-105.

[9] M. D. Raghavan, *op. cit*, p. 80.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[12] Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), p. 205. See also *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 72.

[13] M. D. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

and *Heraṇasika Vinisa*, which are texts on monastic discipline based on the Vinaya, also belong to this period. There are also other texts of similar nature. A different trail has been left by the glossarial commentary called *Dahampiyā-aṭuvā-gaṭapadya* which offers meanings for different words and phrases occurring in the Pali *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. Composed by King Abo Salamevan Kasub (tenth century), it indicates the role of the native language in the study of the sacred Pali literature. On this model were written *Jātaka-aṭuvā-gaṭapadya*, *Mahābodhivaṁsa-gaṭapadya* as well as *Vesaturudā-sanne*. There were also other commentaries, specially designed to aid the study of the Pali commentaries on the Vinaya.

Although writers of the Polunnaruva period showed greater inclination to promote the study of Sanskrit and Pali, some important Sinhalese works were also composed during this period. Such works include *Sasa-dāvata* which is a versification of the Pali *Sasa Jātaka*. It was probably composed in A.D. 1197 during the reign of Queen Līlāvatī. Another poem of the period was *Muva-deva-dāvata* dealing with the theme of the Pali *Makhādeva Jātaka*. The famous work called the *Amāvatura* is a sort of prose-poem in eighteen chapters written by Gurulugomi, dealing with the progress of Buddhism. The same author is also credited with the composition of *Dharma-pradīpikāva*, a Sinhalese commentary on the Pali *Mahābodhivaṁsa*. Both the texts were probably composed towards the close of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. King Parākramabāhu II composed a Sinhalese paraphrase of Buddhaghoṣa's *Visuddhimagga*. Another work written during his reign is *Pūjāvaliya*. It is a devotional work written by Buddhaputta, extolling the idea of Bodhisattvahood. It refers to the story of Sumedha and many other *Jātaka* tales. The Sinhalese epic *Kavsilumina*, also called *Kusa-dāvata*, deals with the theme of the Pali *Kusa Jātaka*. It was composed by the court poet of the king. A glossary to the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, written by Rājamurāri, and *Karma-vibhāgaya* have also been assigned to this period. The most important prose text of the succeeding Dambadeniya period is *Saddharma-ratnāvaliya* based on the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* of the fifth century A.D. It includes much new material not found in the original Pali text. Composed by Dhammasena, it is a vast collection of Buddhist ethical stories. An important work of the Kurunegala-Gampola-Kotte period (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries) is *Pansiyapanas-jātaka-pota* by Vīrasiṁha Pathirāja and Parākrama. It is a translation of the Pali *jātakas*. There are other works also translated from, or based on, Pali works. *Subāsitaya* by Alagiyavanna Mohottala (seventeenth century) is a didactic poem based on the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśa*. Besides, there are innumerable references to, and quotations from, Buddhist Sanskrit texts in Sinhalese literature.[14]

[14] *Vide* C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature* (Colombo, 1955), pp. 43-45 and *University of Ceylon Review*, I, No. 1, pp. 86-93.

A novel feature in the late medieval Sinhalese literature was the introduction of the *sandeśa-kāvyas* after Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*.[15] But in the Sinhalese counterparts, the message is not that of an anguished lover for his beloved, cruelly separated from each other, but that of a dutiful subject who sends a bird to a temple, praying for some blessings for the king or a member of the royal family. The reign of Parākramabāhu V (A.D. 1348-60) witnessed the appearance of the first *sandeśa-kāvya* in Sinhalese, *Tisara-sandesaya*. *Mayūra-sandesaya* is another work composed during the reign of Bhūvanekabāhu V (A.D. 1360-91). Seven such texts are known to be extant now and two of them, *Selalihini-sandesaya* and *Parevi-sandesaya*, are by Toṭagamuve Śrī Rāhula (fifteenth century).

The foregoing survey makes it abundantly clear that the Pali and Sanskrit literatures not only inspired Sinhalese scholars and writers to compose excellent works in these languages, but also led to the growth of a fairly extensive literature in the language of the land which shone with multi-faceted brilliance. The contribution of the Dravidian languages of South India, particularly of Tamil, in the evolution of the Sinhalese language has also been indicated.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The countries of South-East Asia formed a stronghold of Indian culture from the early centuries of the Christian era. The extent of Indian influence in the field of languages and literatures of this vast area is particularly remarkable. Scholars have detected that the languages spoken in the various parts of South-East Asia not only often adopted, without losing their basic character, Sanskrit abstract and material terms, but also were influenced in many cases by Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody, and sometimes even by grammatical rules of euphony, compounds, etc. Some idea can be formed from the fact that in the Cham lexicon, the number of Sanskrit words is about 700 out of a total of 9,350,[16] and in Siamese, the number of Sanskrit and Pali words would be 1,362 in a total of 40,000.[17] In the Malay dictionary compiled in the early part of the sixteenth century, some Sanskrit words have been listed. Words of Sanskrit extraction have also penetrated the vocabulary of the Buginese, Busang, and Bari languages in Celebes. Even the remote Tagalog language of the Philippines has admitted some Sanskrit words. But the largest influx has occurred in Old Javanese. In a well-known Old Javanese dictionary, Sanskrit words number no less than 6,790; and the ratio of Sanskrit to Old Javanese in some Old Javanese texts would be as high as 4 to 9, while the proportion in the *kakavins* (poetical

[15] M. D. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[16] Cf E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton, *Dictionnaire cam-française* (Paris, 1906); J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (Nagpur, 1952), p. 52.

[17] V. Thompson, *Thailand: The New Siam* (New York, 1967), p. 760.

compositions) is often 1 to 4 or 2 to 7.[18] As early as A.D. 515, a Malayan king wrote to the Chinese emperor that 'the precious Sanskrit' was known in his kingdom.[19] But whereas a vast Sanskrit literature in manuscript form has come down to us from the Hindu-Javanese period, preserved mainly in Bali, hardly anything of the same period has reached us from Kambuja, Campā, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, or Sumatra. Sanskrit inscriptions numbering several hundred, discovered in most of these countries, however, indicate that Sanskrit was widely studied there. The inscriptions, usually written in flawless *kāvya* style, may be treated as specimens of Sanskrit literature. Another great result of the Indian impact was the gift of the Indian script. The languages of South-East Asia are mostly written in scripts derived from the old Brāhmī alphabet of India.

I. KAMBUJA (CAMBODIA)

In Kambuja (earlier Fu-nan), some inscriptions have over 200 verses written in various ornate metres, besides the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* and the *upajāti-indravajrā-upendravajrā* group. They also exhibit different forms of *alaṅkāra* including *upamā, śleṣa,* etc.[20] Some of the inscriptions are written in the *gauḍī* style, using exaggeration, alliteration, and long compounds.[21] Many of the rulers as well as queens and princesses of Kambuja were accomplished Sanskrit scholars, and some of them have left specimens of their composition. We may mention in particular the names of King Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1116),[22] Prince Sūryakumāra (A.D. 1186),[23] and Queen Indradevī.[24] A number of Kambuja rulers were adepts in Vedic learning. Thus King Sūryavarman I (A.D. 1002-50) has been described as proficient in the Vedāṅgas. The Vedas as well as the Vedānta and Vedāṅga were studied by the Brāhmaṇas. A Śaiva Brāhmaṇa called Śakrasvāmin figures in an inscription of A.D. 713 as being well versed in the Vedānta and the *Taittirīya*.[25] All these studies proliferated in the Angkorian period (*c.* A.D. 800-1150) and continued at least up to the reign of King Śrīndravarman (A.D. 1307).[26] The study of the grammar of Pāṇini, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, the Purāṇas, the Dharma-śāstras, etc. was also pursued vigorously. King Yaśovarman (A.D. 889-900) is said to have composed a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.[27] There are quotations from Pāṇini (I. 4 58-59 and

[18] J. Gonda, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20.

[19] W.P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca* (Bataira, 1876), pp. 10-11.

[20] V. Raghavan in *Proceedings of the XXVIth International Congress of Orientalists*, IV, pp. 52ff.

[21] Cf. G. Coedès in *Mélanges d'indianisme offerts par ses élèves à M. Sylvain Lévi* (Paris, 1911), pp. 214-15.

[22] R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (Calcutta, 1953), p. 430.

[23] *Ibid.*, No. 177.

[24] *Ibid.*, No. 182.

[25] G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, IV, p. 58.

[26] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit*, No. 190.

[27] *Ibid.*, No. 62.

80). A Brāhmaṇa named Vidyāviśeṣa is said to have mastered, besides grammar, the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda, the Nyāya system of Gautama (Akṣapāda), the Sāṁkhya system of Kapila, and the texts on Buddhism. The Horā-śāstra (astrology) and Siddhānta-śāstra (astronomy) were also studied.[28] Several inscriptions not only refer to Manu's code, but actually quote from it,[29] while kings, ministers, and others are often described as 'proficient in the Dharma-śāstras'. Chapters VIII-IX of the *Manu Saṁhitā*, with some modifications, still constitute the basis of the legal system of modern Cambodia.[30] The Dhanurveda (archery), Āyurveda (medicine), Gāndharvavidyā (music), and Kāma-śāstra (erotics) were also studied.

A record of the sixth century tells us that a Brāhmaṇa called Somaśarman, who was a brother-in-law of King Bhavavarman I, dedicated a copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a complete copy of the *Mahābhārata*, and also a copy of a Purāṇa for daily recitation before the deity named Tribhuvaneśvara.[31] In the following century, a manuscript of the *sambhava* section of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* was deposited in the temple of Bhavajñāna.[32] Scholars proficient in the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as well as 'numerous Purāṇas... without omitting any one' have been referred to in Cambodian inscriptions.[33] Allusions to many stories from the epics and the *Harivaṁśa* are found in the inscriptions. Among the scholars specially proficient in the study or recitation of the epics were Śivasoma, Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita, and Kavīndrapaṇḍita. The last-named is credited with having explained a 'developed' (*vistāra*) text of the *Mahābhārata*.[34]

As the royal house worshipped the Devarāja-liṅga for many centuries, the deities of the Śaiva-Tāntric pantheon were especially honoured in Kambuja. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription of Udayādityavarman II speaks of the study of some Tāntric texts during the reign of King Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-50). Inscriptions also refer to the teaching of the doctrines of the Śaivite sect of the Pāśupatas and of the Vaiṣṇavite sect of the Pañcarātras by competent instructors.[35] Among other treatises, the *Śiva Saṁhitā*,[36] the Śaivite Yoga manuals,[37] *Śivadharma*,[38] and *Guhya-ṭīkā*[39] have been mentioned in local inscriptions. It is

[28]*Ibid.*, Nos. 74, 152, 180, etc. [29]*Ibid.*, Nos. 66-68.

[30]See A. Leclere, *Rechercher sur les origins Brahmaniques des lois Cambodgiennes*; R. Lingat, '"L" influence juri dique de I'Inde au Champa et au Cambodge', *Journal Asiatique* (1949), pp. 237, 286.

[31]R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 13.

[32]*Ibid.*, No. 41.

[33]*Ibid.*, Nos. 13, 41, 97, 173, and 149A.

[34]K. K. Sarkar, *Early Indo-Cambodian Contacts* (Santiniketan, 1968), p. 42.

[35]R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 66.

[36]*Ibid.*, No. 102.

[37]A. Barth and A. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanskrites du Campā et du Cambodge*, No. 17B, Verses 6, 130.

[38]G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, V, p. 193.

[39]R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 180.

interesting to observe in this connexion that the reputation of many Indian authors travelled to Kambuja. The inscriptions of Yaśovarman make particular reference to such authors as Vātsyāyana, Guṇāḍhya, Bhāravi, and Mayūra.[40] Although Kālidāsa's name does not occur in the available inscriptions, it appears from some of the inscriptions that their authors were well acquainted with his style and works.[41] There are some folk-tales of Kambuja which closely resemble those of India in structure and details.[42]

Buddhist texts were also studied in ancient Kambuja. Mention has been made in epigraphic records of the *Pratītyotpādana*, *Brāhmaghoṣa*, and *Saddharmarṣabha*.[43] A commentary on the *Tattva-saṅgraha* and the texts called *Madhyavibhāga* and *Pārami Tantra* have also been referred to. Yajñavarāha, *guru* of King Jayavarman V, has been described in an inscription as 'proficient in the doctrines of Buddha'.[44] Some Pali inscriptions also attest to the growing popularity of Hīnayāna Buddhism during the last days of Kambuja's greatness.

II. CAMPĀ (SOUTH ANNAM)

The inscriptions of Campā number over one hundred and they exhibit their authors' knowledge of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody and their ability to use various *alaṅkāras* and metres with consummate artistry.[45] There are references to rulers who studied the Vedas and were proficient in the six branches of Hindu philosophy, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, and the *Uttarakalpa* of the Śaivas[46] as well as the Dharma-śāstras[47]. The inscriptions attest to the great popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas in Campā. We learn from an inscription of King Prakāśadharma (*c.* A.D. 653-79) that an image of Vālmīki was installed at Tra Kiaṇ.[48] An eleventh century record refers to an unknown Sanskrit text called *Purāṇārtha*, described as a 'mine of information'. The Buddhist sacred texts also seem to have been studied well, since the Chinese general Liu Fang is said to have sacked the capital city of Campā in A.D. 605 and taken away 1,350 Buddhist texts. In his Mison stelae inscription dated A.D. 1170, King Jaya Indravarman IV claims to have been

[40] *Ibid.*, No. 64.

[41] V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

[42] Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* (Calcutta, 1928), pp. 245ff.

[43] G. Coedès and H. Parmentier, *Liste Générale des Inscriptions et des Monuments* (Paris, 1923), No. 111.

[44] R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 102.

[45] The earliest epigraphic record of Campā is the Vo-canh rock inscription which is possibly of the fourth century A.D. and contains some verses in the *Śikhariṇī*, *Vasantatilaka*, and *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metres. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1942), pp. 471ff.—DCS.

[46] *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO)*, Vol. XI, p. 268; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I (Lahore, 1927), No. 45.

[47] L. Finot, 'Les Inscriptions de Mison', *BEFEO*, Vol. IV (1904), p. 965.

[48] *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, XXVIII, p. 149.

versed not only in grammar, astrology, and philosophy, but also in the doctrines of the Mahāyāna.

III. BURMA

The earliest records of Burma, found in the vicinity of Prome and belonging to the fifth century A.D., quote parts of the Buddhist canon in Pali.[49] The Mūlasarvāstivādins, who used Sanskrit texts, have left their traces in the relics of the seventh and later centuries. Archaeological and inscriptional evidences prove that Buddhism was introduced into Lower Burma before the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. and it remained a flourishing religion in the area till the middle of the eleventh century with Thaton, capital of the Talaing country, as one of its most important centres. The conversion of King Anoratha (Aniruddha, Anuruddha) of Pagan in Upper Burma, by a Talaing monk named Shin Arahan in A.D. 1057, had a tremendous impact on the fortunes of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. On the refusal of King Makuṭa[50] of Thaton to surrender the Tripiṭaka and other sacred texts, Anoratha marched on Thaton and carried away to Pagan not only the king as a prisoner, but also many artisans and priests with a huge load of sacred texts. This dissemination of Buddhism and the Pali canon was sustained by the patronage of King Anoratha and his successors and by a close religious contact with Ceylon and Kāñcī, strongholds of Theravāda Buddhism.

PALI LITERATURE

The earliest specimens of literary effort in Burma are in inscriptional Pali in East Indian characters referring mainly to religious themes. But they have little literary merit. Paleographically speaking, the oldest of them was composed before the eleventh century A.D. Dr Mabel Haynes Bode[51] observes that a safe starting point for the history of Pali literature in Burma would be the eleventh century. The Pali literature of Burma includes commentaries on Buddhist canonical and other sacred texts as well as works on metaphysics, grammar, prosody, rhetoric, and law. The Burmese wrote, in addition, Nīti treatises, folk-tales, particularly the *Jātaka* stories, etc. The pilgrimages of Uttarajīva and his famous disciple Capaṭa to Ceylon in the latter part of the twelfth century proved to be events of great significance in the progress of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. It was due to their efforts, particularly of Capaṭa, that Sinhalese Buddhism came to predominate in Burma. The Sinhalese recension of the

[49]The reference seems to be to the Maunggun gold-plate inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, V, p. 101; D. C. Sircar, *op cit*, pp. 462ff)—DCS

[50]The name Makuṭa was formerly read as 'Manuha' (*Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XXXII, 1948,p 89).

[51]See Mabel Haynes Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma* (London, 1909), p. 10.

Tripiṭaka in its Pali version naturally occupies a place of honour in Burma. Capaṭa made a substantial contribution to the Pali literature of Burma. He wrote the *Vinayagūḷhatthadīpanī* which explains difficult passages in the Vinaya Piṭaka. He is credited with several other works also. Ariyavaṁsa, a monk of the Capaṭa sect, who had settled at Ava during the reign of Narapati (A.D. 1442-68), wrote the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*, which is a commentary on the *Abhidhammatthabhāvanī*. He has also other works to his credit including *Jātakavisodhana*, a study on the *jātakas*. Among the seventeenth century monks of Saggaing, a Thera named Tilokaguru wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Paṭṭhāna*, the most important book of the Abhiddhamma Piṭaka, while another monk wrote the *Visuddhimaggaganthipadattha* and the *Gūḷhatthadīpanī*. The latter explains difficult passages in the books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Commentary literature developed in Pegu, and the tradition was kept alive in other centres like Amarapura near Mandalay down to the nineteenth century. The *Gandhavaṁsa*. written in the seventeenth century by Nandapañña, gives us the history of the Pali canon. In writing grammatical works, scholars of Burma were the equals of those of Kambuja and Indonesia. Aggavaṁsa wrote the *Saddanīti*, a grammar of the Tipiṭaka, in A.D. 1154. In the *Dhātumālā*, second part of this work, the author furnishes the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms, thus showing his mastery over both Sanskrit and Pali. Capaṭa, mentioned above, was the author of the famous *Suttaniddesa* or *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* which explains the *suttas* of Kaccāyana, the great Pali grammarian. Saddhammasiri's *Saddatthabhedacintā* is based partly on Kaccāyana's Pali aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. There are several famous commentaries on it. King Kyaswa (A.D. 1234-50) wrote two grammatical works, *Saddabindu* and *Paramatthabindu*. During the time of the Shan king Sīhasūra or Thihattu (A.D. 1312-24), Sirimaṅgala wrote commentaries explaining the grammatical base of the *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghoṣa, which was itself a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. Another work on Pali grammar is the *Saddasāratthajālinī* by Nagitā, written under the same king's patronage. Saddhammakitti compiled the famous vocabulary *Ekakkharakosa*. The *Vācakopadesa* of Vijitāvī of about the end of the sixteenth century holds its ground in Burma till now on account of its logical exposition of grammatical science. The *Kavisāra*, a treatise on metre, was composed by Dhammabuddha of Pegu in the fourteenth century. Saddhammañāṇa wrote the *Chandosāratthavikāsinī*, a commentary on the *Vuttodaya* which is a Pali work on metre, and the *Chapaccayadīpanī*, a work on prosody. He is also said to have rendered the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* into Pali. After King Anoratha's invasion in the eleventh century, traces of literary activity in the Thaton-Pegu region of the Talaing country are revealed by the *Sāsanavaṁsa*, the famous Pali chronicle of Burma, written in 1861. The Talaing monk Sāriputta Dhammavilāsa wrote the juridical text entitled *Dhammavilāsa Dhammasattha* about A.D. 1174 when

Narapatisithu (A.D. 1173-1210) was the ruler of Pagan.[52] In the thirteenth century, the Shan king Wagaru or Wareru compiled the *Wagaru Dhammasattha* in Talaing, following Dhammavilāsa, which exhibits the influence of the codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Nārada. King Alaungpaya (A.D. 1752-60) also ordered the compilation of law books, and some Hindu legal codes ascribed to Manu were translated into Pali and Burmese, under orders from King Hsinbyushin (A.D. 1763-76), with the assistance of Brāhmaṇas brought from Vārāṇasī. The king also appointed scholars to translate a number of Sanskrit works on grammar, astrology, and medicine into Burmese. Bode observes: 'In the legal texts, we notice the use of the Pali language (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Talaings and (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism.'[53]

IMPACT OF PALI ON BURMESE

The impact of Pali on Burmese was profound. The former contributed in a massive way to the evolution of a Burmese vernacular literature by the fourteenth century. Burmese was an agglutinative language and Pali lent it terseness, delicacy, and volition, especially in its nominal and verbal inflections as well as in the formation of large compounds. Literary specimens of the vernacular anterior to the second half of the fifteenth century[54] have not survived and those that are extant include tales on the previous lives of Buddha based on the *Jātaka* stories and translations of important Buddhist texts. This trend continued in the centuries that followed.

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

The Brāhmaṇas attached to the royal courts of Burma as soothsayers and counsellors exerted their influence on the royal patrons and thus preserved and promoted Sanskrit culture and learning. Some of their writings have been preserved in the Nāgarī, Bengali, or proto-Bengali scripts.[55] There are inscriptions in Sanskrit or in mixed Pali-Sanskrit, which also testify to the study of Sanskrit in the country in earlier days. In the days of King Anoratha, there were scholars in Pagan who were well versed in the Vedas, particularly the *Atharva-Veda*.[56] In the Kalyāṇī inscription dated A.D. 1442, we come across the names of some Sanskrit texts, which cover the grammar of the Kātantra school, the *Kāśikā*,

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 33. [53] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[54] U Hla Pe, *Litteratura birmana* (Rome, 1957), p. 791.
[55] Mabel Haynes Bode, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

lexicography, Nīti texts, etc.[57] Shin Arahan is said to have been proficient in the four Vedas, while two monks of Ava are said to have been 'learned in the Vedic texts, but deficient in the study of the Canon...'.[58] However, by 'Veda' the Burmese scholars of the seventeenth century may have meant Brāhmaṇical texts on astrology, astronomy, medicine (Āyurveda), and sciences in general, texts on magic, manuals on love and sex, and so on.[59] As late as 1852, the chief queen of a Burmese king is said to have been versed not only in the canonical texts of Buddhism, but also in the Vedas.[60] The *Hitopadeśa* fables also attained wide currency in Burma. Sometimes, the kings took active steps to propagate Sanskrit learning in the country, especially by way of translation of Sanskrit texts like Vopadeva's *Mugdha-bodha*, besides works on astrology, palmistry, medicine, erotics, and so on.

IV. THAILAND AND LAOS

The earliest written records in Thailand are some archaic Mon inscriptions in South Indian characters of the sixth or seventh century A.D.[61] These inscriptions contain some Sanskrit and Pali words. Thai literature, properly so called, did not develop before the fourteenth century. With the establishment of Ayutthaya as the capital of the Thai kingdom, poetic compositions like the curse upon the flood waters or the prayers addressed by the court to divine beings and spirits before the commencement of a trial by ordeal, all of non-Buddhist texture, were made or inspired by the Brāhmaṇas who inherited the traditions of Angkor. The Burmese law code called *Wagaru Dhammasattha*, which largely drew upon the *Manu Saṁhitā*, was introduced into Thailand. Ritualistic poems are said to have been composed by the court Brāhmaṇas brought from Kambuja after her defeat in the thirteenth century. In A.D. 1345 Lu Thai, grandson of the famous Rāma Khambaeng, composed the *Traibhūmikathā* ('Story of the Three Worlds'), a voluminous text on Buddhist cosmology, and it has come down to us in a Siamese translation.[62] The range of subjects studied by Lu Thai included, as an inscription tells us, the Vinaya and Abhidhamma, the Veda, law, and maxims as well as treatises on astronomy and the calendar.[63] A poem entitled *Lilit Yuen P'ay*, which is full of Sanskrit words, was composed during the reign of King Paramatrailokanātha (A.D. 1448-95). A session of the Great

[57]*Ibid.*, pp. 101ff.

[58]*Sāsanavaṁsa*, pp. 68, 110 117.

[59]Mabel Haynes Bode, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[60]*Sāsanavaṁsa*, p. 154.

[61]Among the early epigraphic records of Thailand, mention should be made of a number of Buddhist clay seals bearing small texts in East Indian characters of about the ninth-tenth centuries A.D. The seals resemble those discovered at Indian sites like Nālandā. See *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, V, pp. 366 ff., Plates XI-XIII.—DCS.

[62]G. Coedès, *The Traibhuwanakathā* (1957), p. 349.

[63]G. Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, I (Bangkok, 1924), pp. 98-99.

Council was held at Chieng Mai in A.D. 1475 to revise the Pali scriptures. The tempo was caught by a band of royal scholars who composed the poem *Mahajatı*, based on the *Vessantara Jātaka*, in A.D. 1482. Sinhalese monks settled in Thailand and Laos also contributed to the dissemination of knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures in Pali. The fillip thus imparted led to the production of the two notable works, the *Maṅgaladīspanī* and *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. The latter was translated into Modern Siamese during the reign of King Rama III (A.D. 1824-51). King Nārāyaṇa (A.D. 1657-88), who was a patron of poets, is said to have written several poetical works, two of which refer respectively to Bālin's instructions to Sugrīva and Daśaratha's advice to Rāma, both based upon the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The first-known Siamese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* called *Rāmakien* (*Rāmakīrtti*), composed by King P'raya Chakri between A.D. 1770 and 1780, is incomplete. The first complete version is assigned to the reign of King Rama I (A.D. 1782-1809).[64] *Rāmakien* has been utilized by many later Thai writers. The dramatic literature of Thailand owes its origin to, and was influenced by, the Rāma saga of India, although its affiliation is to certain floating Rāma legends including the story of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*.[65] Eighteenth century Thai literature included fourteen plays, the themes of which were borrowed from the *Jātaka* stories.

The literature of Laos is but a dialectical variation of Thai literature. Among its important productions are some edifying religious works of which the best-known are the apocryphal 'Fifty *Jātaka* Stories' and the Laotian version of the *Pañcatantra* consisting of four collections of stories. The Laotian work, entitled *Maṅgalasutta*, by Sirimaṅgala enjoyed a great reputation.

V. MALAYSIA

The ancient Malay inscriptions, which belong to the last part of the seventh century A.D., contain some Sanskrit words pertaining mainly to the calendar and religion, and some abstract terms.[66] The Trengganu (A.D. 1326-27 or A.D. 1386-87) and Pasai (A.D. 1380) stone inscriptions contain many Sanskrit words.[67] The artificial world created by Malaysian folk-tales is linked with the folk-world of India. The story of the tress of a lady's hair floating in a golden bowl reminds us of a well-known Bengali folk-tale. While some stories are

[64] Nicolas, 'Le Rāmāyana siamois analysé', *Extrême Asie* (1928), No 19, p. 297; No. 21, p. 409; No. 23, p. 565; No. 25, p. 21.

[65] Prince Dhanı Nıvata, *Selected Artıcles*, II (The Sıam Society, The Fıftieth Annual Commemoration Volume, Bangkok), pp. 177-78.

[66] The earlıest ınscrıptıon discovered ın Malaysıa contaıns Buddhist tracts engraved on a pillar by *Mahānāvika* Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttıkā ın West Bengal It is written in the fifth century characters of South Indıa, which must have been prevalent in the Kedah area during the age. See D. C. Sircar, *op. cıt.*, p. 465—DCS.

[67] *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatıc Socıety*, II (1924), pp. 252, 258, XXXI (1958) p. 37.

influenced by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, many have been traced in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, and a large number have their counterparts in the *Jātaka* stories, the *Pañca-tantra*, and the *Kathā* literature.[68] The Malay romances have episodes often speaking of merchants, princes, and ascetics from India, while Hindu fairies, spirits, sages, gods, and goddesses jostle in them with Islamic fairies, sages, and heroes. In a general way, A.D.1350-1450 may be taken to be the period when the Islamic matrix of Malay literature was laid; but it had not yet shed the traits of its earlier Indian character.

The Malay *Rāmāyaṇa*, known as *Hikayat Seri Rāma*, has two versions in which the flotsam and jetsam from the east, west, and south-west of India were gathered to produce the prototype of the Malay texts.[69] Some of these Indian elements arrived in Malaya in the twelfth century and might have been woven into the texture of *Hikayat Seri Rāma* between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries.[70] Some works of the fifteenth century, such as *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain* and *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, also betray the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as the *Mahābhārata* through its Javanese version known as *Bhārata-yuddha*. The Javanese *Bhārata-yuddha* is represented in Malaya by *Hikayat Perang* (*Pāṇḍava-jaya*). *Hikayat Rājarāja Pasai* in prose contains a tag translated from the Tamil *Maṇimekalai*. *Sejarah Melayu* ('The Malay Annals') shows familiarity with Sanskrit and Tamil as well as with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.[71] *Hikayat Merang Mahāvaṁsa* ('The Kedah Annals'), based on local folklore, bears the stamp of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Jātaka* stories. The shadow plays of Malaysia drew their themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and they were presented by invoking the deities of the Hindu pantheon like Śiva and Gaṇeśa as well as important figures of the two great Indian epics like Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Indrajit, and Arjuna.

VI. INDONESIA

The earliest records of Java, such as the inscriptions of King Pūrṇavarman (fifth century A.D.) of West Java, of Tuk Mas, of Canggal (A.D. 732), and of the Śailendra rulers, are all written in Sanskrit.[72] No Old Javanese text is available prior to the ninth century.[73] The earliest inscriptions in Old Javanese reveal the growing infiltration of Sanskrit words into the vocabulary of the former. The Indo-Javanese language took literary shape in the period between

[68] *Ibid.*, XXXI (1958), pp. 20ff.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[70] *Ibid.*, p 37.

[71] H. B. Sarkar, *Indian influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* (Calcutta, 1934), p 129; *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXI, pp. 38-39.

[72] H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, I (Calcutta, 1971), Nos. 1-3, 5-6, and 10; J G. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, I & II (Bandung).

[73] H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, No. 7.

A.D. 650 and 850 when Sanskrit-Old Javanese dictionaries and simple grammars appear to have been written. The lexicon *Amaramālā*, which refers to King Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty, and the Vajrayāna text *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, a part of which is called *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, belong to a period prior to the beginning of the tenth century to which the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* is usually assigned. Indo-Javanese literature began to flower in Central Java; but it developed its golden age at the courts of the east Javanese kings from about A.D. 925 to 1400. The literary output of this period of about five centuries may be reviewed under the following heads: (i) the Vedas (as known under the name in Bali) and the Purāṇas; (ii) the Āgamas, Dharmaśāstras, Nīti-sāhitya, and Śāsana; (iii) Kāṇḍa (grammar, rhetoric, prosody, astrology, etc.); (iv) Itihāsa including prose *parvans* and *kakavins* (poems in Sanskrit metres); and (v) Miscellaneous including *kidungs* (ballads in native metres), *tantrī* (fables of Sanskrit or native origin), *babad* (historical works), etc.

VEDAS AND PURĀṆAS

The Vedas were studied in Java, as in Indo-China, in the ancient period; but what now pass under this name are *mantras* and *stutis* meant for the different deities of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. It is worth noting that no complete *mantra*, as given in these texts, has been found in India. What has been preserved in Bali are called *Ṛk*, *Yajus*, and *Sāmavedaśiras*, which are sung, not recited, on the first day of the bright half of the month and on full-moon nights. Other *mantras* include the *Veda-parikrama-sāra-saṁhitā-kiraṇa* containing many subsidiary *mantras* which are to be accompanied by various *mudrās* and by *prāṇāyāma*, *nyāsa*, *kumbhaka*, etc. In fact, no Vedic *mantra* has been found anywhere in Indonesia, except a fragment of the *gāyatrī* which also occurs in post-Vedic and post-epic Indian literature. Besides a number of Buddhist hymns, many hymns dedicated to Sūrya, Śrī, Vāyu, Pṛthivī, Yama, Vāsukī, and others have been discovered in Bali. The spiritual tenor of the *mantras* and *stutis* is doubtless Indian, but no full text of the hymns has yet been traced in India. Of the Purāṇas, only *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* has been discovered in Java. It has a prose and a versified recension. According to Gonda, the prose recension may be dated in the tenth or eleventh century.[74] The subject-matter of this work has been borrowed for the most part directly from a Sanskrit recension, though in certain respects the text tallies better with relevant portions of the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, and *Varāha Purāṇas*. The versified recension, called *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa-kakavin* or *Pṛthu-vijaya*, was composed by Aṣṭaguṇa in eighteen cantos probably in the twelfth century. Many works written in the Purāṇic style and of a

[74] J. Gonda, 'Het Oudjavaansche *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*', *Bibliotheca Javanica*, No. 5 (1932-33); 'The Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*', *Purāṇa*, II (1960).

cosmogonical nature have been discovered in Bali. Most of the Old Javanese works contain *anuṣṭubh* stanzas in Sanskrit with Old Javanese elucidation. *Tantu Panggelaran*, which is a veritable repository of cosmogony, mythology, and church-history, was composed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another work of a Purāṇic nature is *Agastyaparva* containing some Sanskrit stanzas and Agastya's answers to the questions of his son Dṛḍhāsya. *Tattva Savang Suvung* and *Ādi Purāṇa* deal with cosmology and allied topics. *Manik Maya*, a later work, is also written in the Purāṇic style.

ĀGAMAS AND DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

Among the works which constitute the Āgamas and Dharma-śāstras, *Bhuvanakoṣa* and *Bhuvanasaṁkṣepa* of the Śaiva Tāntric school contain some Sanskrit stanzas. *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna* expounds the implications of *liṅga* worship and *Vṛhaspatitattva* (also perhaps called *Śivatattva*) contains many Sanskrit verses, and discusses various doctrines of Śaiva theology. *Gaṇapatitattva* in which Śiva replies to Gaṇapati's queries is another Old Javanese text on Śaiva philosophical speculation composed in *anuṣṭubh* stanzas with Old Javanese exegesis. Among the works of the Nīti class *Kuñjarakarṇa*, an Old Javanese text composed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, recounts how the *yakṣa* Kuñjarakarṇa sought the advice of Vairocana for gaining rebirth as a higher being. The story of the previous births of the two *yakṣas*, Kuñjarakarṇa and his friend Pūrṇavijaya, is narrated in the Old Javanese text *Bhuvanatattva-paricaya*. *Sāra-samuccaya*, another text of the Nīti class, has about 517 Sanskrit *ślokas*, of which 321 have already been traced in the *Mahābhārata*, *Pañcatantra*, and *Hitopadeśa*. It was so important that an Old Javanese legal text called *Pūrvādhigama* (also called *Śivaśāsana*) refers to it among the texts which a *prāgvivāk* (*prāḍvivāka*, judge) must study. *Vratiśāsana* (*c.* thirteenth century) and *Ślokāntara* have thirty-seven and eighty-three Sanskrit *ślokas* respectively, each having an ethical base. Of the books on statecraft and allied matters, mention should be made of the *Rājapatiguṇḍala* of King Bhatati or Kṛtanagara, *Rāja Kapa Kapa*, and *Navanatya*. Ethical matters mixed with statecraft form the subject of the *Nītiśāstra-kakavin* (second half of the fifteenth century) and *Kāmandaka Rājanīti* which can be considered either as a fragment of the Sanskrit *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* or as part of an anthology.[75] In the Old Javanese text called *Nītipraya*, Sage Vyāsa plays a leading role. A large number of Old Javanese texts, such as *Kuṭāramānava*, *Svarajambu*, *Aṣṭādaśa-vyavahāra*, and *Ādigama*, belonging to the Śāsana or Smṛti literature of Java and Bali, are based upon the *Manu Saṁhitā*. *Kuṭāramānava* claims to have been promulgated by Bhṛgu in the *tretā yuga*. *Pūrvādhigama*, which has been already referred to, contains Sanskrit *ślokas*.

[75]C. Hooykaas in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, XV (1956), p. 23.

KĀṆḌA WORKS

Svaravyañjana, *Ādisvara*, *Kṛtavasa*, *Sukṣavasa*, and *Kāraka-saṅgraha* are works on grammar. The references to Pāṇini and *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* in *Kāraka-saṅgraha* and to *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* in the inscriptions of ancient Java seem to be indicative of the tradition of the study of Sanskrit grammatical literature in Java.[76] There were besides, Sanskrit-Old Javanese lexicons such as the *Amaramālā*, already referred to, and the *Caṇḍakaraṇa*. Of the works on prosody, the most outstanding is the *Vṛttasañcaya*, written by Mpu Tanakung probably in the twelfth century. It deals with more than a hundred Sanskrit metres and refers to Piṅgala and the *Piṅgala-chandaḥ-sūtra*. The impact of Sanskrit rhetoric on the Old Javanese *kakavins* is considerable. These remind one of the *Buddha-carita*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Śiśupāla-vadha*, etc. Some works dealing with medicine, astrology, and astronomy have been found in Java, which contain many words of Sanskrit origin.

ITIHĀSA OR EPIC WORKS

We shall now turn to the epic literature of Java and Bali. The Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, the first and perhaps the best of the *kakavins*, was probably composed about the first quarter of the tenth century by Yogīśvara, whose real name, according to Balinese tradition, seems to be Rājakusuma or Kusumavicitra. The text contains 2,774 stanzas, divided into twenty-six cantos and written in various Sanskrit metres. The major part of the text is a translation of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*. The story broadly follows Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, but ends with the return of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, and their entourage to Ayodhyā. The Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* is not part of Yogīśvara's *Rāmāyaṇa*, but constitutes an independent work. There are also later recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, such as *Rāma Kling*, *Serat Kaṇḍa*, *Rāmāyaṇa Sasak*, *Rāma Kidung Bali*, *Rāma Tambang*, and many others of lesser importance. Indeed, it has been said that there are about 1,200 versions of the Rāma story prevalent in East Java alone.[77] The *Rāmāyaṇa* stories furnished the themes of local shadow plays, and were depicted on temple reliefs. They also inspired a cycle of stories in Old Javanese, such as *Sumanasāntaka*, *Arjuna-vijaya*, and *Hariśraya*. *Sumanasāntaka*, which means 'death by flower', depicts the love affair of Aja and Indumatī. *Arjuna-vijaya*, written by Mpu Tantular after A.D. 1365, handles the theme of Arjunasahasrabāhu's fight with Rāvaṇa. The story of *Hariśraya* is based upon the Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* and discusses how the gods, being threatened by Mālyavān and other demons, turned for succour to Viṣṇu who killed the demons.

No less popular was the Old Javanese *Mahābhārata*, of which the *Ādi*, *Virāṭa*, *Udyoga*, and *Bhīṣma parvans* were composed under orders of King Dharmavaṁśa

[76] H. B. Sarkar in *ibid.*, III (1936), pp. 108-12.

[77] J. Kats, *Het Rāmāyaṇa op Javaansche tempel-reliefs*, p. 17.

Anantavikrama (A.D. 991-1007), some other portions having been composed as late as the fourteenth century. *Bhārata-yuddha-kakavin*, dealing with the middle section of the *Mahābhārata*, was composed by Mpu Sedah, preceptor of King Jayabhaya of Kadiri, but was completed by the Buddhist author Mpu Panuluh in A.D. 1157. The text has fifty-two cantos, with 731 stanzas and is written in various Sanskrit metres. It concludes with the death of Śalya and the consequent self-immolation of his beloved wife Devī Satyavatī, the submission of his crown-jewel by Aśvatthāman, and the wise rule of Yudhiṣṭhira. The *Harivaṁśa* has an Old Javanese recension by Panuluh, which narrates in an original way a fight between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha over Rukmiṇī. The same theme is handled by Mpu Triguṇa in *Kṛṣṇāyana* composed in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Old Javanese *Bhagavad-Gītā*, which contains many Sanskrit *ślokas*, is an abridged version of the original. Of the many *kakavins* belonging to the *Mahābhārata* cycle of stories, *Arjuna-vivāha* was composed in thirty-six cantos by Mpu Kaṇva during the reign of King Airlangga (A.D. 1019-42). *Hari-vijaya* describes some episodes from the *Ādiparvan*, such as the churning of the milk ocean etc., while the duel between Sunda and Upasunda forms the theme of the Old Javanese *kakavin*, *Ratna-vijaya*. *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* or *Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa* describes the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmaṇakumāra over the beautiful maiden Kṣitisundarī, and relates how Ghaṭotkaca assists Abhimanyu to win the girl. *Indra-vijaya* handles the themes of the assassination of Triśiras, Indra's loss of paradise, and the rule and downfall of Nahuṣa, while the Old Javanese prose text called *Koravāśrama* describes the story of the resurrection of the heroes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, their spiritual adventures, and other episodes. Another Old Javanese poem *Kṛṣṇāntaka* deals with some of the themes of the last few *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* excluding the *Svargārohaṇaparvan*. *Navaruci*, probably of the fifteenth century, describes Bhīma's adventures in his search for the elixir of life.

Smaradahana, written in the twelfth century by Mpu Dharmaja in forty cantos, describes the burning of Kāma by Śiva's wrath. *Sutasoma*, which is also called *Puruṣādaśānta*, narrates how Puruṣāda, who had conquered all the kings of Bhāratavarṣa (India), was ultimately subdued by Sutasoma, an incarnation of Bodhisattva. *Kālayavanāntaka*, also known as *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya*, deals with the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa, while *Rāma-vijaya* describes, in sixty-three cantos, the fight between Jamadagni and Aṅgāraparṇa. *Bhomakāvya*, written perhaps in the fourteenth century by Mpu Bradah, relates the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Bhoma or Bhauma (Narakāsura). The story supplied material for shadow plays of the entire Malayo-Indonesian world. Tanakung's *Lubdhaka* is an interesting *kakavin*. It tells how on a pitch-dark night a hunter, trembling with fear, was hiding in a *vilva* tree and accidentally caused a leaf from the tree to fall on a *Śivaliṅga* below, which ultimately led to his salvation. The outline of the

story has presumably been taken from some Indian Purāṇic source.[78] The Indian epics and Purāṇas supplied many themes for the shadow plays of Indonesia. These plays, which have kept alive the Indian epic and Purāṇic stories even in Islamic Indonesia, were popular as early as the beginning of the eleventh century.[79]

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

There are some works of the nature partly of chronicles and partly of historical romances, called *kidungs*. Among such works, the following deserve special mention: *Kidung Sunda, Rangga Lawe,* and *Harṣa-vijaya.* In the field of *tantrī* or fables, the most important text is *Tantrī Kāmandaka,* which is principally based upon the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa.* Some of the stories occurring in this work are depicted in the temple panels at various places.[80] Allied to the *tantrī* group are some folk-tales which have found place in other groups of stories, such as the story of the deer and the crow, of the porcupine and the hill, of the cat and the turtle-dove, which find their parallels in the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* as well as the *Jātaka* and *Kathā* literatures. There are many legends in Indonesia which also point to her close cultural link with India. Reference may be made in this connexion to the celebrated Javanese work, *Aji Śaka,* which records a tradition of the art of writing having been introduced in Java by a Brāhmaṇa called Tritresta. It is, however, difficult to say how far this is based on facts, but we cannot ignore that the order of alphabet in Devanāgarī has been imitated in Sumatra and Celebes. Although the order is different in Javanese, it appears that the Indian arrangement was not unknown to the people of Java.[81] Among the historical works, the most famous are *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton. Nāgarakṛtāgama* (A.D. 1365) by Prapañca has been composed in various Indian metres. It contains some descriptions which strikingly remind one of their parallels in Sanskrit literature.[82] The other, *Pararaton* (written between *c.* A.D. 1278 and 1478), is a prose text. It also bears the stamp of Indian influence in that the first part of the book, for instance, opens with the well-known Indian formula, *Om avighnam astu namas siddham.*[83]

After the downfall of the Hinduized State of Majapahit around A.D. 1500, Javanese literature became divided into two streams, the main one in Bali laying there the matrix of the Middle Javanese literature as an offshoot of Old Javanese and distinct from Old Balinese. The other stream continued

[78] H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali,* p. 317.

[79] *Ibid.,* p. 290.

[80] J. L. A. Brandes, *Tjandi Djago* (The Hague, 1904), pp. 68-69, Photo Nos. 71, 72, etc.; N. J. Krom, *Barabudur,* I (The Hague, 1927), p. 177.

[81] H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali,* pp. 15-16.

[82] *Ibid.,* pp. 385 ff.

[83] *Ibid.,* p. 388.

in Java under stagnant conditions. The preservation of much of the rich Indian legacy was owing to the fact that when Majapahit was destroyed, the princes, the *elite*, the priestly community, and others fled to Bali, taking with them their earthly possessions including books. The date which marked the end of the Middle Javanese literature and the beginning of the New Javanese may be taken as *c.* A.D. 1628. Indonesian literature of the Middle Javanese and New Javanese periods has been greatly influenced by the penetration of Islamic theology and literary ideals and they have been responsible for creating a hybrid composition of a very peculiar type. Adam, Sulaiman, Mohammed, and Hamza have appeared along with the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

It has been mentioned earlier that the order of the Devanāgarī alphabet was followed in the Sumatran and Celebes languages. The impact of Indian influence was also felt in the domain of loan-words in these areas. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that in the pre-Islamic period there existed a rich Indian and Indianized literature in Sumatra.[84]

VII. THE PHILIPPINES

It is only recently that the subject of Indian influence on the Philippine language and literature, script, art, and other matters has received increasing attention from scholars.[85] Indications are that such influence reached the Philippines when the same was at its zenith in the zones intermediate between India and the Philippines during the twelfth-fourteenth centuries. The Islamization of the Malayo-Indonesian world since the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries gradually halted this process of Indianization. It is true that in the field of language and literature, the native languages of the Philippines did not, as in the case of South-East Asia in general, undergo syntactical or grammatical modifications on account of the intrusion of the Sanskrit language and literature, but there is no doubt that they helped to enrich the vocabularies as in the case of other South-East Asian languages. Besides, the Rāma saga had its impact on the Maranaw version of the story, but the predominant influence on it was from the Malayan version. Further study of Indian influence on the Philippine language and literature only can determine the extent and depth of its percolation.

[84]H. B. Sarkar, *Some Contributions of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malaysia* (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 100-101.

[85]*Vide* in this connexion the following publications by J. R. Francisco:
(i) *Indian Influence in the Philippines (with Special Reference to Language and Literature)*, Quezon City, 1964; (ii) *The Philippines and India: Essays in Ancient Cultural Relations*, Manila, 1971; (iii) *Philippine Palaeography*, Quezon City, 1973; and (iv) 'Sanskrit in Philippine Language and Literature', *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1973.

The foregoing survey would convince any one of the appropriateness of the remarks of S. Lévi, quoted approvingly by G. Coedès: 'Mother of wisdom, India gave her mythology to her neighbours who went to teach it to the whole world. Mother of law and philosophy, she gave to three quarters of Asia a god, a religion, a doctrine, an art. She carried her sacred language, her literature, her institutions into Indonesia, to the limits of the known world, and from there they spread back to Madagascar and perhaps to the coast of Africa, where the present flow of Indian immigrants seems to follow the faint traces of the past.'[86]

[86] *The Indianized States of South-East Asia* (Honolulu, 1968), p. xvi.

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WESTERN COUNTRIES

INDIA'S contact with the outside world, especially with West Asia and parts of Africa and Europe, was established in remote antiquity and developed through successive ages. Trade and maritime enterprises marked the beginning of this contact which was further strengthened by cultural relations. This intercourse resulted in a wide range of Indian literature—religious, philosophical, scientific, fictional, etc.—finding its way to the regions referred to and making a great impact there in the course of time. An attempt has been made in the following survey to consider the extent of the spread and influence of Indian literature in the Western countries.

WEST ASIA

Religious Literature: Some of the Vedic gods were worshipped in West Asia as early as the fourteenth century B.C. This has convincingly been proved by the Boghaz Köi inscriptions.[1] In subsequent centuries, some forms of Brāhmaṇical religion prevailed in different parts of West Asia. According to the Syrian writer Zenob, there was an Indian colony in the canton of Taron on the Upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van, in the second century B.C. The Indians built there two temples containing images of gods about 18 and 22 ft. high. When in *c.* A.D. 304 St. Gregory came to destroy these temples, he was strongly opposed by the Indians.[2] It is reasonable to presume that the Indians carried to this area their sacred literature with them. Buddhism spread in West Asia during the days of Aśoka (*c.* 273-232 B.C.). Alberuni (*c.* A.D. 1030) says that in former times Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul, and the countries up to the frontier of Syria were Buddhist. The influence of Buddhist and other forms of Indian religious literature upon West Asian religious systems was by no means insignificant. Traces of Buddhist influence are unmistakable in the doctrines of Mani, a Persian saint, who flourished during the reign of the Sassanian king Shapur I (A.D. 241-72). A Manichaean treatise written in the form of a Buddhist *sūtra* speaks of Mani as Tathāgata and mentions Buddha and Bodhisattva.[3] Buddhist legends were popular in the Arab world. The story

[1] *JRAS* (1909), pp. 1094-109. These records contain the names of the following Vedic deities: Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatyas.

[2] R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1968), pp. 633-34.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 633. See also Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 521.

of the Great Renunciation of Buddha occurs in a book called *Kitab Bilawhar wa Yudasaf*. From Arabic it was rendered into Georgian and then into other European languages including Greek and Latin. A Manichaean version of this legend was discovered by Le Cog from Turfan on the basis of which P. Alfaric proved that Indian Buddhist legends reached Europe about the third century A.D. through the Manichaeans.[4]

The Islamic world, while extending its borders to India, became interested in things Indian, and Arab writers like Sulaiman (A.D. 851), Ibn Khuradadba (A.D. 912), Abu Jwaid (A.D. 916), Alitkhari (A.D. 951), Masudi (A.D. 956), and others wrote treatises on India. Their knowledge about India was superficial, but there were many Arab scholars interested in Indian wisdom. It was through their efforts that several Indian scientific treatises were translated into Arabic. As a result, there was a renewed interest about India among the Arab scholars, the foremost among them being Alberuni who came to India to have a first-hand knowledge of the country. His celebrated work on India is popularly known as *Kitabul Hind* which contains an interesting account of the prevailing Hindu thought and way of life. He learnt Sanskrit and translated a good number of Sanskrit treatises. The subjects of his interest were varied. From his own writings it appears that he had a basic idea of the contents of the four Vedas, though he did not read them directly. He knew about the existence of eighteen Purāṇas, but read only the *Matsya*, *Āditya*, *Vāyu*, and *Viṣṇudharmottara*. He had a thorough acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata* and the institutes of Manu. He was well versed in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and was in fact the first to introduce it into the Islamic world. Under the patronage of several Muslim rulers of India many Sanskrit texts were translated into Persian as a result of which these had easy access to the West Asian countries. Zain-ul 'Abidin, ruler of Kashmir, got the *Mahābhārata* translated into Persian in the fourteenth century. A number of scholars of Akbar's court were commissioned to translate into Persian the *Atharva-Veda*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, etc. Such Persian translations of Sanskrit religious literature were produced under the Muslim rulers in other parts of India also. Among the works translated, the following deserve special mention: the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, *Vraja-māhātmya*, *Gayā-māhātmya*, and *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*. Dara Shikoh translated fifty Upaniṣads in his *Sir-i-Akbar*.

Philosophical Literature: Indian philosophical treatises were directly introduced into the Islamic world by Alberuni who had a thorough knowledge of the writings of Gauḍapāda, the ancient Sāṁkhya texts (especially the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa), the *Yoga-Sūtra* of Patañjali (he had used a different version which has not yet been discovered), the *Nyāya-Sūtra* of Gautama and *Nyāya-bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana, the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* of Jaimini, the *Agastyamata* (a Nyāya text),

[4] P. Alfaric, 'La vie Chrètienne du Bouddha', *Journal Asiatique* (1917), pp. 271ff.

etc. How thoroughly he understood the intricacies of Indian philosophical systems is proved by the way in which he presented them in his celebrated dissertation on India.

Scientific Literature—Medicine: The Sassanian king of Iran, Khusru Anushirwan (A.D. 531-79), was interested in Indian medicine. Interest was similarly shown by the Abbasid Caliphs of Arabia by whose order a number of standard Hindu treatises on medicine were translated into Arabic. Harun Alrashid (A.D. 786-809) established a translation bureau (*baitul hikmat*), where learned scholars were employed to render books on scientific subjects into Arabic. Among the translators were two well-known Indian scholars, namely, Mankh and Ibn-i-Dahan (Dhan or Doban). Khalid, a minister of Caliph Almansur (A.D. 754-75), took great care to get Sanskrit medical, pharmacological, and toxicological texts translated into Arabic. The medical texts included such famous works as the *Caraka* (*Sirak*), the *Suśruta* (*Sasrad*), the *Nidāna* (*Yedan*), and the *Aṣṭāṅga* of Vāgbhaṭa. The *Caraka* was translated by Abdullah, while the name of the translator of the *Suśruta* was Mankh (Māṇikya or Māṇika), referred to above, who cured Harun Alrashid of a severe illness and was appointed head of the royal hospital by the grateful Caliph. A tenth century Sanskrit text on snake-bite by one Rai was also translated. An Indian lady doctor, Roosa, and her works were also known in Arabia. Among the Indian visitors to Abbasid Baghdad, mention may be made of Sabeh, a physician; Dhan, translator of Indian sciences into Arabic; Shanuk (Cāṇakya?), author of a number of scientific treatises on poison, astrology and astronomy, morals, and veterinary science; and Kan-kah, writer of four books on 'age', 'secret of birth', 'cycles of the year', and 'beginning of the year'.[5] Alrazi or Rhazes of the ninth-tenth centuries A.D. incorporated Indian medical science in his *Kitab-al-hawi* known to medieval Europe as *Liber Continess* through the Latin translation by Moses Farachi.[6]

Mathematics and Astronomy: About A.D. 771, an Indian traveller, who came to Baghdad as a member of a political mission, introduced a treatise on astronomy which was translated by Ibn Ibrahim Alfazari.[7] This is mentioned by Alberuni[8] who also refers to the visit to Baghdad of another group of Indian scientists in A.D. 778 led by a 'well-known Hindu scholar' who communicated to Ya'kub Ibn Tarik the Hindu traditions regarding the distance of the stars.[9] Subsequently, Ya'kub Ibn Tarik incorporated in his *Tarikh-al-Aflak* principles of Indian astronomy. These scholars brought such works on mathematics as the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* of Brahmagupta, which

[5]A. M. Shushtery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture* (Bangalore, 1954), pp. 247ff

[6]C. Singer, *A Short History of Science* (Oxford, 1841), p. 149.

[7]P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1960), p. 307.

[8]E. A. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (London, 1888), p. 15.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 67.

were translated into Arabic. It was thus that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. Alkhwarizmi (A.D. 859) based his widely-known astronomical tables (*zij*) on Alfazari's translation mentioned above. He made an abridgement and translation of the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* (popularly known as *Sind-Hind* in Arabia) of Brahmagupta. Alkhwarizmi was the first exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters. These numerals he called *hindi*, indicating their Indian origin. His work on the Hindu method of calculation was translated into Latin (*De Numero Indico*) which has survived while the Arabic original has been lost.[10] Mahāvīra, in his *Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha*, and other Indian scholars like Āryabhata II and Śrīdhara dealt with operations using zero and the summation of *n* terms of a geometrical progression. These were borrowed by the Arabs, and John of Seville and Abraham Ibn Ezra utilized them from the Arabic system. Other mathematical ideas, including the *śulva* theorem, solutions to indeterminate equations as found by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II, and the introduction of sine and cosine functions in trigonometry were of Indian origin, which went to Europe through Arabia. Ibn-i-Jabahir Albattani studied the Indian use of ratios and introduced it among the Arabs. Alberuni's *Qanunal-Mas'udi* was largely based upon Indian astronomical ideas. He also translated the *Sūrya-siddhānta* of Varāhamihira. The Arabic division of the ecliptic into twenty-eight parts was evidently borrowed from the Indian.[11] Thus, Indian astronomy exerted great influence upon the astronomical thinking of the Arabs. Indian conceptions of lunar-zodiac, cosmic cycles, liberatory motions, equinoctial and solstitial points, estimation of the precession of equinoxes, etc. were strikingly original and these became the basis of modern astronomy.

Fictions and Fables: In the domain of myths and legends, there were many features common to India and West Asia. The flood legends of West Asia, especially the one found in the epic of *Gilgamesh*, have some resemblance to similar legends described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the Purāṇas. Reference should also be made in this connexion to the cosmogonic myths, and earth and corn myths. Myths and legends about the mysteries of creation, life and death, the stages of life from the cradle to the grave, and the domains of theogony and apotheosis entered West Asia from different sources including India and were echoed in Rabbinic and re-echoed in Islamic mythology, altered and adapted so as to suit the spirit of monotheism.[12] Rabbinic myths and tales have, on the one hand, entered Islamic literature, and Mohammed and his commentators have largely drawn from Jewish sources. On the other hand,

[10] P. K. Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-74.
[11] R. C. Dutt, *Later Hindu Civilization* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 104.
[12] Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), pp. 574-75.

many legends of the *Talmud* and *Midrash* were directly or indirectly adopted from Indian sources. In the *Quran*,[13] we have the cosmographic conception of seven firmaments and seven underworlds reminding us of the same Hebrew conceptions which are quite similar, if not identical, to Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina speculations.[14] The myth of Shemhazai and Azael, a tale of Jewish origin, which in Islamic literature is told of Harut and Marut, resembles strikingly the story of Sunda and Upasunda in the *Mahābhārata.*

Indian fictions and fables at first translated into Persian were later rendered into other languages of West Asia. The most prominent example is the *Pañcatantra,* the famous book of fables in Sanskrit, which was first translated into Pehlavi by Barzoi in collaboration with an Indian scholar at the command of Khusru Anushirwan (A.D. 531-79). This translation is lost, but it was the source of the first Syriac translation by Bud in A.D. 570. The Pehlavi version was translated into Arabic about the middle of the eighth century A.D. by Ibn-i-Maquffa. From the Arabic version there arose several others in West Asia, namely, a later Syriac version (*c.* A.D. 1000), a later Persian version (*c.* A.D. 1130), and a Hebrew version (*c.* A.D. 1250). A number of Buddhist *jātakas* were also translated into Arabic. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha-carita* was edited and modified by Arab writers. The *Śukasaptati,* another famous Indian book of fables in Sanskrit, underwent more than one translation into Persian. At the beginning of the fourteenth century there was already extant a rather crude version which was replaced by a finer one under the title *Tutinama* by Nachshabi, a contemporary of Hafiz, in A.D. 1330. Through this version, which included a part of the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati,* many Indian fables found their way to Europe.[15] According to P. K. Hitti, the basis of the famous Arabian book of fables, *Thousand and One Nights,* was a Persian work containing several stories of Indian origin.[16]

AFRICA

The fundamentals of ancient Egyptian culture were known even to the Vedic Indians. This is proved by a Upanisadic reference to mummification.[17] Aśoka is known to have sent missionaries to Egypt. The presence of Indians in Egyptian Alexandria has been recorded by Dio Chrysostom and Ptolemy. There is evidence of the existence of Brāhmana philosophers at Alexandria

[13] XLI. 8ff.

[14] N. N. Bhattacharyya, 'Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain Cosmography', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVII, pp 43-64.

[15] A. B. Keith, *HSL*, p 359.

[16] P. K. Hitti, *op. cit*, p. 404. See also Cosquin, *Études Folkloriques*, pp. 265ff. and A B. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

[17] Cf. *Chā. U*, VIII.8.5. In Indian tradition people living in countries from Iran westwards were known as Asuras. See R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I (1971), pp. 222-28.

during the Kuṣāṇa period.[18] A Brāhmī inscription of the third century A.D. has been discovered in Egypt. We have to remember, however, that India's historical and cultural relations with Egypt did not bring the former into direct contact with genuine African culture and civilization, as Egypt during the time of Aśoka was Hellenized and thereafter it was successively dominated by the Jewish, Persian, and Arabic powers. But, India's relation with occupied Egypt was a deeply ingrained one. Not only Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture, but also regional languages, especially those from South India, were able to create some impression in the minds of the Egyptian Greeks. Reference may be made in this connexion to a few lines in a Greek drama found in a fragmentary form on the papyrus remains of the second century A.D. from Oxyrrhincus in North Egypt, in which is depicted a scene of an Indian court where the king and his courtiers speak in a foreign language. E. Hultzsch examined the extant specimens of that language, as preserved in the aforesaid work, and came to the conclusion that those were ancient forms of the Kannada language.[19]

Apart from Egypt, the only African country with which India's cultural contact is known to us is Ethiopia. A hoard of Kuṣāṇa gold coins of Kings Kadphises II, Kaniṣka I, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva has been discovered near the monastery of Debra Demmo in northern Ethiopia. Possibly by 250 B.C. the Indians came to know about Kuśadvīpa, land of the Kuśa people—Ethiopia or Nubia—from the Persians. The commercial contact between India and Ethiopia, which is amply testified by the evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (*c.* A.D. 78), led to the adoption of a small but significant group of loan-words from Indian languages into Ethiopian. There are reasons to believe that the Indian systems of writing influenced the Ethiopian script. The vowel marks to the basic consonantal letters, for example, were introduced into the Ethiopian script from Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī[20] owing perhaps to the influence of the Indian merchants and residents at Adulis and Aksum in the third and fourth centuries A.D.[21] A Brāhmī seal belonging to the early Christian era has been discovered in the Adulis area. The coins of Kadphises II in the Debra Demmo hoard have legends in Indian Prakrit in the Kharoṣṭhī script. Not only the Indian principle, but the actual signs and their order were also adopted in many cases in the old Ethiopian script. As Professor Chaim Rabin observes: 'In older Semitic writing, consonants alone are to be found and no vowels are indicated. This is a shortcoming in the writing of the Semites which they did not succeed in overcoming by themselves. The Greeks solved it by using some Semitic consonants to indicate vowels. The Indians, on the other hand, invented

[18] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 124ff.

[19] *JRAS* (1904), p. 399. See also Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 292 and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 626.

[20] Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *India and Ethiopia* (Calcutta, 1968), p. 49.

[21] *Ibid.*

special letters for the vowels, and originated the idea of two written forms for each vowel, one at the beginning and one for the middle of the word, which is attached to the consonant as in modern Indian writings. This happened in India quite early. In about A.D. 300 we find in Ethiopia, a country also influenced by India in other respects, the same system of adding vowels as little circles and strokes to the consonant letters, as the Ethiopians do till today . . . They must have learnt this from India, as it is also proved by the fact that they recite the vowels in approximately the same order as is customary in Sanskrit.'[22]

EUROPE

Philosophical and Religious Literature: Greece was presumably the first European country to come into close cultural contact with India. Scholars are of the opinion that Greek philosophy was deeply influenced by the Indian.[23] The philosophy of Pythagorus, who lived in the sixth century B.C., was probably derived from the Sāṁkhya system of India.[24] According to a Greek tradition preserved by Eusebius, Aristoxenus (a disciple of Aristotle) knew the summary of a conversation held between Socrates (fifth century B.C.) and an Indian philosopher. Alexander's invasion (327-325 B.C.) placed the East-West cultural contact on a firm basis. Alexander was himself interested in Indian philosophy. It is stated that an Indian philosopher named Kalanos went with him from India.[25] H. G. Rawlinson cites examples from Plato's *Republic* which have very close bearing on the Indian doctrines of Karma, Māyā, etc.[26] Parallelisms between some doctrines of the Upaniṣads and those of the Eleatics are sometimes too striking to be ignored. R. Garbe, who made a detailed analysis of the Indian influence on Greek philosophy, pointed out that some of the fundamental ideas of Anaximander, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Epicurus can definitely be traced to the Sāṁkhya system.[27] The distant regions to which Aśoka sent Buddhist missionaries included Macedonia and Epirus (or Corinth) in Greece. Aśoka claims that these missionaries achieved a definite success in preaching Buddhism in these areas.[28] The neo-Platonist philosophy, which came into existence in the first century A.D., was presumably influenced by the Sāṁkhya system.[29] Plotinus (A.D. 204-69), chief of the neo-

[22]*Ibid.*, p. 55.

[23]Richard Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India* (Chicago, 1897), pp. 32-56; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 630-33; A. A. Macdonell, *HSL*, pp. 421-24.

[24]R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 630-31; Leopold Von Schroeder, *Pythagoras und die Inder* (Leipzig, 1884); H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I (2nd Edn.), pp. 436-37.

[25]J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminister, 1901), pp. 69-74.

[26]Cf. G. T. Garratt (Ed.), *The Legacy of India* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 5ff.

[27]Richard Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 390ff.

[28]R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 616.

[29]A. A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-23.

Platonists, depended upon the Indian Yoga system for his philosophic doctrines.[30] There is reference to Appolonius and Plotinus as looking towards India as the home of wisdom.[31] The Christian doctrine of Gnosticism, which flourished in the second and third centuries A.D., owed much to Indian philosophy, particularly to the Sāṁkhya system.[32] The conception of many heavens propounded by the Gnostics is drawn from 'the fantastic cosmogony of later Buddhism'.[33]

M. Eliade has shown that Christian mythology and mysticism were influenced by Indian ideas and that Indian beliefs and practices are referred to in Western literature.[34] Buddhist *Jātaka* stories influenced the Christian gospels and parables. On this point more than fifty parallels have been suggested by eminent authorities. Buddhist legends were familiar to the Western world. The most remarkable example is *Barlaam and Josaphat* (eighth century A.D.) written in Greek by John of Damascus, which is a Christianized version of Buddha's renunciation. The Buddhist background of this story was first discovered by E. R. Labuli in 1859 and it was emphasized by F. Liebrecht in 1860. The Indian epics, particularly the *Mahābhārata*, were well known to the Greeks at least in the first century A.D. as it is evident from the statement of the Greek rhetorician Dio Chrysostom (A.D. 50-117).[35]

Scientific Literature: Greek and Indian medical theories are strikingly similar. The idea of breath, *pneuma* in Greek and *prāṇa* in Sanskrit, as the source and producer of all movements and changes, is emphasized in three treatises of Hippocrates as well as in classical Āyurvedic texts. Something similar to the Āyurvedic conception of *tridoṣa* or *tridhātu* is found in Plato's *Timaeus*. We have also references in the Hippocratic collection to the borrowing of some Indian drugs and medical formulas in Greece. J. Filliozat says: 'India may very well have influenced the Hippocratic collection and *Timaeus* particularly, since Plato failed to mention his sources and since, moreover, his doctrine is closer to the Indian than to that of any contemporary Greek school. The influence of Indian ideas on certain aspects of Greek medicine during Plato's time is further supported by the mention of Indian medicaments, including pepper, in the *Diseases of Women*, part of the Hippocratic collection. Indian medical knowledge must have sipped through the Persian empire, then the overlord of parts of India and Greece alike along the trade routes described by Strabo and Pliny.'[36] Indian medical science also made its way to Rome where Indian herbals were one of the principal imports. Lithotomy, which was one of the

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 423.
[31] J. W. McCrindle, *op. cit*, pp. 183-84.
[32] A. A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 423.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 424.
[34] M. Eliade, *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom* (New York, 1958), pp 432ff
[35] A. A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
[36] J. Filliozat, *A General History of Science* (London, 1957), p. 156.

outstanding feats of ancient Indian surgery, was praised by the Roman Celsus as a typical Indian practice followed by other nations in his compendium. Galen of Pergamum, who belonged to the second century A.D., openly admitted that Roman physicians administered Indian drugs to their patients. *Āryabhaṭīya* of Āryabhaṭa I, composed in four sections, one on mathematics and others on astronomy, was translated into Latin by an Italian mathematician in the thirteenth century A.D.

Legends and Fables: The Vedic myths have parallels in the Indo-European speaking areas of Europe which are probably due to their common origin. Of Indian origin may be the story of King Solomon and Asmodeus which was taken over and brought to Europe where it appeared first in *Gesta Romanorum*. Other Indian legends also reached Europe, and can be traced in *Gesta Romanorum* and in the stories of Boccacio, Straparala, Chaucer, and La Fontaine. The *Pañcatantra* was introduced into Europe through its Arabic version made about A.D. 750 by Ibn-i-Maquffa, and exercised very great influence in shaping the literature of the middle ages in Europe. Among the earliest European versions, the following deserve mention: the Greek version (*c.* A.D. 1180), the Spanish version (*c.* A.D. 1251), the Latin version (translated in *c.* A.D. 1270 from the Hebrew version and printed in A.D. 1480), the German version (translated from the Latin version in about A.D. 1411 and first printed in *c.* A.D. 1481), the Italian version (translated from Latin in A.D. 1552), and, finally, the English version (translated in A.D. 1570 from the Italian). 'In the whole field of world literature', says Dr V. Raghavan, 'there has been no work more remarkable than the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* of which 200 versions arose in more than fifty languages, three-fourths of which are non-Indian'.[87]

Interest in Indological Studies: The first Englishman to learn Sanskrit was Charles Wilkins who published in 1785 an English translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. This was followed by the English version of the *Hitopadeśa* in 1787, and of the Śakuntalā episode of the *Mahābhārata* in 1795. His *Sanskrit Grammar* appeared in 1808. He was also the first to translate some of the Indian inscriptions into English. Sir William Jones, founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made a deep study of Sanskrit literature and translated some celebrated Sanskrit works like the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* (1780), *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (1792), and *Manu Smṛti* (1794). His English version of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* was rendered into German by G. Forster in 1791 and was highly admired by Goethe. This German translation created a great impression on Goethe, so much so that while writing the prologue of his famous drama *Faust* he modelled it on that of Kālidāsa's work. H.T. Colebrooke edited the *Amarakoṣa*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Hitopadeśa*, and *Kirātārjunīya*, and translated a number of inscriptions also. The German poet Friedrich

[87]V. Raghavan, *Sanskrit: Essays on the Value of the Languages and the Literature* (Madras, 1972), p. 146.

Schlegel translated some passages from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Manu Smṛti*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*. These were the first direct translations from Sanskrit into German. August Wilhelm Schlegel brought out in 1823 the first volume of *Indische Bibliothek*. In the same year, he published a good edition of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* with a Latin translation. Friedrich Rosen and F. Max Müller laid the foundations of Vedic studies in Europe with their individual editions of the *Ṛg-Veda*. It was in this way that Sanskrit was introduced into Europe. The study of Indian literature in Sanskrit as well as in Pali, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa gained momentum in the European countries as they gradually came into more direct and intimate contact with India from the nineteenth century onwards. The Vedas, the epics, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, the Upaniṣads, the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the *Dhammapada*, the *Jātaka*, the Vinaya Piṭaka, etc., and the sacred literature of the Jains came to be studied, edited, translated, and published in various European languages. The principal centres of Indological studies were no doubt in England, France, and Germany. But the growing interest in the sacred and secular literature of India was also noticed in Italy, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Hungary, and Russia, where a large number of Indian texts have been translated and published and centres established for deep and systematic studies.[38]

In the United States of America, Sanskrit studies were introduced by Salisbury and Whitney in the middle of the nineteenth century. The latter was the celebrated translator of the *Atharva-Veda*. Emerson (1803-82) and Thoreau (1817-62), however, prepared the ground for the American interest in Indology. The American Oriental Society, which was founded in 1842, made notable contribution to Sanskrit studies in this continent. C. R. Lanman, M. Bloomfield, E. W. Hopkins, A. V. W. Jackson, F. Edgarton, W. Norman Brown, M. B. Emeneau, and D. H. H. Ingalls are some of the celebrated American Sanskritists who deserve particular mention. In Mexico and Latin America Sanskrit has been recently introduced.

[38]For further details, see *ibid.*, pp. 149 ff. and V. Raghavan, *Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe* (Madras, 1956).

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